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VOLUME I

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICA

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Submitted by:

JEFFALYN JOHNSON AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
Two Skyline Place, Suite 1210
5203 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, Va. 22041
703-528-4633

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICA

Executive Summary

African nations and donor countries as well recognize the critical role that development administration plays in economic growth and successful development programs. To attain self sufficiency African nations must take new steps to improve the management of development systems. Improvement particularly demands more effective implementation of developmental as well as operational activities in order to maximize scarce human, physical and financial resources. The capacity of various African countries to manage both development assistance and their own resources has become a major development issue today. Management deficiencies, compounded by political pressures and economic constraints, internal and external, have given impetus to a search for the most effective methods to manage the development process.

To these ends the development of good managers is obviously crucial -- hence the need for educational and training programs, particularly at the middle and upper managerial levels. It is essential moreover that individual and group learning undertaken in these programs must serve the practical needs of operating managers and organizations, the people who are actually getting things done. Additionally there is often an equally important and more difficult requirement that existing management systems and procedures themselves be changed. Management tools to address these needs are available. Modern, effective approaches to management improvement

have been developed and tested, but are not widely employed yet. To speed development AID should assure the use of the best available approaches in all its assistance programs including management improvement and institutional development programs. As this study makes clear, nowhere is this more essential than in Africa.

The Study

The study represents an important step by AID to meet the challenge that confronts it--to not only provide development assistance, but to help developing nations to improve their management and institutional development capacities.

The primary goals of the study were to examine the efforts under way in various African countries to improve the management of their resources, to identify the issues and problems that are hindering their progress, and to describe the successful strategies in management improvement that should be reinforced. It also sought to find a new approach through which AID could more effectively help African governments to strengthen their management capacity. This Summary provides an overview of the main substance and findings of the basic report.

Volume I describes the evolution of AID policy on development administration and institution building, noting the underlying trend away from the original emphasis on long-term training in traditional public administration to more stress on action-oriented, experiential training and management interventions. These interventions include the transfer of skills through long and short term training as well as project and technical assistance

teams using collaborative processes of action training, action research, and process consultation.

Volume II supplements the general discussion in Volume I with six individual reports focusing on specific systems or areas of management relating to the issues brought out in Volume I. These includes management training resources, information management, financial management, health management, development administration issues in Swaziland, and the use of mobile consulting teams for management improvement.

The Findings

The field study team found a number of development administration issues of primary concern in Africa. These include: 1) the development of a responsive national agenda -- agriculture versus industrialization, for example; 2) the establishment of a sound economic policy with respect to both public and private sector activities; and 3) building and maintaining a political base. Each of these is closely related to the process of nation building which has been evolving since African countries won their independence.

Another set of issues is centered on the process of institutional development. Among these, maintaining cultural integrity and developing human resources are topics of key concern to Africans. Cultural differences play a critical role and an important challenge for AID is whether such differences can be used creatively so that management structures and processes take advantage of, or at least accomodate, them. Some of the

most vexing management problems stem from the difficulty of transferring management processes from one culture to another, and even the management technology suitable for transfer may need to undergo some mutation before it can be successfully transplanted.

As a result of its visit to several African countries, the study team came to a number of conclusions with respect to the ability of those countries to manage their own development:

1. Donor assistance to Africa has led to a movement away from African methods and toward foreign ideas, technology, and customs, precipitating a loss of traditional self-sufficiency and order.

2. African and international managers have tried various types of assistance and interventions which have not resulted in perceptible improvement of African economic conditions.

3. African political systems have a strong impact on African management and institutions.

4. Without an African socio-economic base, African development institutions remain outside the indigenous system and are consequently impermanent.

5. Most African governments observed in the study do not seem to be making rural development a first priority. One apparent exception is Tanzania where, despite political and resource support for rural development, results have been disappointing.

6. Financial management, whether of a government or a single project, is vital to all management. For simpler undertakings, financial accountability may be all that is required.

7. Some management problems arise when a skilled specialist such as a medical doctor, agronomist or engineer is promoted to the executive level of an organization even though he may have no inclination, aptitude, or training for managerial responsibilities.
8. The availability of information about African projects and programs, as well as skill in the use of the information, will become an increasingly fertile area for training and institutional development. However, the ultimate availability of information will depend upon the capabilities of the host governments themselves.
9. Africans attach importance to the development of human resources as evidenced by the number of educational institutions, including some 55 universities, and the allocation of sometimes as much as a third of the national budget to education.
10. Private sector activities, both indigenous and international, can make an important contribution to African development. It should be noted in this connection that development administration encompasses techniques for improving not only public sector administration but the private sector as well.
11. During the last two decades, most African resources have been committed to nation building through political self-determination. This process, which is still incomplete, continues to claim a substantial proportion of indigenous attention and resources.
12. Despite internal political pressure for decentralization, little meaningful progress to this end is taking place in the African countries included in this study with the exception of Sudan and Tanzania. The

scarcity of human and financial resources makes it difficult for African countries to decentralize.

13. Mobile, action-oriented training, such as that provided by ERDM in Ghana, would seem to offer the greatest potential for short-term, in-country training in support of decentralization.

14. The assumption by parastatals of most pre-independence, expatriate, private sector activity and the subsequent expansion of parastatal activity has aggravated the already serious problem caused by the shortage of trained managers, especially at the middle level.

Development Administration Approaches

To help address many of the problems identified in the findings, AID now carries out development administration improvement through 1) project components related to management; 2) the inclusion of a management improvement project within a sectoral strategy; and 3) the support of management training institutions. The report recommends continuation of these approaches. It also supports a fourth approach through a separate project -- a special development management project -- whose most distinguishing feature is that it would provide a core staff of development administration specialists (trainers and consultants) to give management assistance directly to the ministries, parastatal agencies, and other institutions of the host country rather than working exclusively through individual USAID projects.

This approach involves a more consultative and collaborative working relationship with the host government and requires that it assume more responsibility. It lays stress on the importance of building a "critical

mass" of managers in each institution with which it collaborates, managers at different levels who have shared management improvement training and who can work actively to support and reinforce one another in improving management capacity. Emphasis is also given to the involvement of indigenous training institutions and consulting firms in the project's work in order to build a self-sustaining base for further management improvement efforts.

Field discussions with African development specialists and USAID staff members indicated that many African countries would be receptive to this approach. The majority believed that the core staff should be physically located in the host government to maximize access to top level officials and support for the staff's activities.

The Challenge

This study, like some that have gone before it, describes the development administration needs of African nations. Out of the decades of AID's development assistance to Africa have come some lessons learned from both successful and disappointing projects. These lessons form a foundation upon which to build and to transfer appropriate management technology to developing nations.

AID's recent draft Institutional Development Paper points out the central role of sound organization and management in development. It recommends that management assistance be increased in sectoral projects, and that innovative management assistance projects should be tried.

The challenge AID faces today is to reorder its priorities to place greater importance on assisting African countries to strengthen their management capabilities and to elevate the importance of management in all AID projects.

I. DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION: AN INTRODUCTION

Development administration helps order the processes that forge economic growth and institutional development. Through the application of development administration, self sufficiency and development are sustained. Although development management is vital, deficiencies in the capacity of various African countries to manage development assistance and their own development resources have become one of the major development issues. These apparent management deficiencies, compounded by political pressures and economic constraints, internal and external, have given rise to growing concern among both donors and developing nations regarding the most effective methods to manage the development process.

A growing awareness of the importance of development administration has resulted in greater emphasis on AID's development assistance strategies to help host country organizations become more effective development institutions, that is, to improve their capacity to assess needs, plan strategies, implement programs, monitor performance, evaluate results and measure sustainability.

These development strategies must take into account the complexities of African management and the inadequate administrative and institutional capabilities which impede effective and equitable development. The following shortcomings and conflicts in national priorities illustrate the serious problems such strategies must face.

(1) In spite of the merits of a direct "Basic Human Needs" focus by AID and African governments on the poor majority, the tendency for governments has been to focus responsibilities for addressing socio-

economic needs on poorly equipped central administrations. These administrations are further burdened with growing numbers of management and planning responsibilities. Public service delivery responsibilities have in turn encountered ever increasing difficulties.

(2) Investments in strengthening central administrations have been made at the expense of strengthening administrative/management capabilities at local levels in the hope that there will be a "trickle down" effect. In the interim, local self-help capabilities remain minimal.

(3) For several reasons, state-owned parastatals have also become a part of the "centralizing-syndrome" that is pervasive in Africa. Since these corporations often operate at losses, there is uncertainty as to whether they are needed or whether management improvements, even if possible, would be beneficial.

(4) The centralized, sectoral concerns of national organizations have pre-empted organizational development needs that more realistically operate at grassroots levels.

(5) Private organizations (PVO's community organizations, farmers' cooperatives, etc.) that could play an enhanced role in the development process are given inadequate support and incentives. The employment of complementary roles for government and the private sector, wherein leveraging can result, has not been exploited.

(6) An indigenous private sector management consulting capacity is just beginning to emerge; but as yet is not fully supported. Financial management services including audit are deficient.

Development administration is a complex and differentiated discipline involving more than training; it entails organizational structures and systems as well as the application of knowledge and skills necessary to

maintain and develop organizations and institutions that solve development problems. Because development institutions need strengthening and the management methods they use need improving, AID has developed a program strategy. This management improvement program strategy includes the processes of selectivity, complementarity, management flexibility, adaptability, clientele responsibility, participation and accountability, and private/public sector options.¹

To this end, the Agency contracted for the conduct of this development administration study, the results of which are discussed in this paper. The primary goals of the study were to examine the efforts under way in various African countries to improve the management of their resources, to identify the issues and problems they are encountering, and to describe the successes and strategies that should be reinforced.

The study has been undertaken in four interrelated phases over a period of one year. The first phase produced a concept paper, "An Approach to Evaluation of Development Administration in AID/Africa", as a result of a literature review and interviews with senior officials in AID/Washington. During the second phase, two teams visited a number of countries, Botswana, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Zaire, interviewing African, AID mission, and management institute officials to identify major African management concerns, to gain some insights into successful projects addressing these concerns, and to identify possible new directions in development administration. A one-day workshop, held during the third phase, brought together AID and African personnel who had served in Ghana and had participated in the Economic Rural Development Management (ERDM) project to discuss the lessons learned from

this innovative management improvement effort. A special paper by C. David Esch and Wilfred Owen, Jr. prepared for that workshop, "Using Mobile Consulting Teams for Management Improvement: The ERDM Experience in Ghana", and expanded to include workshop considerations may be found in Volume II of this study. The final phase consisted of the analysis of findings and the writing of this two volume report.

The first volume of the report is organized into five sections. Following this introductory section, the growing importance of development administration is discussed within an AID policy framework, and the evolving development administration strategies of the past two decades are examined in Section II. Emphasis is on development administration in the 1980s, with particular attention to institution development and interventions.

The findings of the study are discussed in Section III, and are organized around the major issues of nation building and institutional development.

In the fourth section of Volume I, a number of important strategies currently in use to strengthen development administration are described. Also, one development administration improvement strategy is advocated. This strategy reflects some of the successful interventions the study team observed, and applies many suggestions made by AID and African officials during the course of the project.

The second volume contains six reports focusing on specific systems or areas of management that relate to the contents in Volume I. These are information management, financial management, management training resources, health management, development administration issues in Swaziland, and using consulting teams for management improvement.

End Notes

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(Draft) May 1982.

II. THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

The Policy Setting

This study of development administration in Africa takes place in a period of fundamental reassessment of the most effective means to stimulate economic growth and development. Africans have taken the leadership in this review, notably in the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980-2000. This Lagos Action Plan lays out a bold and ambitious series of general economic goals and stresses, inter alia, that,

. . . Africa's development and growth must be based on the combination of Africa's considerable natural resources, her managerial and technical resources and her markets (restructured and expanded) to serve the people. Africa, therefore, must map out its own strategy for development and . . . cultivate the virtue of self-reliance.¹

The Action Plan contains a comprehensive set of recommendations for economic development. It stresses the "serious manpower and employment constraints in major sectors of development,"² and indicates "a need to realign development priorities in order to emphasize the development of human resources."³ To this end, the Action Plan strategy urges regional cooperation among African nations and foreign donor assistance and, at the same time, emphasizes that "the principal responsibility for manpower training and employment promotion should be seen as resting squarely at the national level."⁴

In the donor community, increased stress is being placed on approaches to economic growth and development. Building on the Lagos Action Plan, the new World Bank Study, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, an

Agenda for Action,⁵ recommends a comprehensive approach to African development. It stresses the need for innovative efforts in stimulating African human resource development, especially for developing a stronger managerial capacity, and also calls for more balanced roles between the public and private sectors with a reduced and more efficiently managed parastatal (public corporation) sector. The World Bank warns that African administrative capacity to manage the development process is greatly overextended, and urges improved analysis in selecting only optimum development projects.

The United States recognizes the Action Plan and the World Bank study as having broken new ground. Following a number of shifts over the past two decades, current U.S. policy thrusts respond to the needs of developing nations today. The policy framework within which U.S. development strategies are forged were articulated by AID's Administrator, M. Peter McPherson, in his message to field missions on January 29, 1982:

In several messages over the past year, I have stressed the importance of human resource development at all levels. Our development strategy includes helping countries to: improve their policy framework; develop their human and institutional capabilities; generate, transfer and apply improved technology; and stimulate private sector activities. . . . In this guidance message I want to stress the importance of high level training for administrators, managers, key scientists and technicians, teaching faculty and institutional leaders in all sectors. The training of these key personnel is one of our most effective vehicles for accomplishing technology transfer and institutional development.

Critical to the successful implementation of this strategy is increased capacity by African nations to manage their development processes and effectively utilize available resources. Improved AID development administration

activities are needed to help these countries improve their policy framework; develop their human and institutional capabilities; generate, transfer and apply improved technology; and stimulate private sector activities.

Over the past two decades, efforts to improve development administration have undergone changes in emphasis and substance. From the context of the current policy framework, it is useful to review the evolution of development administration strategies to understand the impact of previous efforts on today's policy and program thrusts.

Evolution of Development Administration Strategy

The newly emerging African States of the 1960s severed colonial controls to be faced with the administrative realities of nation building--the need for administrative systems, for building new and strengthening old institutions, and for cadres of trained public managers. In response to these needs, AID's primary development strategy became a public administration training approach in which numerous Africans were trained in United States' universities in public administration, economics and related social sciences. The underlying purpose was to export traditional U.S. public administration models along with the theory, principles and skills required to manage public organizations. Institution building was the theoretical framework used to explain and measure the progress of development efforts.⁶ These models emphasized the importance of new organizations in introducing new technologies and promoting planned change.

During this period, a number of important African national and regional public administration and training institutes were established. Among these are the following: Pan African Institute for Development (PAID), Institut

Africain Pour Le Developpement et Social-Centre Africain de Formation (INADES), African Training and Research Center in Administration for Development (CAFRAD), Liberia Institute for Public Administration (LIPA), Somalia Institute of Development and Management (SIDAM), Kenya Institute of Public Administration, Ghana Institute for Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) and numerous programs in universities.

AID invested in institution building research primarily through two major U.S. inter-university efforts: the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, headquartered at the University of Pittsburgh, which had a public administration focus; and the Committee on Institutional Cooperation, composed principally of land-grant colleges, which was concerned with technical assistance to agricultural institutions.

In the 1970s, development strategy shifted to the "basic human needs" or "new directions" doctrine,⁷ stressing the goal of getting the benefits of development down to the rural poor. Equity became a more important consideration. In 1973, Congress mandated a sectoral emphasis in U.S. AID projects, i.e. agriculture, health, human resource development and population. "The focus shifted away from building colleges and universities, away from national planning organizations, and toward encouraging local self-help through improving local governments or community associations. . ."⁸ Some individuals in the Agency felt that public administration institutes might produce effective elites in the senior civil services, but they did not seem suitable for "producing skilled officials, capable of managing their countries' rural development enterprises."⁹

The management of development was recognized as important in the new strategy; for example, this was reflected in the Hall Report of 1975, and in

Policy Directive 69 of February 1977. It was, however, addressed primarily in the sectoral project format, and development administration personnel within AID were sharply cut back.¹⁰ This led, inadvertently, to less systematic attention to the management component in AID programming. By 1980, only one out of four AID African projects had a discernible development administration focus or component.¹¹ This shift occurred at a time when host country and donor personnel had increased management responsibilities in administering large and complex rural development projects, usually situated in remote interior settings with poor communications, and involving a mix of ministries, people, resources, and local institutions. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker recently pointed out, in drawing on the research of Uma Lele, a World Bank specialist:

. . .foreign-funded rural development projects have overburdened weak public bureaucracies without doing enough to train policy-level managers, the shortage of which is, ironically, a fundamental cause of bureaucratic weakness and inadequate rural growth.¹²

In an essay on the evolution of development administration over twenty years, George Honadle¹³ noted three shifts in perspective: (1) the decline of grand theories, especially the institution building approach which "focused on the introduction of new institutions into environments dominated by old social forms"; (2) the advent of peasant recognition, that is, recognizing that villagers in developing countries often are very knowledgeable about development trade-offs and possess "vital technical knowledge," sometimes called "folk management skills"; and (3) the growth to capacity via equity, which reinforced local participation and targeting programs to reach the rural poor. The latter trend, Honadle noted, raised

many structural barriers to implementing projects and "the need to build local capacity to control and produce new resources."

Development Administration in the 1980s

Development administration strategies in the 1980s build on the experiences of the past two decades. The institutions that proliferated in the 1960s, struggled through the 1970s to meet more complex demands for services, now in the 1980s are experiencing the stresses of deficiencies in management capacity. The sustainability of these institutions in the 1980s depends, in large part, on more stringent analysis and management of their human, natural, and financial resources needed for development. For the United States and other donors, a major question of the 1980s is how best to assist host countries to manage development assistance and indigenous resources.

Development administration, the management of the development process, is central to nation building and institutional development. It involves setting goals, objectives and priorities; requires designing and implementing development strategies, organizing and coordinating people and other resources, strengthening organizational structures, institutions and systems; and monitoring and evaluating results. Today, management is the critical factor in economic and social development. Conventional wisdom points out that developing countries are not underdeveloped, they are under-managed.

In response to the need, development administration specialists at AID have been undertaking a number of initiatives. First, AID is giving the

concept of development administration a broader definition involving the interplay of skills (people), structures (organizations), and systems (information) to optimize the use of limited financial and other resources to accomplish policy goals. This broader definition recognizes the multi-dimensional aspects of management and the fact that management training, the usual project component approach to management improvement, is not adequate for the complex tasks of development administration improvement.

Second, development administration is seen as having a wider operational scope than in the past.¹⁴ Its focus on development management involves projects in all sectors and thus is broader than traditional public administration. The breadth of its scope may be seen, for example, from a summary of the primary elements which make up AID's current development administration strategy:¹⁵

1. Sector-specific institutional development. This strategy element focuses on building institutional capacities in both the public and private sector, policy formulation, technology generation and dissemination, and service delivery to support sectoral development objectives. Priority sectors include agriculture, irrigation, small and medium scale enterprise, and forestry.

2. Local initiative. This strategy element addresses the management needs at the local level of both public and private institutions, with focus on institutional capacity to establish and act on regionally defined priorities. It includes concern for the generation and expenditure of local revenues to reduce dependence on external resources, and for stimulating local private initiative in the performance of developmental and service delivery functions that might otherwise be assumed by government.

3. Management Service Institutions. This element addresses institutional capability to provide management training and technical support services to public and private organizations and enterprises critical to both sectoral and area development priorities, with primary focus on management and applied social sciences and consulting firms addressing management needs of the public and/or private sector.

4. Reform. This element targets central-level reform of economic, financial, and administrative structures. An important premise is that if policy dialogue with host governments can be followed up with more performance-oriented administrative change, then reform can be a first step toward institutionalizing management improvement.

Within this strategic framework, AID is currently pursuing a portfolio of project activity which demonstrates still more clearly the broad scope of development administration today. The projects in the portfolio fall into three categories:

Type 1: Public sector policy and management. This category includes administrative reform, policy analysis and planning, revenue/budget and tax administration, urban development, decentralization, and provincial development.

Type 2: Management training and training institutions. This category includes multipurpose training projects with various mixes of U.S., third-country, and in-country management training; and projects designed to strengthen indigenous management training institutes. There are major regional projects as well as country-specific projects.

Type 3: Sector-specific management improvement. This category includes components of a wide variety of sectoral projects such as agriculture, health, and natural resources. The most common form of this

project activity is management training for the personnel of the host country organization that is the project focus.

Of these categories, Type 1 projects currently represent 19 percent of all active development administration projects and account for 26.5 percent of life-of-project funding. Type 2 projects represent 31 percent of the total projects and account for 38 percent of life-of-project funding. Type 3 projects represent one half of the total projects and account for 35 percent of life-of-project funding. Almost two-thirds of current Type 3 projects are being carried out in Africa.¹⁶

Third, it is the current thinking that development administration must facilitate new AID policy strategies, including the U.S. emphasis on the importance of the private sector in development strategy. The importance of this in the African context is pointed out in a draft discussion paper entitled "The Development of African Private Enterprise." It notes that one of the most important constraints on the development of African economies is the scarcity of indigenous entrepreneurial talent and managerial skills.¹⁷ A final thrust comes from the initiative of some AID specialists who are emphasizing a "performance approach" to judge managerial results:

AID's work in development management should focus on the outputs of host country development organizations; the quantity, quality, and distribution of socio-economic benefits that result from those outputs; and the sustainability of flows of benefits under local conditions. Management development in AID programs should use collaborative means to help host countries increase organization outputs which produce such benefits. We refer to this strategy as a 'performance approach'.¹⁸

Institutional Development

As part of the evolving development administration strategy, there is movement toward institutional development and capacity building. Current emphasis is on supporting existing institutions rather than building new ones. The draft AID policy paper ¹⁹ on institutional development states:

...institutional development is most effective when tied to specific tasks and to operational requirements that create a 'demand' for institutional innovation and effectiveness. Institutional adjustments which respond to new opportunities rather than the transfer of an abstract 'model' to LDC settings....

The institutional intervention priorities in the 1980s "...may range from strengthening national capacities to effect change across sectors, to specific project-related interventions."²⁰ It may be desirable, for example, "to encourage administrative reforms involving decentralization of authority for more effective field-level implementation of development programs."²¹ With the focus on both national and local institutional development, organizational capacity building is an important dimension in U.S. AID strategy. Honadle writes that "...an emerging agenda for the 1980s is the need to fully understand the process of capacity building in development administration."²²

Development Administration Interventions

Development administration improvement is being accomplished by a variety of intervention processes. The most widely used is management and related training, short and long term, in the United States under the participant training program. Approximately 8000 AID-sponsored, African LDC participants will be studying in the U.S. in FY 83--an increase of

approximately 1000 over FY 81.²³ In general, this type of training in the United States has been highly regarded for a variety of reasons. However, as LDC training resources grow, training in the United States will increasingly focus on specialty areas. For example, the number of African universities has grown from 12 in 1960, at the time most countries became independent, to 52 in 1980. Many of these African universities now have graduate programs,²⁴ including management training.

In practice, there is a movement toward action-oriented, experiential training, which has been used, among others, by the USDA Development Project Management Center, notably in Jamaica. Action-training ties training directly to project implementation. The basic strategy in the Jamaica project is "to form a Project Development Resource Team to carry out an action-training program to move live projects and increase project capabilities."²⁵ The experience in Ghana, especially in the ERDM Rural Management Training project, with many elements of action-training as well as process consultation, helped strengthen local administrative capacity despite the deteriorating political and economic situation.

There is also greater emphasis on action-research. This approach involves collaborative field efforts with U.S. and African scholars undertaking studies of direct relevance to African decision makers. The studies of Robert Chambers²⁶ and David Leonard²⁷ in East Africa are particularly significant. They provide not only a wealth of data, but also evidence that some Western organization development techniques can cross cultural boundaries. For example, the book by Leonard, which is a landmark study of agricultural extension workers in Western Kenya, addresses issues

of motivation, productivity, supervision, status, etc. He states:

We feel able to generalize from our findings because of our rigorous use of organization theory. This body of theory contains a large number of practical, tested propositions about worker motivation, ways to stimulate feedback and innovation, effective supervisory styles, and the like. When we began our research we did not know whether these propositions, based largely on studies in North America and Europe, would be applicable in Kenya. In the course of our work, however, we found that particularly those propositions about organizational behavior derived from exchange theory are valid in Kenya. This strongly suggests that they are valid elsewhere in the developing world as well.

This research is important because among development specialists there has been considerable discussion as to whether western management techniques are really applicable in Africa, given the different needs and cultural attitudes.

Closely associated with action-training and action-research have been efforts supported by AID to draw on organization theory, for example, the work of Practical Concepts, Inc. (PCI) in developing a project management system. The PCI work sets forth some 20 different management tools to strengthen project management. The AID "logical framework" for use in project design grew out of this effort and is now used by a number of donors, including the ILO and other UN organizations.

The World Bank has conducted a study seeking to answer the question "to what extent are the recent advances in organization theory reflected in the World Bank's operations?"²⁸ The study found many problems were rooted in "the traditional model of organization design that has evolved from successful implementation of physical infrastructure projects, but has less relevance to projects aiming at broader development objectives."

The authors propose a new conceptual framework, which focuses on:

- (a) Assessing power and commitment of the project participants as a basis for organizational design;
- (b) Designing inter-organizational relationships (i.e., organizing the environment itself towards the project purposes) as well as relationships within a single organization; and
- (c) Building a learning process (i.e., monitoring and evaluation) into the organization.

In summary, the management improvement interventions currently being used range from the more traditional transfer of skills through long and short term training and U.S. project and technical assistance teams to the collaborative processes of action-training, action-research, and process-consultation. Each addresses the crucial needs of host governments to improve their capacity to manage development. If the institutions so critical to development are to become increasingly more effective as we move through the 1980s, then host governments and donors must focus their resources on improving development management.

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28. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 375, The Design of Organizations for Rural Development Projects -- a Progress Report, Washington, D.C., March 1980.

III. DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION ISSUES IN AFRICA: FINDINGS

The development administration project team was charged with an examination of indigenous management of the structures and processes by which standards of living in Africa are raised. Hence the project has resulted in the identification of strategies, properties and issues which inhibit or encourage sound management, and which are described in this section of the report.

The domain of development administration includes the internal management of cabinet ministries, institutions and projects, the management of national resources, including the private sector, and the institutionalization of sound management. This domain has been partitioned into two large subdivisions of issues according to their relationship to nation-building or institutional development. These categories are not mutually exclusive.

Nation-Building

Following the initial unifying processes fundamental to nation-building, generally a socio-political infrastructure is established and refined. Refinements include national assessments from which emerge a national agenda, economic policy and a political-military strategy. These emerging policies, in turn, give rise to a set of development administration issues that are related to nation-building.

Several issues for which the study team found concern in Africa are: the development of a responsive national agenda; the establishment of sound economic policy; and building and maintaining a political base. Some development administration concerns, vis-a-vis these issues, are explored below.

The Development of a National Agenda
Agriculture versus Industrialization

Food shortages, pervasive in Sub-Saharan Africa, continue to draw the attention of African leaders and donors alike. Agricultural management for food self-sufficiency is given the highest development priority. The Lagos Plan of Action, The World Bank's Agenda for Action, the 1981 AID/Africa Bureau's Food Sector Assistance Strategy Paper as well as the Five Year plans produced by African cabinet level planning ministries all reflect this concern. The United Republic of Cameroon's October 1981 Five Year Plan, which calls for maximum use of their own resources to combat rural underdevelopment, is illustrative.

Despite the need to expand agricultural output, which the World Bank report describes as being "at the heart of African economies,"¹ there may be factors in some African management environments which militate against agricultural development. The Lagos Plan of Action says "Member states have not usually accorded the necessary priority to agriculture, either in the allocation of resources or in giving sufficient attention to policies for the promotion of productivity and improvement of rural life."² This question of a priority position for rural development is not a problem in Africa alone. The Council for Agricultural Science and Technology says, "Certain policy-makers have a sincere desire to improve the welfare of rural people. The level and scope of previous programs imply, however, that policy-makers as a class do not give rural development a high priority among national needs."³

World Bank specialist Uma Lele is concerned with the diversion of national resources from agriculture to urban modernization. She says,

Despite the rhetorical acknowledgement of the importance of the agricultural and rural sector, most African countries are not giving that sector the needed priority in their policies and budgets. Indeed, the rural sector is heavily taxed for the support of urban modernization. Large investments by foreign donors in the rural sector have had little overall effect. Donors need to adopt a longer perspective on development and to make greater efforts to promote indigenous capacities for policy, planning, and administration.⁴

Uma Lele and the Lagos Plan of Action pursue the same argument, that resources needed for agricultural development are subsidizing urbanization and associated industrialization. The study team also found concern that besides competing for scarce resources, urbanization intensifies the pressure on local food supplies and encourages food importation. However, African managers, concerned with developing a national agenda, do not always agree on priorities. For example, African response to the World Bank's findings about African policies de-emphasizing agriculture, particularly export crops, comes down on the side of self-sufficiency in food production and industrialization as a necessary complement to agricultural transformation.⁵

The question of agricultural development versus industrialization is one of the most important management issues the study team encountered. Since African human and capital development resources are limited, establishing priorities and understanding the consequences or alternative futures which result from the timing and extent of resource allocation are particularly important.

Industrialization as a goal, whether or not in competition with agricultural development, is itself being questioned by some social scientists. They point to "the need for major social transformation on the grounds that many existing societal structures are unsustainable, inequitable and dehumanizing." They question the ability of models of the presently industrialized nations to sustain themselves, given "the inability of present human institutions to provide a decent livelihood for all human kind, in a manner which sustains both fragile eco-systems and allows for continued growth of the human spirit."⁶ In describing one alternative future, David Korten says,

Numerous individuals and institutions are searching for new visions of the post-industrial society based on structures which meet the criteria of sustainability, equity, well-being and participation. Among others, Toffler (1980)⁷ has postulated that such a society will be characterized by decentralized, appropriate scale production units, work in the home, advanced but resource conserving technologies, reliance on renewable energy sources, the linking of productive activities such that the wastes from one become the raw materials for another, de-urbanization, and high levels of home production for home consumption. Though its technologists will be far advanced over those of pre-industrial society, he observes that structurally the post-industrial society will have greater resemblance to pre-industrial than to industrial societies. Thus, he argues that given current constraints it may be easier for pre-industrial societies to move directly to a post-industrial mode than to pass through the intermediate but increasingly anachronistic stage of industrialization.⁸

In sum, some of the issues related to agricultural management at a national level about which the team found concern in Africa are: 1) the establishment of priorities, 2) the allocation of resources to implement decisions, and 3) the alternative futures or consequences of choices made. The questions which arise from the preceding discussion about the need for a

major social transformation present one view of the consequences of some management decisions.

What are the concerns of management at an agricultural organization or project level? First of all, development administration responds to agricultural complexities which are distinct, for example, from those of public health. Development administration can also contribute to agriculturally-related institutional development through support for the processes by which agricultural management becomes institutionalized. Finally systemic management issues are addressed.

Tanzania's Training for Rural Development Project is an example of support for institutional development.* The project's overall goal⁹ is to strengthen the managerial and technical capacities of decentralized rural development institutions, to contribute to agricultural growth, expanded rural services, and enhanced self-help activities by individual farmers and village cooperatives. Two levels of agricultural management come together within the structure of the project: 1) the management of the project itself with attendant systemic concerns such as supervision, monitoring and financial management, and 2) the training of Tanzanians to manage their own rural development.

Concern with two sets of management issues (systems and agricultural-specific) and lessons drawn from AID's rural development experience to date are discussed by AID's Lane Holdcroft below.

With regard to rural development projects involving agricultural production components, often failure has been on the content of the technological package being

* Another example can be found in the Strengthening Health Delivery Systems project, which is headquartered in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

provided. Too often the fact that agricultural production is 'location specific' has been forgotten.

While other components such as education, water supplies, and public health may be very desirable, they should almost always follow, rather than lead efforts at increasing agricultural output. In all rural development projects it is extremely important to begin with an income-producing component which entails a profitable technology package as the project's 'centerpiece.' Then sequentially the introduction of other services can commence. (A package of technology may consist only of improved seed and fertilizer for one crop or it may be more complex.)¹⁰

The application of management help to resolve the agricultural issues raised by Dr. Holdcroft strengthens agriculture's position on the ladder of development priorities. The allocation of resources to support agricultural development, as well as the consequences of the allocation, are the purview of management.

Economic Policy - Public and Private Sector Activities

Another nation-building activity with which development managers concern themselves is the establishment of national economic policy. Managing domestic resources so that they support a national economic effort is among the most complex undertakings by any government, whether of a developed or developing country.

The allocation of activities to the public, private or voluntary economic sectors is among the range of concerns associated with economic policy and continues to generate debate. While some activities in each of these sectors can be classified as developmental,* most African countries have much larger public sectors in contrast to the other two. Despite an

apparent diversity of economic policies within Africa, in general there is a commonality of approach to the size and range of public sector activities. This common approach is rooted in a common colonial heritage during which large corporations, operated by expatriates, performed many of the activities in evidence today in large public bodies or parastatals. The nationalization and subsequent Africanization of multinational corporations took place despite a scarcity of skilled African managers. This fact gives rise to one of the most serious development management issues in Africa today, a shortage of indigenous managers.

The reasons for the Africanization or localization of corporate activity go beyond the obvious desire of Africans to control their economies and to learn to manage their own resources. Adebayo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, says:¹¹

...the ultimate purpose of development must be the development of man - the realization and unfolding of his creative potential through improvement not only in his material conditions of living which enable him to fulfill his physiological needs but also through the satisfaction of his psychic needs. In other words, development is a process by which man's over-all personality is enhanced. And development for society means development of the collective personality of society. Thus, economic development cannot be treated as an inde-

¹¹According to AID/W, development activities contribute to sustained improvement in productivity, income, or quality of life whether at the local or national level.

pendent variable divorced from its social and political bearings. Development of a society is social development, a process in which 'economic' and 'non-economic' elements interact organically with each other. Attempts to isolate the 'economic' elements and fit them into any hypothetical model of 'economic development' are, therefore, unscientific. Development thus defined is a multi-variate quantitative and qualitative change and may not be immediately measurable cardinally.

African officials in every country visited by the study team expressed the idea that the pursuit of economic development must simultaneously provide experiential and vocational opportunities for indigenous Africans; that human growth and national growth are compatible and contemporaneous goals. However, a number of development specialists raise other questions about economic development and public enterprise. For example, World Bank officials note:

Conflicting objectives may be inherent in the nature of public enterprise because of its obligation to pursue both commercial and social goals. Great difficulties arise in attempting to hold state-owned enterprises (SOEs) accountable for efficiency in the face of their multiple objectives. However, some social goals (for example, national control) may be accomplished by the very existence of the SOE and are fully compatible with improved efficiency.¹²

The embodiment of social and commercial objectives within the framework of national economic policy is not limited to Africa or to any part of the developing world. The management problem stems from the fact that the two sets of objectives are parallel if not divergent and are expected to be met simultaneously. There seems to be some consensus that parastatals are accomplishing social tasks. However, the gravity of economic conditions in Africa focuses attention on the failure of parastatals to fulfill commercial goals. In addition to these national level management concerns, there

are some other management issues inherent in parastatal development and maintenance. The operation of parastatals requires a level of executive capacity which is scarce in Africa. Internal management problems of parastatals were discussed early this year (1982) by Mr. W.J.N. Mwabulambo, the Executive Secretary of the Standing Committee on Parastatal Organizations (SCOPO) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Following is a summary of his remarks.

When the private sector was nationalized and the key expatriate personnel left, SCOPO was established to staff the newly state-controlled public corporations, in which the Government of Tanzania (GOT) has capital shares up to 50 percent. Today SCOPO's mandate includes a specific set of personnel management responsibilities:

- 1) Coordinating and monitoring training programs for parastatal staff. Initially, SCOPO was involved with establishing training programs, but since parastatals are located throughout Tanzania, and SCOPO's offices are in Dar es Salaam, the logistical problems were too great. Also, SCOPO tried to organize training for groups of employees from different, but related parastatals. However, it was found that training needs to be specific to a particular parastatal's processes. For these reasons and because the number of parastatals mushroomed to over 400, SCOPO has produced a technical assistance guide to be used by managers as they establish their own training programs. SCOPO is trying to get some feedback about the utility of the guide.
- 2) Establishing the administrative framework within which employee transfers between other agencies of the Tanzanian government and parastatals occur. Initially, SCOPO was given the responsibility for monitoring the transfers which often took place without adequate notice to the employee and sometimes without any prior knowledge on the part of staff. As a result of this situation, employee morale and motivation plummeted.

A related concern is the practice of poaching, especially of newly trained staff. Following training, staff are sometimes offered a promotion in exchange for transferring to a different parastatal or division of government. In this way, the recipient agency avoids the cost and inconvenience of arranging training and, with the money saved, can offer a higher salary. SCOPO, which has the authority to deny such transfers, usually mediates instead, until agreement is reached with all three concerned parties; the employee, and the two supervisors, sending and receiving.

- 3) Improving the process wherein an employee's qualifications are matched to a specific job. Partly because of the shortage of trained manpower, matching qualifications to job specifications is sometimes impossible and sometimes ignored. The resulting misplacement has a doubly negative impact, the loss of skills to one job and also problems arising from a lack of skills in another job. The improvement of this process is also part of SCOPO's mandate.
- 4) Approving organizational structure. One responsibility which moves beyond personnel management processes to the question of organizational structure lies in SCOPO's authority to approve or disapprove of any parastatal's organizational structure. The GOT insists that all parastatal organizational structures conform to national social and economic policy guidelines.

Mr. Mwabulambo's discussion emphasizes that the development and maintenance of parastatals is subject to the same kinds of management problems evident in other African bureaucracies. In addition, most parastatals are subject to increasing pressure to be at least self sufficient. Officials at the National Institute of Productivity for example, a parastatal and a management training institute for civil servants in Dar es Salaam, spoke of the advantage of providing consultancies which are income generating, as compared to staff research, which generally is not. Their views underscore the Tanzanian Government's mandate that the Institute become self-sufficient.

In Cameroon, where parastatals are encouraged to earn a profit, there is reportedly a tendency for the Government of Cameroon to take 50 percent of whatever profit is made. In Liberia, Senegal and Ivory Coast, there is talk of dismantling some parastatals, and there are some opportunities for private investors to enter into parastatal partnerships with the government. Such a partnership exists at General Tyre in Arusha, Tanzania*,

*This information was current as of February 1982.

a parastatal in which the GOT holds a 74 percent interest and General Tyre, 26 percent. The 26 percent is equivalent to the value of the equipment that General Tyre has invested. Observers are encouraged about this public/private partnership because, despite some serious balance of payments/foreign exchange problems, General Tyre is making a profit.

To the extent that private sector development is a national priority, the management of private sector activities must also provide opportunities for indigenous entrepreneurs. Although parastatals co-opt most national scale commercial activity, the study team encountered what appeared to be individual commercial activity throughout Africa. There were entrepreneurs with their wares, usually agricultural produce or products of African arts and crafts, on corners, clustered in markets and along highways. There are also farmers and Sudanese traders, small shops and complex market systems.

The concept of development assistance to a host country's indigenous private sector is newer than the idea of assistance to the public sector. However, the idea that the private sector can make contributions to development is not new. A recent AID discussion paper makes the case for AID assistance to the African private sector:

Present concern over the continued slow growth of African economies has revived an interest in the important role private enterprise can play in the development process. It is becoming increasingly clear to donors and many of the African countries that not enough attention has been given to the promotion of private enterprise and that this has resulted in the underutilization of resources which could have contributed significantly to the achievement of more rapid economic progress. The failure of many state-run economies to operate in a cost-effective and productive manner has only underscored the need for greater private sector participation. Many African governments are

beginning to realize that government activities alone cannot develop their countries and that if more rapid and equitable growth is to be achieved they must share the development burden with the private sector. In effect, there is now a greater realization that private enterprise is not only an indispensable resource for achieving economic development but that it can also be a means for accomplishing many social and economic goals.

AID should be prepared to work with all groups - public and private; profit or non-profit; religious groups; multinational firms; international organizations; the Lions and Rotary Clubs, etc. which are sincerely endeavoring to strengthen the private sector in Africa. This could mean working with groups similar to the National Christian Council of Kenya, which AID supported with a \$270,000 grant in FY 1980.*¹³

In sum, the growth of the African private sector requires management support for indigenous entrepreneurs, the involvement of African and U.S. private voluntary organizations and U.S. businesses. The balance of public, private and voluntary activities grows out of a country's national economic policy, or the plan for management of resources to reach an economic goal. In Africa, the allocation of development activity to one sector or another arises from a sensitivity to social justice and the process of adjustment to a post-colonial period. Parastatal management, which requires a high level of management skills, is not neutral to the political process, but is a reflection of it.

Decentralization: An Aid to Political Stability, A Deterrent to Urbanization

Centralized African government variously is attributed to Africa's colonial administrations which relied on central political control, to Africa's tribal heritage which tended to be monarchical, to the scarcity of

* (Kenya: Small Scale Enterprise Development, 698-041). This project was one of six informal sector projects provided assistance under the PISCES (Program for Investment in the Small Capital Enterprises Sector) component of ST/UD's Small Enterprise Approaches to Employment project (93101090).

trained African managers or to the unwillingness of political leaders to share power. Centralized administrative structures are also reflected in cabinet ministries and other agencies of government where the delegation of authority is uncommon. All of these factors have probably contributed, in some measure, to Africa's general lack of decentralization. In the discussion which follows, political stability and urbanization are examined in relation to the management of decentralization.

Although changes in political leadership in Africa are often viewed as part of the "dust settling", a process by which a nation moves from infancy to maturity, there are other catalysts in the African political environment. One of the reputed reasons for the 1980 Liberian coup which brought Samuel Doe's PRC party into power was the failure of President Tolbert's True Whig government to develop responsive socio/political structures outside of the Monrovia capital. At the time, it was said there were two Liberias, Monrovia and the rest of the country.

It is the contention of the study team that decentralization is a nation-building process which helps to create a political environment in which stability can grow. The establishment of a broad political base through popular support strengthens national unity.

Building a base of political support is not easy, especially in Africa where tribal, language, religious and geographic differences are more dramatic than similarities of heritage and experience.* However, as most U.S. politicians are aware, the process is aided by encouraging constituents

*The process of national unification in countries where heterogeneity is the rule may be seen in the United States and Canada. Similarities in heterogeneity would seem to warrant further examination.

to "buy into the process" through participation and by delivering services and other amenities to constituents in outlying districts. Some services and some components of the national infrastructure serve this purpose better than others because they provide a real, as well as symbolic, link to the capital. Examples are transportation, including roadways, communications, and education, particularly when the language of instruction is national.

During a recent United Nations seminar on decentralization, delegates from twenty countries talked about the "whys" of decentralization.¹⁴

The main reasons advanced for decentralisation were political, economic and social stability: it being a well established fact that the state is usually too busy to efficiently carry out its responsibilities toward localities. It is thus necessary for the state to hand over local services to local authorities. Moreover, popular participation of the people proved to be the best instrument for enhancing development and creating new leaders. It also widens the scope of democracy and strengthens national unity. Economically, decentralization assists in the mobilisation of the people and leads to their maximum utilisation as a resource in development. It creates a spirit of competition among different regions and hence accelerates the line of progress and development.

As the U.N. seminar discussion points out, there are numerous reasons, in addition to political ones, for decentralization. The study team's research would also suggest decentralization as a counterbalance to urbanization. While decentralization may not cap urbanization it can slow the pace of those who leave rural areas to improve the quality of their lives.

The point has been made in other sections of this Report that urbanization drains resources and, as a result, diverts them to serve a smaller percentage of the population than was served before urbanization.

However, urbanization is encouraged in part by the failure to decentralize services and strengthen the infrastructure in provincial areas. In speaking about the contrast between urban and rural conditions in Africa, Adebayo Adedeji, says:¹⁵

But conditions are even tolerable in the cities when compared with the situation in the rural areas where the majority of our people work, live and have their being. Not only are electricity and potable water not available, education and health services are inadequate; the environment is hostile to human dignity; and the support services for productive activities are deficient. Pathological urbanization goes on unchecked associated with the exodus of the young to the town, leaving behind an ageing population of farmers.

By the year 2000, 37.7 percent of African population (or 306.5 million compared with 100 million in 1975) is projected to be urban compared with 49.6 percent for the world as a whole and 69 percent for the developed countries.

The potential explosion in total population, school age population, labour force, urbanization and the demand for relevant social services has serious implications for food, clothing, education, housing, health services, job opportunities, urban congestion and social and political stability at large.

Adedeji's is not the only voice raised in concern about the impact of urbanization. Mr. Joseph Ruganyamheto, Director of Manpower Training in the Ministry of Manpower Development, talked to the study team about Tanzania's approach to the problem. A summary of his remarks follows.

In recognition of the problem of urbanization, the Government of Tanzania decided to apply the concept of growth centers. Satellite centers, like Arusha, one of four growth centers, supplemented by some rural development projects*, help take some of the pressure off Dar es Salaam. Although the problem of the migration of residents from rural areas to the capital is worrying, it is not as great as in some other African countries.

*Such as the Training for Rural Development Project in Arusha.

Decentralization as a counterbalance to urbanization, like other management objectives, has to be braced by resources. Dr. Mukhtar Alasam, of the University of Khartoum, has described the major decentralization thrust in the Sudan.¹⁶

Initially, the central ministries were dissolved and the attendant powers transferred to local authorities. This process did raise the level of interest of residents toward local government. Although functions were transferred, sufficient financial resources to carry out governmental functions were not made available. So decentralization remains incomplete because, to be effective, local authority must have access to revenues.

Decentralization is a development administration issue which has an impact at every level of management with which Africans concern themselves. As we have seen, to the extent that centralized government is less conducive to constituent participation, and to the extent that decentralization strengthens the social and economic fabric of a country, decentralization is a national issue. In addition, the division of functions, authority and revenue between various levels of government draws individual ministries and other governmental units into its circle of influence. Finally, the implementation of services, delivery schemes and projects at a local level may be more or less successful depending on decentralization. Professor R. G. Ram Reddy of India, speaking at the U.N. Conference, pointed out the relationship of centralized government to local development.¹⁷ He said that within a centralized government, planning tends to dominate and often leads to "what is called planning without implementation. The tendency has been to draw broad sectoral plans that are little more than shopping lists and bear little relation to local resource endowments. This, in turn, leads to implementation without planning, that is, local programs that are at times in conflict with national objectives."

Institutional Development

Management of the organizations and processes which actuate the development of national and local institutions are considered in this section of the report. Two such processes are maintaining African cultural integrity and human resource development. Following a general discussion of institutional development, there is an examination of these topics.

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia is not only the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity, but is also the site of organizations such as the African Association for Public Administration (AAPAM) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Found on the staffs of these international organizations are some of the more experienced and astute African officials in the field of institutional development. The discussions which the study team held with a number of these officials authenticated various hypotheses and a number of statements made in a recent AID draft policy paper on institutional development.

In the section entitled "Knowledge and Technology" the case is made for institutions which disseminate knowledge and technology to be adapted to their environment. The authors say:¹⁸

AID has had considerable experience in building these types of institutions. The lessons learned in the past, however, indicate that it is not possible simply to 'transfer' institutional models to developing countries. They must be adapted to their environment. First, they must have staff and facilities to produce quality science. The best management systems and most responsive institutional structures fail when they have nothing to deliver to their populations. But we have also learned that the national knowledge and technology producing institutions must be viewed as part of a system of institutions which link the technology to the technology user. Without effective management which encourages

interaction with the user, the national institutions will remain isolated and ineffective. Where this requirement has been ignored it has been common to hear that LDC researchers are more responsive to the research agendas of the developed world and the disciplinary interests of international associations than to the problems of their own farmers. We must learn from the successes of the past to structure institutions and incentives to combine technical excellence with accountability to the user.

Mr. Paul O. Etiang, a Ugandan who is Assistant Secretary General in the Organization of African Unity, was even more graphic in his observations of what can happen when LDC institutions are more responsive "to the agendas of the developed world than to their own farmers." His remarks are presented in summary.

Management problems in Africa are urgent and vast. As a matter of fact, Africa's deterioration can be attributed to a lack of management. If you ask why, I would have to suggest that although there are a lot of educated people in Africa, many, especially those my age, were not exposed to applied education. We are now awakening to the elitist education we've had. We learned about Shakespeare and Greek philosophy but are irrelevant in our own villages.

We can use the 1960s as a point of departure for our discussion because about 16 African countries became independent in the 60s. The period of adjustment following independence was very long. The U.S. sent advisors to help the newly independent nations and it was our first introduction to applied education.

Related to the issue of responsiveness is the question of institutional relevance, which also attracts attention among African managers. There is concern that some African institutions have lost touch with the direction of development and that they are not responding to the development needs of their countries. Some illustrate this point with the complaint that foreign case studies, particularly American, are used in African management

institutes rather than those addressing indigenous problems. Another complaint is that management institutes could, through consultation, provide more management assistance. This would accomplish two objectives; it would keep the teaching staff in touch with the realities of day-to-day management and make scarce management expertise available. However African institutes order their priorities, it is clear that management study requires pertinence and less abstraction.

An example of educational relevance being brought into question is in the number of African undergraduates studying abroad. This practice concerns a number of African leaders, including Dr. Haroub Otham, Director of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam. In a discussion about institution building he said that what Tanzania needs is to strengthen its existing institutions, not build new ones. We need help to maintain what we have. In keeping with this purpose of support for indigenous institutions, it is most important that Tanzanians be trained locally as undergraduates. Only afterwards does it make sense to send them abroad. We also need short term training done here, in the actual environment in which the student will be working.

The realm of institutional development extends beyond case studies and even beyond support for existing institutions. A cadre of social scientists have expressed concern about institutional accountability. David Korten says that

Institutions are not neutral, they very much determine the direction of development and development models. . .It

is my feeling that useful social knowledge is not easily transferred through pieces of paper. It is imbedded in institutions.¹⁹

To the extent that social knowledge is imbedded in a society's institutions, then AID efforts to assist the institutionalization of projects carry with them extensive implications. One AID mission official in Africa expressed what became a recurring theme.

Institution building is the most important thing we can do, but we've had little success. There are problems with institutionalizing the process when funds are cut, when we drop out, when supplies are unavailable--we have little success with institution building.

Institutional development is pursued both through various projects and types of assistance and as a process or a combination of processes in which AID provides support to social structures considered to be developmental. A self-sustaining structure, organization, or process which contributes to development is the goal of most AID assistance.

The study team's interviews with AID personnel and with African officials revealed concern about projects not being sustained when AID support is withdrawn. There is acknowledgment that some benefits may accrue to the target population or perhaps to the larger community or agency, even if the project does not become self-sustaining, but also a sense that the larger purpose of development assistance is not well served unless the project is institutionalized.

Based on experiences during the course of the project, the study team takes issue with the position that all AID-assisted projects should be

institutionalized. In fact, the study team poses the question, are the social selection processes by which a range of activities are alternately organized and disbanded not legitimate stages in institutional development? Are there no endeavors which, although transitory, contribute to sustained improvement in the quality of life?

Since the evolution of social forms which become development institutions is incremental, the transition from idea to self-sustaining process is not necessarily a series of continuous or even parallel actions. One example can be found in the institutionalization of African self-determination, a process which is still incomplete but which has claimed the majority of African resources for nearly half a century. The movement from the first politically rebellious stirrings to independence and sovereign nationhood can be represented as a series of "fits and starts" which at times seemed to be abandoned and unable to be sustained.

The major sustained institutions extant in Africa today - kinship systems, market systems and land tenure systems - are systems born of African soil. In the modern context, what is new to Africa is independence and emerging national unity. The AID-assisted projects which have taken root, like the J.F.K. Hospital in Monrovia, Liberia and the University of Dar es Salaam, are institutions not entirely unlike those found in various African countries during the colonial era. Other AID-assisted health, agricultural, and management projects which, after various periods of intense activity, have not been sustained, have contributed to an environment in which new African institutions can emerge and take root. In addition, all of these projects, sustained or not, have added to the cadre of Africans with essential knowledge and skills.

Two additional management issues which can weaken or strengthen this overall capacity building strategy are discussed in the following pages. They are maintaining African cultural integrity and human resource development.

Maintaining Cultural Integrity

How do African nations which accept development assistance retain the values, customs and institutions which not only are traditional but are also appropriate to the African physical and social environment? In this section of the Report, development administration issues related to the maintenance of African cultural integrity are discussed.

In part, as insurance against a catastrophic future, physical scientists support the preservation of as many life forms as possible. Although discarded social structures do not bear the same relationship to future human adaptation as extinct life forms do to physical survival, perhaps it would be useful for social scientists to expand their tolerance for ambiguity in social organization. Modern life's increasing complexity would seem to suggest support for a range of culturally different solutions to common human problems. If management solutions are to be effective, then they must be compatible with traditionally held values. Yet, many examples of management processes seem in opposition to the indigenous pace of change.

The study team was impressed by the concern of African managers about the relationship between some management problems and traditional values and customs. One example of such an African value is membership in an extended family and the concomitant obligations of members toward each other. The

structure of African families may be extended to include several generations, a clan or other members of a tribe. An extension of the protections of family life, carried over to a job, can be a cause for concern when the result is nepotism or favoritism in a management environment which is predicated on individual qualifications and accomplishment. The following comments, made by African development specialists about the extended family and related management problems, illustrate the point.

- A general restructuring requires getting at overstaffing and motivation. We must break the current attitudinal approach. Overstaffing is a major problem, but we are afraid to increase unemployment. The extended family system is a factor. We can't fire people and so there is no discipline and no motivation.
- Extended family relationships result in overstaffing at junior levels in order to create more jobs. This is compounded by the policy of not permitting a reduction in staff. There is also a problem which is related to the fact that the students expect the Government to give them a job.
- When a member of an extended family becomes charged with the management of a cooperative or collective, many members of his family expect to share in his new status and expect him to provide them with food and money.
- Overstaffing of Government tends to result from the extended family. Government also tends to hire the averagely skilled. It is ethnically difficult to take jobs away from those who are marginally or less than marginally productive.

- Look at the extended family structure in the village and keep that in mind when you try to understand how a ministry works. A lot of things that look good on paper are unworkable in this framework.

These concerns give rise to a set of issues. Can cultural differences be used creatively so that management structures and processes take advantage of them or, at the very least, accommodate them? Is there a way to put to use whatever spirit of competition and/or cooperation exists between and within families, clans and tribes? Can, for example, the Cameroonian Civil Service accommodate parallel systems of recruitment based on kinship as well as professional qualifications? Cameroon, after all, tolerates some political dualism in dealing with the Lamibe, spiritual and temporal Fulani leaders who have a personal representative on the staff of the prefecture of their areas.

Another Western management process which may be incompatible with African customs is the delegation of authority to accompany the delegation of responsibility. The absence of delegation is apparent in African national political operations and in organizational level operations. An American professor, working at an African university, discussed the amount of time which has to be allocated to recurring administrative tasks, such as ordering supplies, because only one or two people within the university have the power of signature. He commented that his personal secretary in the U.S. had more authority than the African head of a university department.

What are the management implications related to a concentration of authority? Is the process by which authority is delegated the proper focus

of participant training activities, or can sound management accommodate centralized authority?

The point should be made that all management problems do not result from management processes developed in one culture being transferred to another. However, there is sufficient evidence in the form of American and African variations on similar social themes to suggest that some spontaneous mutations may be required before a transfer of appropriate management technology can take place.

African social creativity is apparent, among other actions, in structuring economic policies which respond to the African sense of propriety. For example, President Nyerere's plan for agricultural development in post-colonial Tanzania--the use of Ujamaa villages as the mainstay. He emphasizes these villages as being appropriate to Africa's rural character and traditions. Of course the Ujamaa villages have many detractors who point to problems as well as successes. One such problem is Tanzania's agricultural disarray in which production has been on a downward spiral since 1966. The author's remarks about Ujamaa villages do not relate to their success or failure, but only to the fact that they are an example of African social creativity applied to an indigenous management problem.

Distinguishing between management concerns caused by a lack of skill and those related to a different type of problem, such as a resistant cultural or physical environment, is made easier by process consultation. One of the strengths of process consultation as a management intervention is that it is diagnostic as well as remedial. Ghana's Economic and Rural Development Management Project (ERDM) shows the value of process consult-

ation as a problem-solving technique, which involves consensus building, a process common throughout Africa.

This discussion of the importance of fitting management processes to the environment indicates the level of concern felt by the study team and by African leaders with whom the team met.

Human Resource Development

Expanding human capacity goes hand in hand with expanding institutional capacity. Allocating national resources and providing incentives for the development of priority skills is a macro-level management task. African officials in manpower development ministries discussed the difficulty of performing national manpower assessments and of making data available in a useful and timely way. Most pointed to staff and financial difficulties. Mr. J. M. Nyakirangani, Director of Training Manpower Allocation in Tanzania, discussed his strategies for determining civil service training needs with the study team.

Mr. Nyakirangani explained that his office does not provide training, but they provide information for the national needs forecast and coordinate the resultant training programs. First, individual ministries are asked to project their training needs and to establish priorities. In the event that a particular ministry requires a category of training not currently available, his office provides information about available facilities so that additional courses can be established. The Manpower Allocation Office also identifies candidates for various international scholarships, including American. This scholarship coordination effort results in having a total picture of the number of scholarships available, the number in use, and shows

where the shortages are. The national manpower needs plan is a joint production of the planning and training units. Mr. Nyakirangani's discussion points up the range of his responsibilities and some of the components of a manpower support program in a developing country.

Developing human capacity in management is only one component in a human resource development effort, but it is an important one. The management issue around which the team found the most consensus is the shortage of trained managers. Not only the comments of development specialists, African and American, but also the emergence of management training institutes in most African countries attest to the substantial interest in this issue. The shortage of trained managers is likely to endure because the need is great throughout Africa and because the number of applicants for vacancies in training institutes is greater than the capacity of the institutes. In addition, the poaching of trained managers is fairly common. However, African manpower specialists often point out that trained managers who, for example, are poached by the private sector, are not really lost to the development process, but have just changed jobs. Another factor which complicates the effort to provide needed management training to African managers is that, in general, African managers are too busy to attend management seminars, especially if they last more than a few hours.

The study team was impressed with African discussions about the lack of depth in the African management environment along with the pervasiveness of management system problems in both public organizations and small family businesses. African countries and donor countries have tried to address these problems through the investment of substantial resources in management training programs and strategies. This effort does not seem to be rewarding

management systems as quickly as investors had hoped. Although there is general agreement that management training efforts should continue, there are questions about the utility of generic management training.

Making modern tools and processes, which they can use to manage their own development, available to Africans does not seem as simple today as it did in the 60s. First of all, the ability of Africans to survive in their own environment and to develop solutions which improve the quality of life were seriously discounted by early AID-assisted efforts. There were also misconceptions about what training can and cannot do. Cora Lee Bryant, development specialist, addresses this issue in an interview. Her statements are summarized.

Vertical training is necessary, but a lot of the problems are organization problems. We make the assumption that if you have a lot of well trained people, they will, like yeast, make the whole thing rise. There are training problems and organizational problems, and even if we peopled the campus with deeply committed, perfectly trained people, we still would have organizational problems. Hence, training programs which train people and then put them back into the same organization don't solve all problems. Organizations are groups of people, yes, but there are lots of ways to group people, and part of the difficulty is strictly what the environment does to the people.

It is understood now that training can not solve all organizational problems, that training addresses the problem of a lack of skills. However, the question of which components of management technology are appropriate to the African management environment is complex. In another section of this report, the ERDM project's use of process consultation as a management intervention which is selective and which responds to a variety of specific problems, is explored. An AID official, Norman Nicholson, talked with the study team about development administration and process consultation. He suggested that African administrative leadership should be entrepreneurial

in that managers within a developing country have to cope with and balance a myriad of complexities, including political instability, an adverse environment and shifting variables. In addition, AID asks them to deal with attendant administrative problems within the confines of a project mode, something administrative structures were never designed to do. AID can assist, among other ways, by creating a project environment which is flexible and adaptive and by stressing process consultation. In this way, there is concentration on the processes which are within the ability of managers to handle. Thus, we are also improving management processes and responding to the issue of "how to deal with the people we've got." Nicholson also said that there are two components to human capital development, education and skills, and investments in organizational technology, that is, collective action technology.

It is part of the human tradition to pass on problem-solving techniques and skills. It is also part of the human tradition to adapt skills to changing conditions. Despite this long tradition of passing on skills, there ensue discussions about how to measure the impact of training. Some African managers seek answers to this question so that they can justify the allocation of scarce resources to education and training. Others feel that this issue of measuring the impact of training doesn't need to be researched because the benefits are obvious.

Samuel Ima Edokpayi, Chief of the Public Administration Management and Manpower Division, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, talked with the study team about the continuing need for training. He said that the task of managing public development is fairly new. Some African managers who have examined the management needs of public service find that

many civil servants do not understand what the government is asking of them. This is not a skills shortage, but an organizational problem, and training is not the complete answer. However, the most critical need in Africa today is for technical and managerial training at the middle and upper levels. There is a shortage of training institutions in Africa, as well as a shortage of teachers. He concluded by pointing out that donor support for African regional training institutes is important, and that such support should promote a self-reliant attitude as well as a team effort.

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IV. LESSONS LEARNED

The main purpose of this development administration project was to make an assessment of the ability of various African countries to manage their own development. The study team therefore sought to record as many impressions of the state of African development management as possible, and to expose the current issues which have been presented in the preceding section. The task of this section is to draw some lessons or conclusions based on these issues. Before the conclusions are presented, the authors wish to make one aside which may establish the parameters of this task. Julian Jaynes, speaking of what humans understand of the workings of the universe, describes the state of human perception in the past and contrasts it with the present. In this way he makes the point that human consciousness is in a state of continuing evolution.

This is a perspective that the study team feels is important to hold, that is, the judgments managers make about African development management are those which their collective perceptions prepare them to make. To the extent that perceptions are faulty, accurate conclusions will be elusive and the long view of national development cannot take shape.

The following are the main development administration lesson learned.

- African economic development has been the target of a substantial contribution by the international donor community. This foreign assistance which has resulted in sectoral, training and commodity programs also has influenced the governments and people of African countries. As a result of the assistance, donors and recipients are

engaged in a movement away from traditional African methods and towards foreign ideas, technology and customs, all of which seems to have precipitated a loss of African self-sufficiency and order. A collaboration of well intentioned African and donor efforts moved Africa to this disappointing juncture, from which withdrawal is impossible. Additionally, fashioning a path which moves in the same direction or one which changes course will require continued collaborative efforts on the part of donors and recipients.

- African governments are managing their own development amidst world inflation and general African economic hardship. Neither African officials nor American AID officials know how well or how poorly development is being administered in Africa because there is no point of reference. What is known is that a cadre of capable African and international managers have tried various types of assistance and interventions without a perceptible improvement of African economic conditions.
- Management, along with other African institutions, is an extension and an expression of the political system. From staffing government positions to producing five year national plans, politics is a dominant variable. Among other things, this helps explain why it has been difficult to promote decentralization.
- African development institutions, to be sustained, must emerge from the African socio-economic environment. Without an African socio-economic base, institutions remain outside of the indigenous system of social organization and are impermanent.

- Despite the pressures brought to bear in the donor/recipient relationship and despite African rhetoric to the contrary, most African governments in the study do not seem to be making rural development a first priority. One country which appears to be an exception is Tanzania where, despite political and resource advocacy backing up rural development, results have been disappointing.
- Efficient management requires a comprehensive picture of operations, including financial processes. Although some undertakings such as running a government are too massive for one person to design the financial system and collect information, ultimately whatever decisions are made have to relate to the financial data. For simpler undertakings, financial accountability may be all that is required. However, financial management whether of a government or a single project is vital to all management.
- Some management problems occur when, despite a lack of management inclination, aptitude, or training, a skilled specialist, such as a doctor, agronomist or engineer, is promoted to the executive level of an organization.
- The availability of information about African projects and programs, as well as skill in the use of the information, will become an increasingly fertile area for training and institutional development as the nation-building process requires less attention. However, the ultimate availability of information will come only from the capabilities of host governments themselves.

- Africans attach importance to the development of human resources. This is evident from the number of educational institutions, including some 55 universities, and from the allocation of national resources to education, sometimes as much as a third of a national budget. Africa's regional training centers encourage international cooperation and make available educational opportunities often too costly for any one nation to provide.
- Private sector activities, both indigenous and international, can make a contribution to African development. Not only do private sector organizations provide employment, goods and services, but they also contribute to human resource development and particularly to technology transfer.
- During the last two decades, most African resources have been committed to nation building through political self-determination. This process, which is still not complete, continues to claim a substantial proportion of indigenous attention and resources.
- Despite internal political pressure to decentralize and despite growing urbanization, little meaningful decentralization is taking place in the African countries included in this study. The scarcity of human and financial resources makes it difficult for African countries to decentralize. Exceptions to the general pattern of centralized services and authority are found in the Sudan and in Tanzania.

- Mobile, action-oriented training, such as that provided by ERDM in Ghana, would seem to offer the greatest potential for short term, in-country training in support of decentralization.
- In addition to nation building, another African success lies in the development of human resources. African commitment to education has resulted in 63 percent of primary aged children being enrolled in school. This is up from 36 percent in 1960.
- The assumption by parastatals of most pre-independence expatriate, private sector activity and a subsequent expansion of parastatal activity has aggravated the already serious problem caused by a scarcity of trained managers, especially at the broad middle level. As African managers are wont to say, "parastatal development presupposes management skills."

V. APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IMPROVEMENT

Various approaches are currently used by AID to improve development administration in host countries. The three most common approaches are to include a management component within a sectoral project, to establish a management improvement project within a sectoral strategy, or to support management training institutions. While this section of the report acknowledges the importance of continuing the use of these approaches to meet specific needs, its major goal is to suggest another that builds upon the experiences of the more conventional ones. This approach involves a more consultative working relationship with the host government and requires that it assume more responsibility.

The objective of the proposed approach is to facilitate the increase of effective management skills and techniques within host country institutions through a special project--a development management project which supports indigenous management resources. Such a project can be added to the portfolio of conventional AID projects at selected USAID missions, possibly those with a substantial number of ongoing projects and hence an established working relationship with the host government and its development institutions.

The feature which most distinguishes this approach is the concept of assigning to the project an AID core staff of development administration specialists--trainers and consultants--who would provide management assistance directly to ministries, parastatal agencies, and other relevant host country institutions, rather than working exclusively within the

structure of individual USAID projects. The management staff could provide technical assistance and consultation services to encourage the development of effective management structures and systems by using process interventions including training.

While the services offered by the management staff could cover a wide range of activities and offer flexibility in the manner in which they are delivered, it is anticipated that the staff might generally proceed in the following manner. After consultation with host country officials, the AID core staff could identify the ministries and other host country institutions most willing to commit resources to management improvement. It could then assist officials in those institutions to identify management improvement needs, set priorities and goals, and plan and implement activities and projects that address expressed needs. The AID core staff could function in a facilitative, consultative, supportive role along with host government officials from the agency in question, and representatives of indigenous training institutions and/or consulting firms to form a collaborative management improvement team. The involvement of these indigenous institutions and firms is particularly important in order to build a self-sustaining base for further management improvement efforts. The management team could also assist the officials to test decision-making assumptions, formulate alternative solutions, and establish performance result-oriented training. An additional area of responsibility for the management team could be the identification of categories of needed research and skills training for research support.

The host government members of the management improvement team could assist the AID core staff to adapt management technologies to the organizational context. The officials could also be responsible for applying the test of appropriateness to management theories, techniques, and tools.

Recognizing the importance of host government commitment to the project, the AID core staff could encourage them to take responsibility for involving managers of other government organizations in the management improvement activities. A concerted effort should be made to build a substantial group--a critical mass--of managers in the institution who have shared management improvement experiences and who would actively work to support and reinforce one another in improving management capacity.

The AID core staff might work simultaneously with host government managers in a number of institutions, and/or vertically and horizontally in the same institution. Not only would the type and duration of management improvement activities vary among institutions, but the degree of involvement of the AID core staff would differ. It is conceivable that in some institutions they would serve only in an advisory or consultative manner, while in others they might design and deliver training or train trainers.

A number of suggestions are made regarding the operation of this project which can both magnify its impact and also serve the important purpose of enlisting and maintaining top level support for it within the government. In its initial approach to the government about such a project, the mission should focus on the problem areas that are known to be the government's priority concerns.

The project staff should find a way to produce some tangible results, however modest, as soon as possible--a result that can be seen by, and stimulate the interest of, senior government officials. With this objective, the project staff might prepare a preliminary activity which can be implemented immediately to demonstrate that its approach has merit. Nor should this need, for at least some tangible results, be lost as the project matures. The results of management training and organizational development interventions are usually hard to measure over the short term, but some successes can be obtained.

It is useful to provide the management development interventions on a horizontal as well as a vertical basis in the government. If a training workshop is being held which will involve participation by employees and supervisors from levels up and down the chain of command of a particular ministry, it is also desirable to involve representatives from other ministries and institutions which have a collaborative interest in the work of the first ministry. This should have a synergistic effect on the collaborating agencies, and at the same time a collateral effect of widening the constituency within the government for the project's mission.

The USAID missions should be careful to design into the project a mechanism for insuring adequate communication between project leaders and appropriate levels of the central government, (with commitment from the highest possible level). One problem that surfaced in the ERDM Project,

for example, was that the undeniable success of the project in the countryside was not fully appreciated in the capital. A system of quarterly reporting to responsible senior authorities as a requirement of the project design should help solve this problem. Similarly, steps should be taken to insure full awareness of the project's purposes and activities in both the USAID mission and the Embassy.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the use of this approach does not eliminate the need for longer-term, formal education, which still has an important role in the improvement of development management. Participant training, such as attendance at certificated programs at regional institutions such as ESAMI and PAID and at in-country institutions and universities, would remain a critical activity.

Alternative Approaches

Numerous alternatives to this approach are possible, and indeed already exist in various African countries. One which has been suggested to the study team is the use of a management improvement core staff working through the established USAID projects in a country, rather than through host government projects and institutions. It was pointed out that in its own projects USAID has the necessary leverage to carry through desired management improvement interventions, and that the core staff would have a better opportunity to measure performance improvement than when working within host government organizations.

As mentioned, other variations--projects incorporating some of the elements of this development management approach--are being carried out in some African countries. For example, the ERDM Project in Ghana which is

described in detail in Volume II of this report. The Botswana Work Force and Skills Training Project also has some of the approach's features, including a core group to be based in the office of the Director of Personnel in the Botswana Government. Another example is the Development Manpower Training Project in Zaire which concentrates on training low and middle level foremen, technicians, and managers in support of rural development programs. The project will involve conducting seminars and using consulting firms for management interventions. It has a coordinating center under the Prime Minister's office, with a U.S. adviser helping to identify management issues and constraints. Tanzania's Training for Rural Development Project is also similar in concept.

One project outside Africa should be mentioned as particularly relevant: the National Planning Project in Jamaica. This project places emphasis on project design and facilitation of project development as well as other management improvement efforts. The project makes use of an action-training approach characterized by in-country, on-the-spot training of teams actually assigned to ongoing priority projects. This training is carried out by a four-person, inter-disciplinary training and consulting team, experienced and knowledgeable in the planning and management of projects. This Project Development Resource Team is located in the Ministry of Finance.

Reactions to the Approach in Africa

During the field study in Cameroon, Liberia, Tanzania, Botswana, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Zaire, and the Ivory Coast, discussions were

held with African development specialists and USAID staff members. This approach was described and reactions were solicited.

Among the approximately one hundred individuals interviewed, all but a few felt that the approach would be well received in many African countries. The majority thought that the AID core staff should be physically located in the host government agency or project with which they were working. There was greater unanimity on this point than any other. It was thought that there the staff would have greater entree with top level officials and more support for their activities.

However, the recommendations as to where within the host government the project should be located reflected the self-interests of the respondents. Frequently they indicated that it should be in their ministry, their management institute, or their university. Of the remaining points-of-view, the two most commonly recommended locations were in a ministry concerned with manpower development or at a management development institute; in the latter case this was seen as a way of strengthening such institutions. In reality, the locus of the core staff probably would vary from country to country depending on the structure and politics of the government.

It was agreed that it would not be effective for one team to operate on a regional basis serving a number of countries. In addition to the constraint of limited resources, the success of the approach will depend in the main on frequent contact with participants in specific host country

institutions. The AID core staff's availability to the host government officials on an as needed basis would be diminished if they had regional responsibilities.

The approach may not be suitable for some countries for political or other reasons. The point was made by several respondents, for example, that it would be optimistic to believe that an American project of this kind would be accepted in countries where French influence is strong and French administrative practices firmly entrenched, especially given the fact that it would be centered in the governmental structure. Similarly, there might be resistance from left-leaning governments to such an identification with the United States, even though the project itself is apolitical. For example, an official in one country stated that there would be "political problems" with integrating such a team into the day-to-day activities of his government. Another African official commented that he had always thought of management as politically "neutral" but he had discovered that in the real world this was not so.

UNITED STATES
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

VOLUME II

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICA

Contract No. AFR-0135-C-00-1101-00

Submitted by:

JEFFALYN JOHNSON AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
Two Skyline Place, Suite 1210
5203 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, Va. 22041

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I. MANAGEMENT TRAINING RESOURCES IN AFRICA

The growing recognition that inadequate management capacity may be the most serious constraint on African development; the strong trend in favor of in-country training over training abroad; the long-standing need to promote the development of self-sustaining African institutions--all these factors are coalescing to give greater weight to Africa's indigenous resources in education and training as well as in the supporting areas of consulting and research.

Although these indigenous resources still fall short of coping with the pressing management issues outlined in the preceding sections, they are growing steadily. There is now, for example, a national institute of public administration and management in almost every African country. An inventory of public administration training institutions in Francophone Africa, compiled in 1980 by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, lists 73 such organizations in 20 countries.¹ According to an informed estimate, this number would exceed 200 if Anglophonic Africa were included. Twenty three of these institutions, representing 18 countries, are members of the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration (see Appendix A).

Nowhere is the growth of these educational and training institutions more dramatic than in the universities, which of course account for a significant proportion of public administration training. The number of African universities in sub-Saharan Africa has increased from approximately twelve in 1960 to over 56 in 1980.² In some countries, such as Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Senegal, Kenya, Sudan, and Ivory Coast, university

systems have developed with branch campuses in other parts of the country. This growth is also reflected in the increasing number of college graduates: in 1960, Tanzania had only 200 persons with university degrees; by 1980 it had over 10,000.

Despite these remarkable gains, graduate level offerings in most fields, including business and public administration, are still quite modest. While some universities have developed strong faculties in certain fields, such as the economics faculties in Nairobi, Dakar, and Ibadan, many universities and institutions are still poorly staffed and have inadequate teaching materials. Consequently, most African countries send their graduate students abroad for advanced training. Moreover, although the university faculties in the Anglophonic countries have become largely Africanized, the faculties in the Francophonic countries are still heavily dependent on expatriate personnel. The recent study, which the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education prepared for AID on this subject, concluded that "clearly there is a need to improve and enlarge the capacity of African universities to give graduate training if they are to meet African needs."³

An immediate problem confronting anyone wishing to investigate African management training resources is the paucity of comprehensive reference material on the subject. For this reason the study team investigated these resources in the countries visited on its field trips. Although universities play an important part in such training, the team concentrated mainly on the regional and national management training institutes since less information is on hand about them and they are most directly germane to the purpose of this report.

Findings

While the study team examined a relatively few institutions, its sampling is fairly representative.

1. In general terms, it found a heavy emphasis on formal, classroom, lecture-type instruction, and a need for more experiential, action-type training; for up-to-date training material and relevant case studies; and for the development of a stronger indigenous consulting capacity.

2. Nevertheless, the study revealed encouraging and growing strength in the regional and national training centers, particularly at the regional level. The Pan African Institute for Development (PAID) is an outstanding example. Inaugurated in 1964 at European initiative, PAID has evolved steadily into an all-African organization with extensive outreach through two main training locations in Cameroon: Douala (1965) and Buea (1969); and more recent facilities in Upper Volta and Zambia: Ouagadougou (1977) and Kabwe (1979). It focuses on mid-level management in rural development. PAID has attracted a well qualified professional staff from many African countries, and offers considerable flexibility by giving instruction in both French and English and by offering long and short term courses at its training sites, and also tailored short courses in other African countries on request. It offers some experiential training, involving field work and written case studies, is planning to improve its research and consulting capacity, and is assessing the ways it can be supportive of the new policy climate.

3. If the national centers appear less impressive than the regional, they take on greater importance from the fact they are larger in number, and also respond to African national aspirations. Moreover, as the Lagos

Action Plan emphasizes, "training...should be seen as resting squarely at the national level." The quality of these national institutes varies widely, with institutes such as the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) and the Kenya Institute of Public Administration enjoying particular prestige because of their close involvement with the power structure elites. And many countries now have several such centers, varying according to their different fields of specialty. In Tanzania for example, the team found, in addition to two faculties at the Dar-Es-Salaam University offering courses in management and development, an Institute of Development Management, an Institute for Financial Management, a National Institute of Productivity, and a Tanzanian Industrial Research Organization (not to mention the regional management training center at the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute), all with overlapping and complementary roles in the management field.

4. Indeed, in some African countries the number of training institutions, responding to different specialized needs, has proliferated to the point where the coordination of training is a demanding management need. Tanzania is a case in point. In Zaire, a new national organization, CENACOF (National Center for the Coordination of Training), has been established, with USAID help, to address this need, especially in coordinating training in rural development. CENACOF's goal is to work smoothly with other Zairian training organizations, such as (CPA), in organizing development administration interventions to determine local needs for future training courses.

5. A summary description of, and commentary on, a number of these management training centers is provided in Appendix B. Some of these

End Notes

1. "Public Administration Training Institutions in Francophonic Africa: An Inventory," prepared by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, Washington, D.C. September, 1980.
2. See the report prepared by the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, "The African Manpower Development Project: An Evaluation," August, 1980. Table I-4-2 gives a listing of African universities.
3. Ibid., p. 20.

APPENDIX A

**AFRICAN SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTES WHICH ARE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTES OF ADMINISTRATION**

Botswana

Institute of Development Management
P.O. Box 1357
Gaborone, Botswana

Dir: Fred Schindeler

Ghana

School of Administration
University of Ghana
P.O. Box 78
Legon, Ghana

Act. Dir: B.C.F. Lokko

Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration
Greenhill
P.O. Box 50
Acimoto, Ghana

Dir: Rolland K. Djong

Ivory Coast

Ecole Nationale d'Administration
R.P.V. - 20
Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire

Dir: Abdramane Hamza

Kenya

Kenya Institute of Administration
P.O. 23030 Lower Kabete
Kenya

Prin: H.J. Nyama

Lesotho

Lesotho Institute of Public Administration
P.O. Box 1507
Maseru, Lesotho

Prin: E.T. Ramalefane

Liberia

Institute of Public Administration
Government of Liberia
Mail Bag 9045
Monrovia, Liberia

Dir: Gen: Austin M. Freeman

Mauritanie

Ecole Nationale d'Administration
R.P. 252
Nouakchott, Mauritanie

Dir: Cheikh Mohamed Salem
Ould Mohamed Lemine

Niger

Ecole Nationale d'Administration
Boite Postale 542
Niamey, Niger

Dir: Moustapha Dan-Bouza

Nigeria

Faculty of Administration
University of Ife
Ile - Ife, Nigeria

Dean: Oladipupo Adamolekun

Institute of Administration
Ahmadu Bello University
P.M.B. 1013
Zaria, Nigeria

Dir: Suleiman Kumo

Rwanda

Faculte des Sciences economiques, sociales et de gestion
Universite Nationale du Rwanda
B.P. 117, Butare, Rwanda

Dean: Gilles Coulombe

Sudan

Sudan Academy of Administrative Sciences
P.O. Box 2003
Khartoum, Democratic Republic of Sudan

Dir. Gen: Hassan Abbasher
El Tayeb

Swaziland

Staff Training Institute
P.O. Box 495
Mbabane, Swaziland

Prin: E.P. Tshabalala

Tanzania

Institute of Development Management
P.O. Box 1, Mzumbe
Morogoro, Tanzania

Prin: C.L.S. Omari

Tunisia

Ecole nationale d'Administration
24, rue du Dr. Calmette
Tunis, Tunisia

Dir. Gen: Mohammed Slim

Uganda

Institute of Public Administration
P.O. Box 20131
Lugogo
Kampala, Uganda

Prin: Muloni W. Wozzi

APPENDIX B

Summary Description of Selected African Regional and National Management Training Institutions

Regional Management Training Centers

1. Panafrican Institute for Development (PAID)

PAID was inaugurated, at European initiative, in 1964 and has evolved steadily into an all-African organization with extensive outreach through its two main training locations in Douala (1965) and Buea (1969), Cameroon, and through two smaller facilities in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta (1977) and Kabwe, Zambia (1979). PAID currently receives financial support from nine donors, including AID and the World Bank.

PAID programs focus on improving mid-level management in rural development through long and short-term training programs, seminars, field studies, and applied research. PAID program participants are usually secondary-level graduates with four years of experience and work as mid-level development agents or trainers. PAID programs are conducted in English and French.

The one and two year training programs, in Buea and Douala respectively, combine classroom instruction and field work. As part of the field work requirements, program participants prepare case studies based on their experiences with projects in the field.¹ Seminars are offered in project design, management, and evaluation for high level officials. PAID is gradually addressing the need in Africa for short term, on-the-job,

in-country training interventions through technical assistance and field support to national rural development institutions.

Despite PAID's achievements in providing rural development planning and management training, the organization faces several challenges, including building an African constituency to help it reach financial self-sufficiency; attracting and holding qualified African staff members; and adapting to the changing needs of its clients, particularly to the increased demand for in-country, short term training interventions. The organization is also assessing the implications of the new policy climate favoring a high priority for the private sector. According to some observers, PAID's research efforts can be improved and its consulting capacity still seems more of a promise than a reality. PAID is trying to meet these needs at the same time that it is trying to institutionalize its procedures, including gaining diplomatic status, and to maintain quality performance through expanded decentralized operations at its relatively small units. While it still faces important concerns, PAID has probably passed through its most difficult development phase and, with its continued high level of leadership, is well placed among African institutions to meet diverse management needs across the continent.

2. Eastern & Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI)

ESAMI aims at a higher level student than PAID--the senior and middle level manager with a university degree--and offers accommodations for 120 students on its impressive campus in Arusha. It has a twelve month post graduate course and diploma in management, with a curriculum strong in financial management. Still, ESAMI finds itself with less of a support base than originally planned.

Growing out of the East African Management Institute originally set up in 1974, ESAMI ostensibly became an organization serving 17 countries in 1980 instead of the original three founding countries, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. However, of the 17 countries participating in ESAMI, only six have signed the formal agreement by which ESAMI was established and by which it is supported. The foreign exchange shortage throughout the region has severely limited the ability of member nations to contribute to ESAMI's operating budget. Today, approximately 90 percent of the budget is derived from student fees which, according to ESAMI officials, do not cover costs.

ESAMI's main emphasis is on teaching, although ESAMI's threefold purpose is to provide management training to "senior management executives in government and industry," "to carry out consultancy work with client organizations in government, industry or business," and "to conduct research and surveys in organization." According to ESAMI officials, this emphasis is made necessary by professional staff shortages. The field study team also received some indication that ESAMI may be having trouble providing the type of specialized management training desired by large firms. It may have to reorder priorities to meet the growing need for consultative capacity and experiential training. In any event, ESAMI has survived the demise of the East African Community and, with the advent of the new Southern African Development Community (SADC), should be able to play an important role in meeting regional demands for management training and assistance.

3. African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM)

Now ten years old, AAPAM is primarily an African coordinating organization with a small headquarters staff in Addis Abbaba. Its membership is comprised of African institutes and related organizations involved in public administration and management activities, especially those in Anglophone Africa. It concentrates on top African managers, largely through an annual roundtable designed to provide senior administrators and managers with an opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences in public administration.

The President of AAPAM, Adebayo Adedeji, is also the chief executive officer of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The new Secretary General of AAPAM, Cornelius Dzakpasu, an MBA from Syracuse University, formerly held a senior position with the African Training and Research Center in Administration for Development (CAFRAD) in Morocco.

AAPAM sponsors research and publication of research findings on topics of special interest to African development; supports training workshops, seminars, and conferences organized by its national chapters; and publishes a quarterly newsletter which reports on member country activities in management training.

AAPAM's aims are limited, as are its staff and resources. It nevertheless serves a useful coordinating role in helping to develop a network of senior African managers and is a convenient point of entry for donors interested in keeping abreast of current African trends and themes in management.

4. Institute of Development Management for Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (IDM)

With manpower development continuing to be a major preoccupation in these three countries, IDM was established in 1974 to help meet the training and research needs of mid-career and senior managers. From the beginning it has received extensive technical assistance from Canada. It has a modest but attractive administration and training site with a good library on the university campus in Gaborone, and also has facilities in Mbabane and Maseru. Like many other training institutes in Africa, it features courses in finance, accounting, and personnel management and has branched out into health management and education administration. But unlike many other institutes, it is designed primarily for short-term courses and has developed, in response to government requests, a strong research and consulting capability, producing valuable insights into local development themes.

IDM has not yet made the transition to an all African institution, remaining heavily dependent on expatriate technical assistance and outside financial support. However, it has a number of Africans in training who will soon be returning to teaching assignments. It also has an innovative leadership asking serious questions about the best means of "teaching" management and insisting that case studies must be adapted to the African context.

Officials in the Botswana government speak highly of IDM's efforts and give strong support to it as well as to related institutions, such as the Botswana Institute of Administration and Commerce (BIAC) which focuses

more on developing technical level skills. IDM is developing strong roots in Botswana where it is headquartered, but its future in Lesotho and Swaziland is less certain. Its steady growth in Botswana stems in part from the stronger resource base of that country and the determination of its leadership to push economic development at all levels.

5. Institut Africain Pour Le Developpment et Social - Centre African de Formation (INADES)

INADES is not, strictly speaking, a regional training institute but has an African-wide reach, especially in Francophone Africa, in teaching agricultural principles through correspondence courses to peasant farmers in the villages. A non-profit organization started by Jesuits in 1962, it has evolved over 20 years into an institution with ten offices in ten countries, including Kenya and Ethiopia. From its headquarters in Abidjan it also covers a number of smaller African countries. It uses national teams to get basic training material--some of which is pitched at a rudimentary level, making extensive use, for example, of simple line drawings--out to the villages and to organize discussion groups there. Despite the difficulties in delivering material to rural areas, INADES reports that more than 4,500 people complete the basic course each year and that many more are exposed to the material. INADES' management ascribes its success to its "grass roots" approach in which it uses national organizations, seeks to involve highly dedicated people, and serves only the villages interested in receiving the course. To put more management training into its activities, INADES is currently working with a Protestant group, the Christian Organization Research Advisory Trust (CORATAFRCA), to dis-

tribute through its network a new 10-unit course entitled "Management for Development Workers" to rural development groups. AID provides assistance to INADES through REDSO/W. Judging from the positive comments volunteered to the field study team in a number of countries, INADES is gaining a good reputation, based in part on its innovative approach to rural development.

6. African Training and Research Center in Administration for Development (CAFRAD)

Although the team was unable to visit it, no discussion of regional management training centers in Africa should omit mention of CAFRAD which was set up in 1964 and became a regional organization in 1967 with eleven countries as charter members and headquarters in Morocco. It now has 33 member African countries. The reader seeking information about CAFRAD may wish to see the comprehensive evaluation prepared on it in March, 1980 by Richard Roberts, Jr. and Morris Solomon under an agreement between AID and the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration.

National Management Training Institutes

1. Ghana Institute for Management and Public Administration (GIMPA)

While the team did not visit Ghana, this Ghana institute enjoys an especially fine reputation among the African and donor-country managers interviewed for this study. GIMPA's success seems due to a strong faculty, composed of a mix of Ghanaian academics and senior government managers, and high prestige and visibility within the Ghanaian political hierarchy. One official noted that the top Ghanaian managers normally

pass through GIMPA's training at some point before moving into senior posts.

2. Ecoles des Chefs d'Entreprise de Cote d'Ivoire (ECECI)

Located on INADES' campus in Abidjan, ECECI specializes in evening seminars for managers in the private sector. The participants are in the 30 to 50 age bracket and include both men and women, Africans and expatriates (at a ratio of about 80 percent Ivorian to 20 percent expatriate). The basic course entails some 40 seminars, held about once a week over a nine-month period, and touches on all subjects dealing with management: strategy, marketing, production, commercial law, loans, and banking. Thirty minutes are devoted to lecture; the rest to discussion and case study. ECECI's Director is French, with an MBA from the University of Texas, and he is assisted by 20 part-time teachers, mainly Ivorian, but includes several European managers of enterprises in Abidjan. The Director emphasized to the team that ECECI helps to synthesize U.S., European, and African approaches to problem-solving.

3. Institut National Supérieur de L'Enseignement Technique (INSET), Ivory Coast

An interesting experiment in management training is under way in Abidjan with the establishment, about five years ago, of a new national training institute, INSET, which offers an 18-month course combining academic instruction with on-the-job training. The functional areas of training are marketing, financial management, and accounting. Following a period of course work at the institute, the students are sent out for three months of practical on-the-job training, after which they are brought back to the institute to resume academic work. Some of the well-

established companies in Abidjan are using the institute as a training ground for their junior executives who report satisfaction with their experience. The institute is small, with only 16 students graduating this year, and so far is purely Ivorian in character, with no third-country students.

4. Liberia Institute of Public Administration (LIPA)

LIPA was established in 1968 with assistance from AID. Students are received directly from government ministries, agencies, and parastatals for in-service training, usually from one to four weeks in duration. It conducted general training needs surveys in 1974 and 1978 and tried to determine specific training needs by interviewing requesters and potential participants about their specific objectives. Its certificated courses are seminar-based. The staff is small--currently numbering about ten professionals--and is beset by the usual problem of high turnover. Classes average about 25 students.

In addition to standard courses such as General Management, Program Management, and Training-the-Trainers (all aimed at middle level managers), LIPA offers an innovative Local Government Administration Seminar for local, county-level officials as well as government ministry officials exercising responsibility at the county level. It also offers Financial Management and Supplies and Materials Management.

LIPA's future has looked brighter in the light of the greater emphasis being given to management needs after the revolution. LIPA's director reports that the government is now sending him many more participants, and a renewed search is under way for increased donor assistance.

5. Somalia Institute of Development Administration and Management
(SIDAM)

The institute (originally called the Somalia Institute of Public Administration) was established in 1965, with assistance from the UNDP, to help train the Somali civil service, including senior district officials. Over the years the Institute has been buffeted by ideological changes, accompanying shifts in Somalia's political alignments, which has led to ambivalence in training approaches and to problems of staff development. In 1978, with the Soviet withdrawal, there was a sharp change in orientation and--again with UNDP help--the focus was placed on short courses and workshops, especially in financial management. In addition SIDAM began to offer a two-year program on accounting in public agencies, a one-year course to train local personnel in rural development, and a one-year post-graduate course for engineers in industrial management. It also offers consultancies. SIDAM's staff members are interested in becoming more familiar with American management techniques.

6. Swaziland Institute of Management and Public Administration
(SIMPA)

A recent case study prepared for AID pointed out "the need to create an institutional capacity in Southern African countries to identify personnel needs, set standards, and carry out training activities." SIMPA is well positioned to serve this need but has not yet found the way. For example, currently it has a small staff and limited course offerings, and its relationship to the regionally oriented Institute for Development Management is not well defined. This slow development is closely related to the larger question of administrative reform in the Department of

Establishments and Training. Professor Morgan notes in his 1980 report on "Personnel Improvement in the Kingdom of Swaziland" that helping to build SIMPA's capacity must be linked to staffing the appropriate personnel cadres in the Department itself, as well as in other ministries, and to the preparation of a general manpower development and training plan. The Department recently developed a comprehensive plan, which appears realistic for Swaziland's personnel needs, and it may offer the "road map" prescribed by Professor Morgan to permit SIMPA to begin playing a more meaningful role in management training.

7. Institute of Development Management, Tanzania (IDM)

Situated on a modest campus in the provincial town of Mzumbe, IDM was established in 1970 and now has 858 students enrolled in long-term courses (one to three years) and 60 students enrolled in short-term three month courses. Among the courses are accounting, general management, rural development, economic planning, public management, manpower management, business administration, law, and hospital administration. Advanced diplomas and certificates are awarded in all these fields except manpower management, which is a one year course for managers already working in administration. The Institute's graduates go mainly into the civil service and Tanzania's many parastatals. The method of instruction is based on case studies and the lecturers hold Ph.D and M.A. degrees. There is much similarity between the programs offered at IDM and at the Faculty of Commerce and Administration at the University of Dar-es-Salaam but IDM appears to be stronger in the area of rural development.

8. National Institute of Productivity, Tanzania (NIP)

NIP was organized in 1975 as a joint venture between the Tanzanian Government and the International Labor Organization (ILO). For a number of years NIP enjoyed a virtual monopoly position in the management training area in Tanzania until, in recent years, several competing institutes were started. Now a parastatal organization drawing its funds from government subsidies and fees from its services, NIP has four main functions: 1) management consulting; 2) training; 3) research; and 4) advisory services as a member of various task forces. The ILO continues to provide fellowships for short-term training. Nevertheless, the impression is left that NIP has lost a great deal of its preeminence to its newer competitors. For one thing it has no physical premises, working, as one senior official observed, on an ad hoc basis. NIP officials themselves note that they have an important problem with maintaining an adequate library of up-to-date textbooks, journals, and papers; a lack of funds for proper staff development; and a need to improve their research techniques. They are looking for cooperation with international organizations to help them in these areas. Still their short-term training courses are well received and they have a useful potential in the important areas of consultancy and research.

9. Centre de Perfectionnement d'Administration, Zaire (CPA)

CPA is the preeminent Zairian institution blending training, research, and consulting. It is loosely tied to the University of Zaire and has a bustling campus in Kinshasa. CPA's leadership stresses the importance of laying the groundwork with research before commencing training, which it does for the public, parastatal, rural, and private sectors. It

offers long and short-term courses aimed at the middle and upper levels of management and currently has twelve projects on its calendar, including a colloquium with the national training center (CENACOF) involving local cadres and central government officials in efforts to identify management and training needs at the local level. It welcomed recent U.S. assistance, provided through AID and NAASPA, to strengthen its capacity to identify training needs in the rural areas and to improve the design, implementation, and evaluation of its training programs; it also cooperates with CENACOF, the AID-funded Development Manpower Training Project for Zaire, in conducting a number of short-term training projects and seminars for it.

10. Centre de Perfectionnement aux Techniques de Developpement, Zaire (CEPETEDE)

CEPETEDE, located in Kinshasa, began operations in February, 1982 and is one of the newest and most promising management training centers in Africa. A non-profit institution, it is supported by the Bank of Zaire, the Zairian Government, and SOFIDE, Zaire's development bank, and receives technical assistance from the French Institute of Management in Paris. Its program is directed at the mid-level manager and participants are drawn from such clients as the Zaire banks, the Ministry of Plan, and the sugar industry. The basic curriculum extends seven months. The first module, lasting four months, is taken by all participants and covers general economics, general and fiscal accounting, financial analysis and diagnosis of business problems. A second module lasts three months for which the student may select one of three areas: management of large enterprises; project analysis and evaluation; or bank and financial management.

According to the Director, CEPETEDE is founded on the principle that the latest management techniques can best be transmitted through in-country training, closely tied to Zairian clients' specific needs. Still trying to develop its Zairian staff and generate support from Zaire's private sector, CEPETEDE is interested in U.S. and other donor support in helping train its cadre of trainers.

11. Zairian Institute of Management (IZAM)

Both the Secretary General of Agriculture and the Minister of Plan singled IZAM out in discussions with the team, the latter referring to it as the Government's key institute and indicating that it would welcome U.S. aid. However, in discussions with individuals from other institutions, they assess it as having done only a little consulting and no training, sending its students to be trained at CPA.

End Notes

1. Professor Mark A. Delancey of the University of South Carolina is scheduled to review a number of PAID's student case studies. Student themes touch on health, cooperatives, small business, and credit unions, he reported in an interview on 5/6/82. PAID will sponsor with the University of Pittsburgh a conference in October, 1982 on possible private sector initiatives.
2. Personnel Improvement in the Kingdom of Swaziland, written by E. Philip Morgan, May, 1980 and published by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration in cooperation with the U.S. Agency for International Development. See especially page 28.

II. INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Introduction

Earlier, the point was made that development administration capability consists of (at least) three principal ingredients: (1) trained and capable personnel; (2) suitable organizations; and (3) adequate information. Much of the first two points has already been covered and attention will now be focused on the third element, information.

African Perspectives

During the field study, the topic of information needs, generally, was discussed with a broad variety of host country personnel in several countries. Such topics as: What kinds of information-dependent decisions are currently being made in an informational void? How are information needs communicated to organizational units responsible for providing information? How can future information needs be anticipated so that adequate resources are devoted toward their timely availability? These questions, unfortunately, were never directly answered, and the limited time spent in-country did not permit extensive pursuit of specific answers. Such questions did serve as a springboard for discussions of the broader subject of information use in development administration. Before embarking on the principal subject here, it might be useful to summarize the researchers' views of two key points of the African perspective on the subject.

Ownership of the Process

Probably the most striking observation is the nearly universal concern on the part of the African officials interviewed with establishing and

maintaining control over the process by which information is developed. Much too often, the researchers were told, expatriate teams have put together excellent and informative reports on country conditions, but host country officials were excluded from the process by which the reports were developed. More painfully, host country officials were not provided with copies of the supporting documentation. It seems to have mattered little whether the expatriates were researchers pursuing their own Ph.D. dissertation needs, donors seeking project documentation, or contract teams intent on producing a report. There is an amount of frustration with this pattern of expatriate behavior that should not be overlooked or exacerbated in any future efforts in this vital area.

Information and the Decision-Making Process

Discussions of information needs would be incomplete without mention of the manner in which information is put to use. In the field study discussions the methods of analysis, by which information of various kinds supports a decision-making process, were identified as a training need that is more pressing than the need for increased availability of information. For example, should an education officer review the appropriateness of the ministry budget with respect to pupil/teacher ratios, projected increases in pupil population, system costs of dropouts/repeaters, facility rehabilitation requirements, and so forth. And, how can the consequences of various budget decisions be assessed and presented so as to minimize the political confrontations concerning the basis for the decision. In effect, two points are being made. First, training in the use of information in the decision-making process is as important--perhaps more important--than the well noted gaps in the availability of information. Second, there is at least a growing awareness that an informed

and quantitative approach to decision-making is a practical means of overcoming the predominance of exclusively political decisions.

The first point, that training in use of data and information in the decision-making process is a substantial current need, can be elaborated to advantage. Producing good information, whether it be a population census, health care monitoring systems, national income accounts, technical information or a documentation system, requires substantial commitment of resources on the part of the host country government in terms of staff. In fact, the staff required for this kind of work are necessarily those with some technical skills and are often, therefore, in substantial demand for a variety of posts. For a host country to be willing to make a commitment of scarce staff to produce better information for decision making, the government would need to be concerned, first of all, that the decisions be made on an objective basis and, second, that the decision-makers have the capability to use the information effectively. In this vein, enhancing the capabilities of host countries to both produce and use information would seem to be a realistic and readily accepted approach.

Current Status of Information Availability and Use

In broad terms--the study's scope of work did not permit detailed assessments--the availability of financial, economic and demographic information is irregular. There are, in all countries visited, programs to produce and disseminate information on a variety of topics. These programs are frequently weak, as evidenced by long delays in publication or even internal release, questionable accuracy, and information gaps. The key observation to be made here is that, in the absence of systematic use

of the information, priority is not placed on upgrading various data producing capabilities to meet potential needs. In the absence of a priority for improvement, existing systems continue to operate in a marginal fashion or to deteriorate. This is not intended as a characterization of all such programs as there are counter examples. What is intended is the observation that a significant improvement in the availability of information needs to begin with improvements in the ability of host country planners and managers to use information in decision making. Use of information in this fashion would provide an impetus for sustaining and improving the information base for national and sub-national planning, monitoring, and evaluating of development progress.

The Role of Information Systems in Development Administration

Development administration is broadly concerned with host country capabilities in planning, implementing and evaluating a whole program of development. It is reasonably well known that, at present, this process in many African states is dominated by political processes, which could well be characteristic of the first two decades of the nation-building process. As developing countries begin to move away from the initial phases of independence and development progress is made on some fronts, it becomes increasingly important for development plans and managers to take into account the complexity of African societies. This requires not only a broad range of information about the society, but also the ability to skillfully use this information in the national decision-making process. Information is, of course, a broad term and not all forms are equally relevant to the development administration concerns of this paper. Some of the specific areas of immediate concern are the following:

Financial and Budget Systems

Systems to monitor current financial status, plan expenditures and predict budgetary income are virtually indispensable management tools, despite their frequent absence. The relevant development administration concern here is the question of the most effective ways to develop capabilities in basic accounting, upon which more sophisticated financial analysis can be built as basic skills are mastered. (see Section III on financial management)

Performance Monitoring Systems for Operating Units

Whether the concern is with schools within an educational system, clinics within a health care system, or port facilities within a transportation authority, administrators need to have a basis for monitoring the performance of operating units and comparing the performance with realistic standards or goals. Performance monitoring systems are necessarily tailored to specific needs but generally are concerned with such key components as the following:

- What workloads are local operating units experiencing
- What resources are available to meet those needs
- What operating efficiencies are being experienced
- What operational problems or constraints are being encountered.

Basic Capabilities in Producing and Analyzing Economic and Demographic Data

While a basic population census has been conducted in most African countries, capabilities remain limited--and often non-existent--in monitoring several key economic and demographic factors. A notable example is the utter absence of reliable data on private sector enterprise in nearly all African countries. The key point to be observed here, with respect

to development administration needs, is the role of administrators in communicating data needs to statistical offices, serving in an advocacy role to support budget allocations of essential data, and guiding statistical offices with regard to overall data needs. At present, this process generally does not take place, with the result that such minimal programs as exist are not being focused on the information needs of administrators. The incremental approach to building capabilities in these areas, leading to a useful data base for planning and development monitoring, would be enhanced by support.

Program Recommendations for Development Administration

- A. As countries move from the post-independence phase of predominant focus on political realities, with improvements in informed decision making and information systems to support this process, they become an increasingly fertile area for training and institutional development.
- B. Support for both improvement in information systems and in their intelligent use should go hand in hand.
- C. The long-run availability of improved information about country projects and programs ultimately will come only from the capabilities of the host countries themselves. Therefore, donor support, if forthcoming, should take place with full respect and recognition of host country needs for, and interests in, information and its use, rather than donor or expatriate needs.

III. FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

The Inspector General's criticism of financial management in Sahelian institutions* has led to a consideration of financial management in other African countries and to an exploration of the relationship between financial management and development management. Development administration, the management of the development process, depends greatly on effective financial management. Like information systems, financial management systems are essential to decision-making and program implementation.

"Financial accounting and reporting in conjunction with budgeting, programming, auditing, and integral control constitute the elements of a financial management system. These elements are designed to operate in conformance with certain prescribed principles and standards. When properly designed and implemented, the system is able to provide integrated financial data, produced in a timely fashion, which can be used as an effective management tool in the decision making process."¹

In this paper, a discussion of elements of the financial management improvement program as well as financial management in African projects is presented.

The Financial Management Improvement Team, sent to the Sahel in 1981, addressed the universe of financial management functions. They

* "In 1980, Aid's Inspector General audited various aspects of development efforts in the Sahel. The findings on financial and accounting controls for local currency expenditures were considered serious enough by AFR/SWA to warrant remedial action. The more serious deficiencies cited were the lack of adequate financial controls, the possible misuse of millions of dollars in local currency and the inability on the part of the Sahelian institutions and projects to meet AID's financial reporting requirements." See Improving Financial Accountability and Financial Management in the Sahel; Kettering, Matthews, Murray, Naylor, and Shampain; May 1981.

divided the functions into three categories:² (1) basic accounting, i.e., the allocation and tracking of funds; (2) financial control, i.e., budget preparation, monitoring, and resource control; and (3) financial management which involves the "use of information produced by the accounting and control systems for organizational problem-solving and decision-making." Each of the three categories of financial management functions represents a different level of achievement, ranging from "basic accounting functions for AID funds to the most sophisticated accounting and control functions integrated and used for organizational management. Level one, basic accounting, brings accounting records and procedures for local currency up to AID minimum accountability standards. It also provides a minimum of financial data to support other management procedures." In the spring of 1982, the Financial Management Improvement Team conducted another field trip to the Sahel where one of the tasks was to identify whatever elements of a model (basic) accounting system are already in place for AID-assisted projects and to build on them until all essential components are operative. This is necessary because the Inspector General found evidence that most AID project accounting systems and practices are deficient.

It is clear from the literature generated by concern for Sahelian financial management* that financial management, like personnel and information management, supports a broad set of organizational activities, most significantly project implementation and evaluation. According to

* See the end notes at the end of this section and the bibliography at the end of the report.

Kettering,³ "Improving financial accountability and management is an organizational change process which must involve, not only accountants, but also administrators and project managers." The necessity for administrative involvement in financial management is exemplified by one of the problems uncovered during the Inspector General's review of AID financial activities in Upper Volta.⁴ Among the problems uncovered in the Integrated Rural Development Project was an increase in the operating staff of the Eastern ORD district, without an appropriate increase in Government of Upper Volta budgetary revenues. As a result of this lack of coordination, unauthorized monies were diverted from other sources.⁵

Financial management also supports the activities concomitant to the broader course of development management. However, the relationship between planning and establishing national development priorities and the economic state of a nation is so apparent and so well documented that the relationship is not questioned.

In contrast, the question having to do with management responsibility for financial processes and the need to acquire the attendant skills persists. During a recent briefing at AID/Washington by the Financial Management Improvement Team, it was evident that there is still disagreement about the need to have AID technical personnel acquire management skills and particularly financial management skills. To the extent that AID technical personnel act as project officers, their purported lack of management skills poses a problem.

Does the matter of financial management concern development specialists in other areas in Africa? The Auditor General's January 1981 report on the problems of host country accounting in the Sahel⁶ says in a

discussion of findings, conclusions, and recommendations, "These comments, though describing a general condition in the Third World, have particular relevancy to the Sahelian countries." Thus the problems of financial management uncovered in the Sahel have applicability to other geographic areas in Africa, according to AID and host country personnel. The development administration study team* asked AID mission personnel and African officials to comment about financial accountability and whether similar problems would be uncovered if the audit were performed in areas outside of the Sahel. Without exception, AID mission personnel spoke of the situation in the Sahel as being prevalent throughout Africa. In some cases, the weaknesses of audit branches or departments was described. African representatives usually described the problems of financial management in terms of skills shortages. For example, an indigenous Tanzanian consultant spoke of higher financial accountability standards in the private as contrasted with the public sector. He also pointed out that there are far fewer qualified accountants in government in Tanzania than needed. Other African managers spoke of only 10 percent of a total of several hundred parastatals being audit-ready in any one year.

Representatives of management training institutions point to the scarcity of instructors qualified to teach financial management. At ESAMI,* in Arusha, Tanzania, the development administration team found that courses in marketing management and financial management are the most popular and are over-subscribed. Africans there felt that the demand for

* This review was performed under contract with AID; see I Introduction.

* The Eastern and Southern African Management Training Institute in Arusha, Tanzania.

these courses is a reflection of occupational opportunity and of concern about the African economic crisis, inflation, and world market prices. The Institute for Financial Management in Dar es Salaam has solved the problem of staffing by supplementing its indigenous teaching staff with expatriates; about one-third are from other countries.

Besides the scarcity of trained financial managers in Africa, the attitudes of both AID and African managers towards AID's financial management processes and requirements seem to have contributed to Sahelian problems. For example, the Auditor General's report says, "it is our view that (financial) reporting was generally regarded as an AID requirement for obtaining additional funds; if those funds could be obtained without reports, so much the better." Referring to AID mission staff, the report goes on to say,⁷ "It seems to us that AID is taking the accounting capabilities of the Sahelian governments too much for granted, thereby dealing with the problems as they arise on an ad hoc basis. AID in our view should be assessing each entity's accounting system and practices during the project design stage to determine whether they are adequate."

In summary, the Sahelian financial management problems are considered to be prevalent throughout Africa. Financial management is a component of management which, in its simplest form, establishes an audit trail and compliance with AID regulations. Two serious continuing problems are: (1) the scarcity of African financial managers, and (2) the attitudes that financial reporting isn't necessary, and that financial management concerns only comptrollers and accountants.

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4. U.S.A.I.D. Review of Selected A.I.D. - Financed Activities in Upper Volta, Audit Report No.: 81-44, February 13, 1981.
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IV. HEALTH MANAGEMENT

The improvement of health management occupies an especially important place in the development process in Africa. African life expectancy--47 years at birth--is the lowest in the world. In 1977 there was only one physician for every 25,000 persons and one nurse for every 3,300, far below the desired ratio.¹ This paper reviews the principal management problems which need in some measure to be overcome if substantial progress is to be made toward a viable and effective delivery system in the health sector, and examines one approach to the solution of these problems which appears particularly promising.

The basic management problems in health administration in Africa are not unique to that field. The efforts of Western donors to improve the administration of public health institutions and health delivery systems have had to confront the same management constraints common to other development sectors: limited financial resources; lack of trained personnel; lack of management capacity; inadequate planning, monitoring, and evaluation; over-centralization of direction; ineffective or nonexistent coordination; rapid turnover of personnel; and cultural values which often impede change and progress. The drag on efforts to improve health administration exerted by these constraints, interacting together, can be almost overwhelming. Projects frequently fail to accomplish all the goals set out for them and all too often the progress achieved by a particular project stops or drops off markedly when the Western donor pulls out.

Beyond these basic problems common to all sectors there are, of course, a number of problems which are peculiar to health administration. Health

has often received a share of national budgets disproportionately small in relation to its needs and to allocations in other sectors, adding to the strain on health organizations and facilities.² This financial stringency also helps to reinforce the traditional practice of granting comparatively low pay to the employees, apart from the doctors, in the health field. Partly in consequence, morale is often low and it is hard to attract the ablest young people to the field, particularly to positions in the rural areas where the need is greatest.

One management problem unique to the health sector is the tendency, noted by Rizzo and Davidson, for the doctors of medicine in the less developed countries to assume the principal executive roles in the health field, often without the necessary management training or interest in being managers.³ For example, decisions related to health personnel development and deployment have been made historically by medical doctors, leading to a medical view of personnel development, hierarchical in nature and largely treatment oriented. There is now a point of view, however, holding that the development of disease prevention programs and public health activities may prove more cost effective in improving community health when compared with the development of specialized treatment personnel.⁴

Data collection is another serious problem. The less developed countries need accurate information in order to develop policies that will enable them to distribute efficiently the limited funds available for health purposes. But these countries often have no information at all or even the administrative machinery to collect it. The problem is compounded by the fact that such data collection is expensive and it is precisely the countries least able to pay that need information the most urgently.⁵

This problem is currently receiving attention in the Health and Nutrition branch of AID which is trying to design a basic management information system for use in the health sector.⁶

Further, there is an excessive number of institutions providing health services and the fragmented nature of the activities of the health organizations makes coordination difficult between the ministry of health and the other ministries whose activities have an impact on health.⁷

Finally, the Western approach to the improvement of African health administration needs to take into account the problems, especially in the rural areas, stemming from the fundamental difference in the African concept of health and illness. In the African concept, "health is not regarded as an isolated phenomenon but reflects the integration of the community. It is not the mere absence of disease but a sign that a person is living in peace and harmony with his neighbors, that he is keeping the laws of the gods and the tribe. The practice of medicine is more than the administration of drugs and potions. It encompasses all activities--personal and communal--that are directed toward the promotion of human well-being.... The native doctors in Africa show unusual sensitivity to psychological needs. The emphasis in understanding illness is not on how it occurred, but why it happened, an emphasis that is lacking in the Western medical system."⁸ In contrast, as Paul Ahmed and Eliza Kolker point out, the Western model of medicine is essentially a biomedical model, "with its perception of disease as a treatable phenomenon separate and distinct from the personality or environment of the sufferer." This model, which takes little or no account of social, psychological or behavioral factors, may not always be appropriate in Africa. Ahmed therefore notes that "problems of medical

technology transfer are linked to inabilities to foresee cultural conflicts and too much reliance on the supposed universality of the Western biomedical model."⁹

Some of these constraints are largely beyond the reach of Western donors. Behavioral attitudes deeply rooted in African culture and tradition will change only slowly and will depend on an internal African dynamic far more than on any stimulative steps Western aid organizations may take. Decisions to allocate greater financial and personnel resources to the health sector are decisions for African leaders to take, and so on. Nevertheless, much progress has been made, due at least in some part to donor assistance, and more is steadily being accomplished with the new projects that are under way. Mortality rates have been coming down, as have rates of morbidity. Sanitation has generally improved. The quality and extent of training has been raised. Especially encouraging is the progress made toward extending health care and facilities to outlying areas, benefiting segments of the population which have been severely disadvantaged by the allocation of public health resources in ways which have favored the urban areas.

And many of the constraints that are susceptible to external action are being addressed with measurable success in a relatively new project, The Strengthening of Health Delivery Systems (SHDS) in Central and West Africa. This project, which took shape in the mid-seventies and grew out of AID's experience in working with the World Health Organization (WHO) on a small pox eradication and measles control project in West and Central Africa, was a key development in the evolution of AID's changing assistance strategy.

In the 1960s this strategy was focused on building infrastructure and physical plant, hospitals like the impressive John F. Kennedy hospital complex in Liberia. But in the 1970s, under the basic human needs doctrine, emphasis was shifted to providing health care systems at the local level in order more effectively to reach the rural poor. (It should be noted parenthetically that one unintended byproduct of this shift in strategy was to impose yet a further strain on the African health management system since it involved a requirement to expand facilities and personnel in the outlying, often remote areas where infrastructure was weakest and the provision of support most difficult. Rizzo and Davidson suggest that the requirement for the health ministries and related agencies "to plan, organize, staff, train, supervise, supply and evaluate these extended efforts" may have been underestimated.¹⁰

Following meetings in 1973 with the governments of twenty countries of West and Central Africa and various assistance agencies, agreement was reached on the SHDS Project which was conceived as a large multi-donor project to help promote the improvement of the health delivery systems in these countries. The project is funded jointly by AID and WHO and is implemented through an AID contract with Boston University and a Participating Agency Service Agreement with the United States Center for Disease Control (CDC). The project is directed in the field from headquarters in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

Two distinctive features make the SHDS project of particular interest for this study. First, it is regional in character and closely involves a large number of participating governments and national health agencies, helping to build a cooperating network of health institutions throughout a

large area of Africa. Secondly, it has a strong bias toward improving health delivery through the medium of improving the management side of the system, with a marked emphasis on strengthening management, planning, training, and applied research. It is an important movement toward institutional development on a regional scale. While it does not finance national health delivery activities per se, it does provide training for key personnel required for such activities, as well as African and U.S. consultant services to help national governments move forward on their own.

The goal of the project is to increase the capability to plan and manage an economically feasible health delivery system. Within this overall goal, it is pursuing four major objectives: 1) strengthening regional and national capacities for public health planning and management; 2) strengthening regional and national capacities for training and development of health workers; 3) strengthening communicable disease control, including expanded programs of immunization (EPI) and integration with related health activities; and 4) strengthening applied research on primary health care services.

To accomplish these objectives SHDS' leadership is employing a number of development administration techniques. There is heavy emphasis on "train the trainer" programs, with the WHO Training Centers for Health Services Personnel in Lagos and Lome expanding their capability to train trainers of polyvalent health workers who will work primarily at the village level. Regional training centers in Senegal, Togo, Nigeria, and Cameroon play a basic role. Extensive use is made of seminars and workshops, including inter-country management workshops for ministers and other senior management

officials which are aimed at improving inter-sectoral collaboration.

Originally SHDS also worked with the regional training center in Dakar, concerned with training health planning and management personnel, but efforts are now under way to replace these training courses with a new, more up-to-date approach. According to the project director, Dr. David French, a decision has been made to develop a standardized training approach in several countries in Africa and, following a survey of 21 institutions, 12 have been selected to serve as a network of collaborating institutions, while preserving their individual identities as national centers. A team of specialists from the leading African management institutes is also being formed to visit the 12 institutions for an evaluation to determine what modifications should be made in order that they can better serve the purposes of the network.¹¹

By the end of the project SHDS should have achieved several specific goals, some of which are primarily medical in nature but most of which are essentially management improvement measures. There will be a trained core of senior health personnel capable of developing national health plans in each country. Management planning and techniques of supervision will be incorporated in national training programs. Middle level supervisors (physicians, nurses, and midwives) will be trained in management planning techniques. Trainers, capable of training deliverers of primary health care, will be in place in each country. Two rural training service and research centers will have been developed. Data collection systems will have been improved in the participating countries. National training programs for primary health care workers will have been established.

Inter-sectoral and inter-country coordination should have been improved as a result of special senior level workshops. These measures should go some distance toward alleviating many of the more important management constraints prevalent in the African health sector.

There is also, very importantly, a strong sense of African ownership of the process going forward under SHDS. Apart from the participation of the twenty governments and their agencies and the financial contribution they are making, the overall coordination and organization of the project is performed by WHO/AFRO, an African-directed and managed institution. The external assistance is catalytic, not controlling. It should also be stressed that the institutional development is taking place on the basis, not primarily of creating new institutions, but essentially of improving and upgrading existing African institutions.

There are, of course, special circumstances which enabled AID to implement the SHDS project on a broad regional basis and it would not be easy to replicate. Nevertheless, the project exemplifies the successful integration of management processes and techniques into a sectoral project and there are many elements of the SHDS approach which deserve study for use in other projects, whether regional or national in character.

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See also World Bank report, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1981, p. 184; and Ghanaian National Policy Toward Indigenous Healers: The Case of the Primary Health Training for Indigenous Healers (PRHETIH) Program by D. M. Warren, G. Steven Bova, Sr., Mary Ann Tregoning and Mark Kliever, January, 1982, p. 5.
3. E. Edward Rizzo and Alfred Davidson, A.I.D. Strategies for Health Management Improvement, September 12, 1981, p.7. Many of the conclusions in this basic study of health management have been drawn upon in this paper.
4. Health Manpower Planning, DHEW Publication No. (PHS) 7950069, p. 5.
5. Health or Wealth, DHEW Publication No. (PHS) 7950069, p. 5.
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8. Socio-Cultural Factors in Health Planning, DHEW Publication No. (PHS) 79-50083, p. 11.
9. Community Health Planning, DHEW Publication No. (PHS) 79-50088, p. 1 of Introduction.
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11. Interview with Dr. David French, SHDS Project Director, Feb. 25, 1982.

V. SOME DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION ISSUES IN SWAZILAND*

Introduction

An examination of some development administration issues in Swaziland adds another dimension to this Report in that it exposes management's inherent complexity. The first of these development management issues has to do with the Swazi socio-political environment. Swaziland maintains cultural and political dualism with a traditional political system headed by a king, operating in parallel with a civil administrative system. The peculiarities of the system differentiate Swaziland from other African countries and present special problems to which development administration processes must respond.

Secondly, AID's human resource development strategy in Swaziland raises some training and other organizational development issues. As stressed in the main Report, the most important management constraint in Africa continues to be the shortage of skilled human resources, especially at middle-management and professional/technical levels. Therefore, AID country programs in Africa which target on human resource development are of special interest. The country programs of Tanzania, Botswana, Ghana as well as Swaziland are examples of such an approach.

Finally institutional development, in this case support for existing management institutions and structures, is addressed. The suspension of Swaziland's independence constitution in 1973 has led to some specific personnel management problems in the Civil Service, which has in turn

*King Sobhuza II of Swaziland died on August 21, 1982, after the research for this project was completed. The impact of his death on the nation's dualism is not known yet. In addition, Swaziland has entered into discussions with South Africa to annex Kangwane, territory which would give Swaziland access to the Indian Ocean. The African National Congress has expressed concern over the proposed annexation.

sparked an examination of existing training resources. A discussion of these three issues follows.

The Management Environment

One of the principal sources of Swaziland's management complexity is rooted in the strength and vitality of the traditional sector, that is, in the tribal system which is both political and cultural. This includes the Swazi National Council, extensive tribal or Swazi National Lands (some 57 percent of the total land area), financial resources (the Tibiyo and Kibuyo Funds), and a Central Rural Development Board which considers development proposals affecting Swazi National Lands (SNL). In the emerging modern sector, there is a two-house parliamentary system, with a prime minister and cabinet level ministers leading a western style bureaucracy, and a national budgetary process.

The King stands at the apex of both the traditional and modern sectors. He has opted for a policy of measured change and, in contrast to other countries in Southern Africa like Botswana, less dependence on foreign advisors, even though this involves some short term inefficiencies. Dialogue and consensus are important in the Swazi cultural approach, and the interplay of power groups within this dual structure is complex, unpredictable, and often involves long delays in implementation. For example, the abandoned constitution has been under review for the past five years, reflecting a consensual decision-making process, during which all aspects of dissent are worked through.¹ Swazi determination to pursue development in their own consensual manner may actually result in much

stronger institutional capacity in the long run, and may preserve a healthy blend of traditional and modern Swazi values.

In addition to concern about more rapid decision-making, other management problems emanate from the Swazi dualism. For example the decisions of Swazi ministerial officials can be overturned following an appeal to the king. The king's authority also has an impact on the establishment of development priorities because some resources are diverted to support projects chosen by the monarchy. ²This discussion of the management dynamics of the political and cultural environment in Swaziland reminds us that management is not independent from national policy or culture. In the public sector, management implements decisions made by political leaders, within the framework of the agency or organization in question.

The Development of Human Resources

The FY82 Country Development Strategy Statement for Swaziland (CDSS) notes:"The limited capacity is most often manifested in too few qualified people being too overworked to make better plans and take effective decisions,....." To help overcome this limited capacity, AID strategy in Swaziland is to focus on human resource development. This strategy involves a multisectoral approach because skills shortages exist across the economy. Accordingly, the USAID program stresses a human resource strategy targeted on education/training and institutional development through technical assistance and administrative reform. An example of AID's human resource strategy can be found in the attention given to personnel management in the public sector.

Swaziland's personnel management system, a sub-system of the Civil Service Management system, has been the subject of a number of AID-supported studies. When the constitution was abandoned, the legal basis for civil service regulations was removed. As a result of the ensuing confusion, morale and discipline have deteriorated. In response to the situation, a number of management consultants and special commissions have been called upon to make assessments and recommendations, and specialists have reported the lack of a clear personnel policy and serious staffing problems throughout the government.

Following a 1977 report from the Institute for Development Management (IDM)*, 104 recommendations dealing with every aspect of personnel management were made. Many of the recommendations dealing with wages and salary administration have been implemented at least in part, and most of the others have been accepted in principle, although not implemented.

In 1980 a consultant prepared a report in which the status of the IDM recommendations was reviewed. The report states: "What is important for our purposes lies in the gap between acceptance and implementationWith respect to reforms directed at aspects of personnel management such as job analysis, performance appraisal, staff development and training, and the appeals machinery, little has been done since the IDM Report was filed in 1977....The need for a long range plan for developing staff with competencies across the full range of personnel, manpower development and management services functions, was identified (and accepted) in the IDM Report. It was also noted that personnel staff development training should be done at home." 3

* An international regional organization with headquarters in Botswana.

As a result of the IDM report recommendations, AID planned assistance to the Swazi Institute of Management and Public Administration (SIMPA), a training institution for civil servants. However it was subsequently decided that it would be inefficient to assist SIMPA without parallel assistance to the Department of Establishments and Training (E & T), the government unit responsible for personnel management, including manpower planning. A comprehensive plan for assistance to SIMPA and E & T, and for an assessment of the personnel management system, was drawn.

The principal characteristics of the plan, dubbed a strategic vision of the personnel function by its author, are described below: The use of two U.S. advisors to "identify doers within the system, to further organizational dialogue, and to bring out key issues to make training relevant" was recommended. With regard to training relevancy at SIMPA, the consultant advised, "a common pattern in the life of public administration institutes is that they rapidly become institutionalized, self-serving and with donor assistance - self supporting. In spite of the dynamic environment in which government must operate the institute quickly moves from a posture of development programming targeted at the on-job training requirements of government organizations to . . . maintaining its own ongoing operations." 4

Measures recommended to mitigate this tendency include: "establishing an active advisory board of senior policy makers, managers representing the client organizations served by the institute, and putting more emphasis on consultation for operational activities than on research or policy

analysis, and the use of training methods which emphasize real cases and problems to maximize learning." 5

An assessment of the personnel management system and of the supporting institutions revealed that many personnel problems were not problems of skills deficiencies. Therefore other capacity building interventions, in addition to training, were recommended. For example process consultations was suggested as a means of overcoming some procedural obstacles.

Following the initial needs assessment stage of this effort, a design team comprised of the AID advisors and senior African administrators would work out a strategy for personnel improvement through capacity building for E & T and SIMPA together. Thus this human resource development strategy has evolved into an incremental approach to capacity building within the two indigenous organization development techniques, including technical assistance, process consultation and short-term job related training.

Institutional Development-First Steps Toward Regional Cooperation

Evidence of the severe shortage of Swazi managers and trained personnel is visible, among other places in the expatriate control of industrial export activity, and in the number of expatriates in regular public service jobs. AID support for indigenous training institutes and for institutionalized processes is one way to lessen Swazi dependency on expatriates.

The problems caused by the use of large percentages of expatriates in developing countries have been well documented. The difficulty involved in striking a balance between the need for trained personnel and the need

for Africans to run their own affairs is great, and the problem of the use of expatriates has not been solved in Swaziland. However, it has been proposed that a detailed study of the training capacities and needs of Southern Africa be carried out, and that AID support existing institutions rather than develop new ones.

In addition, AID assistance for the institutionalization of a regional cooperation process was proposed. The skeletal framework for the process includes regional meetings, seminars, and joint research collaborations on fundamental development problems, such as transportation network, water development, and management training.

Summary

An examination of AID's programs in Swaziland yields a number of lessons:

1. Management processes are not separate from the socio-political environment.
2. There is a tendency for management training institutes to become self-serving.
3. Management problems other than problems of skills shortages are responsive to process consultation.
4. It is important to support processes which contribute to regional cooperation.

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VII. USING MOBILE CONSULTING TEAMS FOR MANAGEMENT

IMPROVEMENT: THE ERDM EXPERIENCE IN GHANA

ERDM PROJECT SUMMARY

ERDM is a five year management improvement effort designed to assist the Government of Ghana to bring about the full and effective implementation of the Local Government Act of 1971. The Act provides for a decentralization of authority that, when exercised, will allow people, through their district councils, to have substantive control over development activities in their districts. Specifically, the purpose of the project is to establish the capacity within each region to provide training and consultancy services in planning, coordination and management for district and regional level officials and council members. Such training is aimed at developing the skills and providing the tools necessary for entities at the district level to exercise the authority required to effectively carry out the decentralization process.*

Project Life: July 1977 to July 1982

U.S. Contribution: \$2.3 million grant

The grant covers four U.S. technical advisors, a U.S. Project Manager, limited participant training, and essential commodity support items including vehicles and audio-visual equipment.

Government of Ghana Contribution: \$2.7 million

These funds are used for a National Project Secretariat, eight regional teams of trainer/consultants (27 trainer/consultants), training support facilities, and meals for seminar participants.

*Adapted from USAID, ODA, Accra Project Descriptions, revised July 30, 1980.

INTRODUCTION

There are several reports written about the Economic and Rural Development Management Project (ERDM) over the past few years. These papers have covered a wide variety of topics: trainers' guides (Owen and Thompson); project appraisal (Adeetuk); video taping (Prince); the training experience (Esch); and anthropology's contribution to ERDM (Warren).¹

The intent of this paper is to discuss what is special about the project, how it operates, what are the problems and the key lessons learned. This paper assumes the reader is familiar with the ERDM project and thus it begins with a discussion of the key characteristics of ERDM. This is followed by a presentation of the benefits to Ghana, the United States and to the people involved with the project. The conclusion briefly highlights the problems so far encountered and the lessons learned.

A one-day workshop, May 13, 1982, used this paper as a centerpiece for a discussion on the experience of development administration in Ghana. The workshop was sponsored by Jeffalyn Johnson and Associates, Inc. under contract no. AID-035-C-00-110.

During the workshop the following activities were identified for AID Missions to carry out if they want to establish an ERDM type development management capacity building project. Activities the mission should begin, or already be involved in, are:

1. Fourteen documents and papers describing various component strategies of the ERDM project are listed as references, see Appendix IV.

- recruitment of an organizational development specialist to be placed in a direct hire position
- conduct periodic, planned team building for mission staff
- people trained as trainer/consultants be on the mission staff, or purchase these services from a local consulting firm
- the mission should provide financial management improvement services to its projects and related agencies

If an ERDM type project is to be designed the following should strongly be considered for inclusion in the project:

- build in early tangible results, as perceived by the host country
- minimize the host government's impression that the project is an AID project, i.e. promote local project ownership at every decision making level
- in order to maximize organizational effectiveness and efficiency, training and consulting activities should be done both vertically and horizontally from the base of the project
- use appropriate technology within the project, and for the project's clients
- the project should be redesigned and/or renegotiated whenever there is a significant change in resources or government policy (for either AID or the host government)

The workshop participants concluded that ERDM projects are feasible and applicable in many developing countries. In order to have an impact, the process by which the management improvement effort is originally designed will be critical to the outcome of the project. In this type of development project the process is very important.

ERDM IN GENERAL

The ERDM strategy for international management improvement, while resembling a number of the approaches used by international donor organizations and Western consulting firms, has some special characteristics. What follows is an overall description of the project, which is in structure a cluster of activities designed to improve the institution-building performance of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and the system of local government in Ghana.

Area Focus

The interventions aim to improve the functioning of particular area systems, i.e. a district council, a town development committee, a church parish, an agricultural training center. In designing workshops, ERDM looks at the cluster of problems and resources that operate and are somewhat controllable within one geographical area. The typical case is a seminar with a local government unit. Horizontal linkages across diverse agencies operating in the district are mobilized to enhance the way they collaborate to solve local problems.

Mobility

The ERDM training/consultancy teams are highly mobile. They travel to and conduct their work with their client in the client's home area. The geographical perspective on problems requires the consultants to visit and to accommodate to the local conditions within which the participant organizations are operating. Senior officers from MFEP live and work at the district and the sub-district level for up to three weeks at a time.

This is a radical departure from established Civil Service procedures and has served as a model for outreach for centrally controlled private as well as public development agencies.

Training Separated from Physical Inputs

Although a part of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, the ERDM management improvement effort is kept separate from the local and national budgetary and contracting processes. It is feared that the educational purposes of ERDM would be jeopardized if potential clients, or local elites, perceived the project as a means to physical or financial wealth. Despite the association with USAID and bright red Chevy Suburbans, ERDM has avoided the impositions that have accompanied other extension, planning and education projects with large construction components. Organizations and individuals who have been in attendance at ERDM sessions have done so for basically genuine reasons. ERDM seminars have not been used to manipulate loan procedures or tender board contracts. They have, however, produced improved project designs and provided negotiation practicums that have assisted associations in acquiring finance and work orders.

Nationwide

The intended primary clients of the ERDM management improvement effort are all the district and regional level governmental units: District Councils (65), Regional Councils (8), Regional Organization regional planning committees (8), regional tender boards (8). There are several expected benefits from having a national thrust:

- o Civil Servant mobility does not seriously hamper the skill-building process. Individual officers can join ERDM events wherever they are stationed.
- o Innovations from the field can be more effectively installed if they take on a national scale, i.e. revenue control systems, integrated action budgeting, project management systems, district development planning. Project recurrent finance is expected to be easier since the effort is national.
- o Internal change within the project is expected to benefit from the diversity of organizations and areas that make up the whole of Ghana.

Civil Service Housed

ERDM started off within the Projects Division, Ministry of Economic Planning in 1977. In 1978 the staff were absorbed into the Civil Service. The flexibility inherent in having project status was thus exchanged for the bureaucratic conservatism that also governs ERDM clients. Special benefits and salaries could no longer be used to attract personnel, but job security was guaranteed. With the Civil Service came limitations like having to use only Ghana government procurement channels and the services of government agencies.

District Councils as Clients

The ERDM teams encouraged the participation of elected officials, local notables as well as Civil Servants in the local government rebuilding effort. There is often an adversarial relation between the local government administration and the politicians. ERDM tries to bring both sides together by involving them in seminars, task forces, and discussion groups. In some places a new working relationship develops because of an ERDM seminar.

The mobile training is working to integrate local development efforts and to link multi-district projects. ERDM brings together department heads horizontally across ministries to solve local problems. With more decisions being taken at the local level for the planning and execution of development projects, it is anticipated, and observed in a number of cases, that the potential of civil servants will be more fully utilized.

In some districts ERDM takes the extra effort to promote outside pressures for Civil Service action (from community organizations such as Amasachina, youth associations, GPRTU, town development committees, market associations, and PVOs) as well as from within the Council of elected officials. Citizen groups often show that with their resources added, the local government can visibly demonstrate a capacity to solve problems and maintain, if not develop, social amenities.

ERDM entered a situation in Ghana where previous experience with the improvement of local government institutions had mixed results. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development had in-service meetings. During the 1970s, the Ghana Education Service developed district level courses for headteachers. Their experience suggested that it was easier to attract decision makers at the district level than at the regional level. It had been observed that junior officers were most often sent to represent their departments at regional level meetings. The ERDM strategy has been to initiate intensive local government improvement efforts at the district level. With a demanding three week introductory session, the management/consultancy unit of MFEP gradually became seen as a legitimate source of help for local economic development and management. District staff became more pro-

efficient and told their regional bosses of their experiences. The positive feedback then assisted ERDM's entry to the regional level.

Diverse Clientele

ERDM demonstrates the value of working repeatedly with a variety of clients: the Civil Service, public corporations, donor projects, elected officials, indigenous organizations and the private sector.

Each has its challenges, problems and rewards. Having the Civil Service as the primary client, for example, gives a stability of operations during political changes (one civilian and three military governments during the life of the project). At the same time, elected officials cooperate in the effort to rebuild local administration through training. In one region, over a quarter of all seminar participants have been politicians and local opinion-makers. The Councillors who attend ERDM sessions are initiators of projects, activity leaders, committee chairmen and sometimes donors of important resources. They are valuable also as brokers between government and private organizations (cooperatives, churches, self-help groups and professional associations). In some cases, this leads to the promotion of management training for both groups, separately and in collaboration.

Increasingly, District and Regional Councillors and Members of Parliament (MP) have visited the ERDM regional offices for consultation on local economic development issues. ERDM staff professionalism and mobility makes them valuable sources of information. Several MPs have attended ERDM training sessions. Generally MPs have been aware of and supportive of the work being conducted in the districts. ERDM has other clients.

Through the seminars, word spread in the district capitals about the management training. In some cases, key community leaders requested to participate in District Council seminars. This was especially true when they were involved in a Council development project.

Through these contacts ERDM has been invited on numerous occasions to make presentations and to become consultant to programs and projects. These consulting relationships occur more frequently in the Upper and Northern Regions than in other places in the country. The GOG has placed an emphasis on development in these regions and a number of donor projects have been initiated. However, ERDM teams negotiated consultancies only after long periods of continuous and deliberate contact with donor projects.

The consulting relationships with donor projects, PVOs and community groups help ERDM remain on schedule and viable. In some regions PVOs provide accommodations for the ERDM teams at no cost, and they charge only a nominal fee for food. When vehicles break down, one of the places ERDM turns to is the nearest mission hospital...for they have good mechanics and sometimes spare parts. In other cases, the PVOs provide transportation or a messenger service, ie. "the People's Education Association is going to Ho, so send a message with them to the ERDM team over there." In the Upper and Northern Regions, PVOs regularly pay for ERDM workshops and seminars by giving paper, gasoline, or duplicating ink to the project. These inputs are more valuable than money...for if you can't get goods, it doesn't matter what money you have.

Staff Investment

The concept of formally training or orienting project staff on a periodic basis is missing from the many donor projects and development activities in Ghana. Usually expatriate staff are involved in a one-on-one assistance relationship with counterpart staff. Informal meetings are held where information is shared about departmental activities, client groups and project problems.² Participatory management training, as a tool for work control and staff development, seems alien to the projects run by USAID, CIDA, WHO, GTZ, the Dutch and the World Bank. Rarely are expatriate technicians involved in the improvement of the performance of the staff or project organizations of which they are a part.

In a major way, ERDM served as a model for self-renewal in project management. Exposure to the formalized intensive staff development program within ERDM (see Chart II page 14) has led a number of donor projects to invest more in their staffs. Examples of this follow.

The Institute of Field Communications and Training (IFCAT) (Dutch and IBRD) has added formal staff training to their staff meetings using the assistance of ERDM. The ERDM team conducted over six training sessions for IFCAT in the past two years. Agricultural stations linked with the consortium of Church Agricultural Projects (CAP) (22 agencies) held regular staff improvement and project planning efforts in health as well as in agriculture. An ERDM team assisted the nine regional heads of the Minis-

2. Host country staff feel on the periphery of these projects and overall performance is low, i.e. off schedule, cost overruns, lack of staff direction and ineffective field activities.

try of Agriculture to promote increased systematic staff management. ERDM workshops have also been instrumental in improving communications between expatriate and Ghanaian counterpart staff in several regional projects (CIDA, GTZ, USAID).

Interventions

The original logic of ERDM consisted of approaching, over a 3 1/2 year period, each local government unit in Ghana with three intensive management seminars of 2-3 weeks duration. The content of any one seminar would build upon the prior one, moving from a process-oriented general leadership start-up toward financial and project management action-training. Each content area was packaged into several modules and logically linked together, i.e. MBO, Job Enrichment, Negotiations.

Chart I shows the expected and actual sequence of interventions for the project. While the intended third cycle of training was not developed in 1980-81, project field experience did generate a number of alternative interventions. They helped seminar committees to follow up on their decisions to improve district planning, revenue generation, project formulation/implementation. In 1981, ERDM moved from a strategy of having interventions with all types of district councils to a pattern of using a variety of interventions of higher frequency but shorter duration with a selected number of district councils in each region.

Chart I

Expected vs. Actual ERDM Training and Consulting Interventions

<u>Expected</u>		<u>Actual</u>	
Cycle I - gen. mgt.*	15 days	Cycle I-gen. mgt.	15 days
Cycle II	10-15 days	Follow up	2-3 days
Cycle III	10 days	Cycle II	10 days
Consultancies	1-3 days	Follow up	2-3 days
		Handbook workshops	3 days
		Revenue workshops	2 days
		1981-1986 5-year plan	20 days
		Project implementation workshops	3-7 days
		Consultancies	1-10 days

Consultancies also became more selective. Rather than accept all requests, the ERDM teams spent more time in the negotiation process. A client's commitment to promote self-generating organizational change became an important consideration. More consultancies are now negotiated to include multiple interventions over a set period of time. This is a valuable alternative to the former workshop approach where follow-up was negotiated often as an afterthought (see Appendix II).

TYPES OF TRAINING

ERDM has several types of training involved in the project: both formal and informal. The largest number of people involved in the formal management training delivered by the ERDM teams is that with the District Councils (see Appendix III). Since this aspect is discussed throughout, it will not be addressed here. In this section we will discuss a) the

*Consulting upon request was anticipated in the ERDM Project Paper Implementation Format but not formalized during project start-up in 1977-78.

training of trainers, both formally (through the Formal Training Sessions, FTs) and informally; b) the training/educational program at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi for the Masters Degree in Regional Planning; and c) the system of staff meetings held for the American technicians at the USAID Mission.

Training-of-Trainers

The Ghanaian trainer/consultants have been recruited through word of mouth, via civil service channels and through newspaper announcements. This effort brought together a multi-disciplinary team with backgrounds in sociology, health education, economics, planning, etc. Not one Ghanaian previously had been a trainer. Through a series of formal training sessions (FTs), the staff developed into trainers and consultants. Chart II provides a summary of the ten FTs held so far during the project. The first four FTs provided the opportunity for 17 Ghanaian trainers/consultants and 4 U.S technicians to gain an understanding of the adult learning process, to develop and adapt materials which they would use in seminars, and to experiment with training styles and receive feedback on how they were mastering the overall skills.

The American technicians went through the same sessions. Thus, they were integrated into the building ERDM project organizations in the regions. During the FTs, each regional team and technicians jointly participated in the presentations and then made adaptations of materials to their local conditions.

In September of 1979, ten trainer/consultants were added to the project. This second set of trainers came directly into ERDM from their national service or their undergraduate program in planning. It was

CHART II
ERDM FORMAL TRAINING SESSIONS (FTs)
1978 - 1981

<u>FT</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>DAYS DURATION</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PURPOSE</u>
I	March 1978	21	Akosombo	Introduction to Cycle I, team building, initial program of field activities
II	May 1978	14	Koforidua	Review of training material, practice training using video feedback, continued team building
III	June 1978	14	Navrongo	Selection and preparation of training package modules for first set of seminars, practice training workshops with video
IV	September 1978	14	Cape Coast	Final practice training before seminars; exchange new materials
V	April 1979	4	Kumasi	Reviewed progress; discussed follow-on concept and alternative approaches
VI	September 1979	10	Legon-Accra	New trainer orientation; consulting issues and skills; select new modules for second set of seminars
VII	January 1980	10	Saltpond	Developed second set of training modules
VIII	May 1980	5	Ho	Reviewed progress; discussed field strategies
IX	October 1980	9	Medina-Accra	Reviewed mid-project evaluation report; presentations on training and consulting issues; discussed Five Year Development Plan involvement; new modules and field strategies
X	October 1981	<u>2</u>	Medina-Accra	Video tapes presented; alternative project futures discussed

decided that this group would not receive separate FTs, but they would do on-the-job training with the technicians and the experienced trainer/consultants. Looking back, this presented an ongoing problem for the project. The younger, and newer group, has continuously requested special training-of-trainer efforts, but it has never been provided. By not doing a special FT, we weakened the position that quality training and performance is required in front of clients. During the past two years, seminar performances have become more sloppy, the need to prepare in advance has been frequently compromised and adult learning principles have been ignored. An increase in the traditional methods of lecturing or reading to the group have been observed.

Informal Training

In many parts of Ghana, the roads are in poor repair, the distances are long and the time spent in a vehicle (waiting for repairs) can be even longer. There are times when the ERDM team and their advisors travel 5 or 6 hours to attend a meeting and, upon arrival, are told that those who were to attend the meeting, "had been called to Accra," "had a death in the family," or "fell ill only this morning." So it is a long ride home, only to try again in a week or two. These rides, time spent waiting for meetings to take place, and after-hours sitting in a bungalow at a seminar site offer opportunities for informal discussions and inservice training sessions. We are able to discuss in-depth issues brought up during that day's seminar, personal issues or organizational intervention strategies that can be made with a client. These sessions are usually unstructured, but some have been planned ahead of time to cover specific points or ideas. During these times, technicians provide a role model for the

trainer/consultants, and it gives the advisors opportunities to practice what they are preaching.

It is during these informal, non-duty hours, that new ideas are generated, fostered and supported. For example, one night while taking a trainer/consultant home after a reception (for some USAID guests from Accra), the idea was brought up about doing a special seminar for District Council works-foremen. A few months later, after negotiations, planning and preparation, a region-wide one day supervisory workshop was held for the works-foremen.

The Masters Degree Program

While not a part of the original project design, a need was recognized early in ERDM for a planning professional to be located at the district level. USAID and MFEP/GOG signed an agreement in 1979 to initiate a two-year Masters district level planning program, as a part of the existing regional planning program, Department of Planning, School of Architecture, University of Science and Technology in Kumasi. The program is designed to have 65 students over a three year period, and a total of 38 students have been recruited in the first two years.

The program has a balance of theoretical and practical field experiences. Weekly workshops include short field trips to districts around Kumasi. A larger field placement is to be scheduled each year around spring break. Two American advisors were assigned to the program to assist with the teaching load and to provide a more practical approach to the program. Full implementation of the program, however, has not been possible.

It is anticipated that graduates of the program will be appointed to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and will be placed at the district level. They will assist the District Councils to develop and implement coordinated development plans.

U.S. Technician Training

The Office of Development Administration is where ERDM is located administratively in the USAID Mission. Early in the ERDM project there were project staff meetings where the four American technicians and the program officer got together on a regular basis. In late 1978, ODA began having quarterly staff meetings, and ERDM technicians participated. While these have not been formal training sessions, they have provided opportunities to learn. ODA staff meetings provide several opportunities:

1. To learn from each other's experiences, i.e., ERDM learns about the Tamale Land Use Project and People's Education Project (VIDED) and vice versa.
2. To reflect and consider, that "what I am seeing, hearing, feeling is normal and I am not the only one frustrated, confused or excited in my role."
3. To exchange professional ideas and strategies.
4. To share perceptions about the economy, the government, and the process of development in Ghana with supervisors, peers and other mission personnel.
5. To see the ERDM project as a whole, including "the Accra side of the story." At times it appeared to the up-country ODA technicians that people in Accra were "dragging their feet." But with a trip down-country and a few days around the ministries we once again learn how slow things can move in the capital.
6. To get first hand information from USAID officials or GOG personnel about project issues.

7. To coordinate with other ODA or mission programs, especially FAAD, DIPRUUD, Land-Use, VIDED, IAM, and Peace Corps.

While these staff meetings are seen by some USAID officials as unnecessary, they have been critical to the success of the project. They provide technicians with the necessary support and opportunity to share information and give them access to the organizational information required so they may remain effective members of the USAID Mission. They also provide an opportunity to establish social relationships with mission staff who provide support services in GSO, the health unit, personnel, administration, etc.

Training is an important part of the entire ERDM effort. Developing human resources both with clients and within the project are necessary if ERDM type projects are to succeed.

BENEFITS

In this section we will discuss the benefits to the host government and country, to the U.S government, and to those who participated in the project. Achievements of the project are presented in Appendix I, page 34.

Benefits to Ghana and the Government

It has been heard on occasion that some people within MFEP do not want the ERDM project. They do not see the immediate benefits, i.e. buildings, major projects, nor do they see a large financial or material contribution from the U.S Mission. Yet there are benefits. Some of these benefits are:

- o A training capacity within the government, geared to go to local government.

- A program that goes to the people, providing support and encouragement for effective management practices.
- New projects are accomplished and others initiated as outputs from the seminars (see Achievements, Appendix I.).
- Training equipment, i.e., video-tape machines, overhead projectors, easels, and vehicles remain in the country.
- ERDM staff have a positive experience managing a regional level project.
- Participants and ERDM teams experience a project which succeeds, i.e. 80% of the seminars have been held as scheduled.
- Over 3,000 different officers and councillors have received continuous management training with their colleagues and co-workers.
- Officers at the district level are being trained together, across ministries, rather than the traditional method of vertically within the ministry.
- Behaviors of several District Councils have changed after ERDM began holding seminars--meetings are more structured, more people are included in the process, greater concern for financial viability of projects and more realistic planning is carried out.
- Up to 35 different organizations per region have received continuous management training and consulting.
- Officers and councillors frequently reported, during follow-up sessions, not only how they used their new knowledge and skills on the job, but how they applied them also on their own farm or in managing their own family. One elderly councillor said "now every time we have a family problem, I draw a line on the ground and we draw those arrows. Then we talk about those forces for and against that line."

Benefits to the United States

While the project was designed to benefit Ghana through a decentralization effort, there are several benefits to the U.S. government and its people. Some of these are:

- The project is low cost, around \$3 million by the time it ends in its fifth year, 1982.

- The project has wide visibility for the U.S. government at the regional and district level (many people in GOG in Accra are unclear about ERDM, but at the district level all senior Civil Servants are aware of the project and most have participated in at least two or more seminars with follow up.)
- The project has not relied on high technology. It has taken a developed methodology from the U.S. and adapted it to the needs of rural people.
- The U.S. technicians are able to provide information and act as liaison between regional governments and USAID. This regional interface provides GOG officers with an easily accessible U.S. person for questions or information, i.e., "where is the USAID Mission in Accra" or "what are you doing in Atebubu, I read about it in the paper."
- The U.S. can be proud that through this project people are taught to fish, rather than being given fish. (One participant, who had been involved in other USAID projects, said that this time we didn't give him something that will later break down or run out... "this time 'using a glass of water symbolically,, instead of just pouring water into my glass, you've taught me how to make the glass.")
- The project equipment has come from U.S. manufacturers and U.S. based suppliers, i.e., vehicles, video-tape equipment, movie projectors, etc.

So far we have looked at the benefits to the Ghanaians and the Americans, now let us turn to the benefits for the people on the project. While these benefits may not be the prime purpose of any project, they are important and may be the longer lasting effects.

Benefits to the People Involved

There are many people involved in the ERDM project, and all received some type of benefit. This section will focus on the trainer/consultants and on the American technicians. The benefits to the Ghanaian trainer/consultants, so far, have been:

- o Able to receive and deliver management training and process consulting.

- As civil servants, they manage and direct their own project with little guidance from the regional or national levels. (Sometimes there has been no direct contact with the project manager for over a year.)
- Able to negotiate with clients to provide services that would either lead to further contracts or to their termination--a solid professional experience.
- Six trainer/consultants have received advanced training overseas.
- Extended time living together as a professional team of Ghanaians and Americans, i.e. one- to three-week seminars where they were together for the entire time.
- Able to get better jobs after working for ERDM (some have left for Nigeria and got very good jobs in management and community development. Others have taken positions with corporations in Ghana).

There have been seven different individual U.S. technicians who have received the following benefits:

- An in-depth understanding of local government in Ghana, i.e. structure, budgeting, decision-making, etc.
- An understanding of the effort it takes to keep a project going during economic retrogression.
- Insights and understanding of how to involve people in their own planning process.
- A greater knowledge of the issues around decentralization of government.
- Sense of effectiveness and guarded optimism about the potential for the use of process and action consulting methods overseas.

In summary, there are many benefits from ERDM. Probably the greatest benefits are the new behaviors observable at Council meetings, the increased awareness by officers and councillors of how management techniques can help organizations go about solving their own problems and the fact that ERDM seminars got officers and councillors together on a continuous

basis. The future is unknown; the current military government has already abolished the regional and local councils. It remains to be seen how we will see ERDM skills, knowledge and values emerge at the district, regional or national level in Ghana.

PROBLEMS

Rather than focus upon some of the harsh environmental and macro-economic conditions that have undermined the effort to implement projects in Ghana during the 1977-82 period, mention will be made briefly of some of the issues that are closer to project control and which have reduced ERDM's effectiveness.

Project Support Within the Government of Ghana

From the signing of the Pro-Aq (July, 1977) to the beginning of the ERDM staffing effort (in February, 1978, Ministry of Economic Planning approved formal staff training and in March 1978, 27 positions were created by the Establishment Secretariat), there were varying degrees of support for ERDM within MFEP. These gaps have continued throughout the life of the project. Suggested ways to build constituencies for the project in Accra have been: to have stronger linkages with GIMPA; conduct ERDM activities in the Accra District so Principal Secretaries, MPs, and the press could experience and observe the same processes that had gained support from up-country regional authorities. After the joint GOG-USAID mid-project evaluation, there has been little effort by MFEP to implement the recommendations. in spite of pressure from USAID officials.

U.S. Staffing

From July to September, 1979, four of five ERDM American staff positions turned over. The USAID project officer's position was vacant also for 7 months at this time. Ghanaian officials had expected that U.S. technicians had five year contracts. This mid-project re-staffing of

advisors proved very costly to the project in terms of money and time. Moreover, 10 additional Ghanaian staff were added in September, 1979, which resulted in a new heterogeneity of experience and expectations. Stronger differences of opinion about participant training, the role of consulting, who should be project clientele, and investment in project staff improvement surfaced at this point.

Ghanaian Staffing

There has been a massive exodus of trained manpower from Ghana during the entire time that ERDM has operated. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, for one, no longer receives the cream of the crop from Ghanaian universities. Senior, as well as junior economic planners are now leaving. Only four non-ERDM planners have entered the Ministry since 1978.

The 1980-82 recruitment of Ghanaian staff to fill vacancies in the project has been minimal. Officers in the districts and regions have been willing to be seconded or absorbed into the project, but only one new staff member joined ERDM in 1981. There has been no Public Services Commission advertising of staff openings in the project. Some regional teams can not be maintained because of vacancies and overseas training of staff. This has meant the withdrawal from field activities in some regions.

Training of Trainer/Consultants

After the influx of new staff in September, 1979, formal training of staff became increasingly problematic. "Training while training" became

the expected mode of staff development. Formal requests from the 10 new staff members for orientation to experiential training methods were not answered. National meetings were increasingly being seen as expensive and time consuming. In some regions, inservice training was conducted and some of the costs of the meetings were carried by the trainers themselves. But the project as a national effort started to atrophy due to the slow-down in professional up-grading. The lack of national commitment to staff development (in-country more than overseas) led also to a number of new recruits withdrawing from ERDM.

Public Relations

ERDM staff have not valued public relations. Building constituencies at the regional and district levels is being done. But commitment to clients has been used to disparage efforts to conduct public relations for the project as a whole. For example, ERDM staff have been found conducting a district workshop rather than having a presence when key Accra MFEP or USAID staff visit their regions. Showing officials the "friends of the project" when opportunities arise is all the more important considering the invisible nature of the management improvement effort. ERDM rarely has a final product to show, thus it is intrinsically difficult for politicians and chief executives to understand the project, unless they have participated in a training experience. Another fact is that ERDM has not been operating in full view of the nation's key bureaucrats in Accra. This is a lost opportunity for building ongoing understanding and support for the project.

Lack of Project Management System within the Ghana Government

There is no standard operational way to develop project ideas, review the ideas and move them toward authorization at the regional level in Ghana. The role of the regional Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and the planning units within regional departments is minimal with respect to the development of the national capital budget. Similar ambiguity exists in the reporting of project status after contract award. This problem exists for the National Tender Board as well as for the advisory tender boards at the regional and district levels. Without a clear picture of the process, much less a suggested format for project designs at different stages of formulation, training for the formulation and implementation of projects within the national budget is problematic. This ambiguity has kept ERDM focused upon recurrent budget activities and local government capital improvements.

LESSONS

The ERDM project has learned several lessons which may be useful to other USAID projects and other organizations. Some of these lessons follow.

1. Training interventions are an ideal way to gain access to organizations to help nurture their reform processes.
2. While training skills may be internalized by host country officers (via intensive formal training sessions), the process of developing management consultants is slower and requires more field experience and field legitimacy.
3. Management improvement efforts can quickly suffer from temporary lacks in ideas, tools and curricula. Such gaps lead to withdrawal of field staff, return to conservative teaching/training methods and a reluctance to provide consultancies or follow-ups.
4. When staff are fully equipped professionally, severe hardships in the field (lack of transport, materials, accommodations) will not prevent organizational improvement efforts from taking place.
5. Given the level of conflict inherent in grass-roots and local government improvement efforts, resistance to a reform program will continue for at least several years. Legitimacy gained with one organization or in one geographical area does not imply acceptance or legitimacy in others.
6. An intensive action-training session to launch a project can provide unity, clarity and commitment that, with follow-up, can facilitate field performance long after start-up.

7. Civil Service-based management improvement teams can improve their own performance by cultivating a demand for their services from those who can shoulder the cost for training/consulting. It has been observed that ERDM teams frequently are more professional in their design and delivery of services to clients who fund their own interventions.
8. The investment in developing regional teams of management professionals rather than individual specialists is most efficient and effective in the long run.
9. Location of the training/consultancy unit within a public body that wants and can nurture it over the long run and is perceived as "within the system" that is to be improved, is critical for sustainability. Such a location can provide more start-up problems (staffing, incentives).
10. The inclusion of politicians and community notables in organizational change efforts has proved fruitful because external as well as internal pressures for change are stimulated at the same time.
11. The production of curriculum materials, that are appropriate to local settings, is a much longer process than is usually anticipated. Once a project is fully involved in training-consulting activities, materials design or redesign becomes a low priority for field staff.
12. During implementation, technician and AID staff look inward and seem unaware of how technical assistance, new ideas, or troubleshooting is available to them from regional USAID bureaus or from AID/W and consultants. The self-reliance that contributes to project start-up can later create unnecessary bottlenecks to success.

13. While a focus on group process provides rapid access and legitimacy to client groups, their learning and internalization of management skills is best accomplished when actual projects are used as the vehicle for learning and promoting reform.
14. The use of host country trainers/consultants with donor focus on training-of-trainers/consultants is cost effective when considering the multiplier effect for the Civil Service, public training institutes and the private sector.
15. While outside reviews may be helpful, early evaluations tend to focus upon the measurement of results of management projects. Quests for such a concreteness may themselves distract the project from its original objectives. Decisions made about initial project design, when reaffirmed during start-up and management reviews, should be maintained during the heat of later project operational stages.
16. A longer-term relationship among staff from all components of a management improvement consultancy project is most beneficial. With a longer-term relationship, trust can be built, and there is adequate time for the reform process to be installed, and it allows each party to have a clearer perspective of the other.
17. A multi-disciplinary, multi-ethnic consultancy team is an effective way to promote the cultural relevancy of management tools coming from Western origins to be accepted by host agencies.
18. While participatory learning and action-training interventions in Ghana are applied mostly to small organizations, the basic processes should be helpful to larger organizations if applied in more intensive ways.

19. The applied research potential of management improvement efforts is great and should be utilized by donors, host-country government and the academic community.
20. A greater systems approach to management improvement efforts within AID as well as within host country agencies would put into perspective a) the role of such financial investments, and b) the form of results expected from the responsible training/consultancy unit.

ANNEX I: EXAMPLES OF MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENTS*

1. In Saltpond, the Town and Country planner used a department-wide Gantt chart to improve coordination and increase productivity. Using this tool and inter-departmental staff meetings (which had never been held before), the planner developed a comprehensive town plan, which was presented at a district council hearing. The combined District Council contributed to the three-year Town Plan by doing a needs survey prioritizing the needs, and publishing the survey. The council also launched a major revenue drive to help fund the first phase of the program.
2. For centuries, the lack of an adequate source of water has troubled Saltpond. During the ERDM follow-up session, officers and councillors (including the district head of The Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation) investigated alternative sites for water storage, negotiated with a private contractor as a unified group and moved toward implementation of a much improved system.
3. In Cape Coast, the District Auditor, through the introduction of a staff productivity auditing system, reduced the time required to process a voucher from 2 weeks to 2 days. At the same time, he decreased the time required to audit estates from 6 weeks to 2 weeks. To do this, he presented his proposal to his regional head of department, negotiated for the use of scarce transportation, and implemented a program of in-service training for his staff.

*The first 15 cases come from Warren (1979, pp. 26-29).

4. The Electricity Corporation district head in Cape Coast, plagued with uncollected funds which resulted in poor service to customers, made the decision to disconnect customers with bills overdue by two months, introduce a new bill collection plan based on job rotation which reduced staff corruption among the collectors, and launch a public relations campaign to prepare people for these changes. The hope was to reduce outstanding bills by 50%; actually, 100% reduction was achieved in less than two months.
5. One Cape Coast District Councillor, 67 years of age, arose at 2 a.m. each day to make the trip from his village to the seminar. He increased his ward's revenue collection by 100% in less than two months and embarked on the construction of a post office using communal labor.
6. The District Council clerk in Cape Coast, unmotivated and unproductive prior to the seminar, decided that his job needed to be enriched. He negotiated a more demanding job with increased responsibilities, though at the same pay as before. Colleagues report that he is putting in 12-hour days and is having a positive effect on the other staff members.
7. The Cape Coast district officer for the Department of Fisheries recognized the poor services being provided in his department's repair of outboard motors for fishermen, and decided to increase the cost per hour for a mechanic from ₵.25 to ₵2.50. By increasing the per hour charge to a more realistic rate, he was able to pay the mechanic more, thus reducing the theft of spare parts, and improve efficiency and turnover of engines coming in for repair. In the

first two months, revenue was increased by \$100% and fishermen commented that the services had improved.

8. At the Axim District Council, the Electricity Corporation, councillors and concerned citizens organized an Electricity Committee to bring electricity to the streets of the district capital. This entailed negotiation with regional level offices. On the day of the ERDM follow-up four months later, 72 street lights were functional; 72 more were later installed.
9. In Asankrangwa, the combined organization of councillors and officers prioritized the district's need for a bus service, a petrol station, and a branch bank. Difficult as it is to believe that none of these services existed in this district, the district council, while at its seminar, opened negotiations in all three areas and in the two months following the seminar achieved results in all of them. This involved coordinating officers, councillors and district interest groups and negotiating with Regional bank managers, state transport managers, economic planning officers, and private contractors, and researching corporate law and district rights.
10. In Techiman District in Brong-Ahafo Region, following the revenue collection control exercise, the revenues collected in the market have increased 400%. Data collection exercises across the country have indicated that an average of only about 20% of the collectible income in a district gets deposited in the district treasury. Making this fact public knowledge is having important effects in the districts.

11. The Regional Medical Officer of Health (RMOH) in the Western Region, recognizing the need for upgrading the managerial capacity of his organization if it were to implement the primary health care program planned for his region, requested training assistance from the ERDM trainer/consultants. Working closely with the Ministry of Health, the ERDM team designed a short in-service training program.
12. The Regional Administrative Officer, Western Region, requested a consultant to assist in the redesign of the regional filing system and mail distribution system; ERDM met this request.
13. The Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation at Winneba requested consulting services on the design of a preventive maintenance program for old and new equipment. The ERDM team met and worked with the officer to design this system which is not yet in place.
14. The Regional Coordinator for the Women in Development Program requested a cost/benefit analysis for a cooperative bakery; this was done and the bakery is now operating.
15. The Regional Organization in Cape Coast has requested that ERDM work with them to design a regional monitoring system for both projects and staff productivity.
16. A significant step towards improved functioning of the District Council took place in Berekum, when several maps of the area resources were put on permanent display in the Town Hall. Most councils do not have maps readily available during meetings. These maps showed the district in detail. One covered highways and roads, another showed water supply sources, another the electricity availability.

17. Also in Berekum, the Council initiated a gari (a dried carbohydrate) processing plant through an ERDM seminar. The council purchased the cassava from local producers and then processed it into gari. There are plans to purchase a grinding mill in FY '82 and to begin their own cassava farm to feed the mill.
18. In two district capitals there are bakeries operating as a result of the planning done during a seminar. Through a joint planning and decision making process in Tapa and in Bekwai, the Councillors and the Office of the DCE decided to establish bakeries and to allocate a portion of the flour ration to the Council bakery.
19. District farms were established in several districts, in others the operation of the existing farms was improved. Some district farms were established through an ERDM seminar, in conjunction with the Limman government effort for a "crash agricultural improvement effort." Some of the farms are located at: Nkawie, Konongo, Agona, Tep. in the Ashanti Region; in the Eastern and Volta Region, farms are located at Hohoe, Kibi and Akuse; and in the Brong Ahafo region there are farms at Nkoranza and Goaso. Animal husbandry projects were initiated at Oboasi and Nkawie.
20. Several "Officers' Clubs" have been established at the District level. These clubs are intended as a place where district officers can socialize and get to know each other informally. Some exist in Bekwai, Goaso, Berekum, Mampong (AR), Offinso, Asankranwa, Yendi, Gambaga, Navrongo and Bawku. Where physical structures were not erected or improved, the officers use existing Council properties for their meetings.

21. ERDM helped establish a new bank at Agona (AR). While it had been in the planning stage for several years, through an ERDM workshop, senior officers and councilors programmed an action plan to, as one Councillor said, "get things moving again." A new Commercial Bank of Ghana was opened on September 16, 1980.
22. The DCE of Techiman (B/A) changed his management style as a result of ERDM consultations and seminars. He canceled his morning office hours, using the time to organize district projects, i.e. plan and secure all of the materials, before going to the worksite. He goes to the site for 3-4 hours each morning. While "supervising" he is available for district business to anyone who visits the site. The DCE has been able to provide a role model for getting a job done and has completed many small projects. Examples of completed projects: a district office building, an improved latrine, gates on the central market, a toll collection booth in the market, and a newly paved truck depot.
23. Also in Techiman, revenue collection was significantly improved after the revenue collectors were reorganized and trained. Previously, most of the collectors worked in the central market 3 days per week. It was realized that a broader base for revenues was needed rather than to depend completely on the market. Half of the collectors were reassigned to collect the "head tax" or basic rate. (See Warren - 1981).
24. The remodeling and refurbishing of latrines was carried out in Cape Coast; the completion of this project got national television coverage. The idea for a coordinated latrine improvement effort was pre-

sent by one councillor during a seminar. As a part of the planning process, the entire seminar made a visit to several latrines. A plan was developed and implemented as a result.

25. The relationship between a number of U.S. AID-funded projects and one district council was not going smoothly until ERDM trainer/consultants suggested and carried out a special seminar. Councillors and district officers attended a special two-day seminar to help them understand the AID project process and to plan the joint implementation of the projects. Several AID representatives attended to explain the project documentation process to the participants, to respond to their comments and suggestions and to plan jointly the next steps.
26. In the Nkoranza District, which was newly established in 1979, many of the officers continued to live at the former headquarters city. As part of the ERDM seminar, alternative methods were developed of how to get officers to meet and how they could be available in the new location on a regular basis. In addition, office space allocation was reviewed and additional housing was identified.
27. Many districts were involved for the first time in the National Five Year Development Plan process because of ERDM. Through seminars and consultations, ERDM encouraged and supported the organizing of District Development Handbooks. Many districts used the data collected for their handbook as a basis for submitting their five year plan. One district had already prepared a three year plan prior to the announcement of the five-year plan. A model district five-year plan was submitted by the Sandema District Council as part of the Upper Region Plan.

28. The ERDM team of the Eastern region made use of the video tape equipment to help district councils monitor project progress. In Koforidua, they taped the progress of a city improvement project. Several months later they retaped the project and then showed the tapes to senior officials to review progress and to allow discussion of problems. This same type of effort with the video was carried out in Nalerigu (NR) during a revenue collection effort.
29. In Bawku, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development has no transport, stationery, tools, nor equipment, and is understaffed. However, the Department Head and staff, working through Councillors, District Administration, youth groups and PVOs were able to promote the construction of 48 wells during the 1979-80 dry season. They averaged 3 per ward. Ward associations decided to tackle digging small dams next. Moreover, the recent well construction activities have been combined with adult education meetings that have helped farmers negotiate for increased agricultural and educational services in their wards.
30. In Tamale, after a long series of management seminars at IAM, Kumasi and 4 ERDM seminars for regional officers, the regional heads of the Ministry of Agriculture, using problem identification techniques, developed a plan to make their operations more cost-effective. They designed a means of reducing their staffs, especially many of their redundant young female laborers. Over 100 laborers were released without appeal through their planning and united implementation of their controversial personnel action.

31. Despite the number of meetings that are called by the political head of the region, a technical head repeatedly points out that there are no alternative ways for holding department head meetings except for the ERDM workshops. For too long the official meetings have been used for scolding and boasting. In contrast, the interdepartmental forums that the workshops provide allow fair exchanges of experience and ideas and the establishment of informal task forces to follow through proposals made.
32. A regional head who recently transferred to another region returned to Tamale. He complains that there are no ERDM workshops for regional bosses at his new post. Regional departments are isolated and the bosses defensive, so much so that he expects little work to be accomplished in the short run. There seemed to be few ways to communicate across departmental lines. He also was finding his integration into the usual core of regional heads to be slow because there was hardly a "core" operating.
33. One of the few heads of a regional department who is able to regularly visit staff in the districts also relies on the ERDM reports of district seminars to help monitor local development and the role the department is playing. ERDM reports have also been used as input into staff meetings in the regional capital.
34. Several regional heads attend the seminars being offered for the district government in the regional capital in addition to attending the workshops for the regional heads. Once at ease with experiential workshop procedures, the regional head of the Public Health Services started similar staff workshops. Staff training by regional bosses

is more common after ERDM, especially in the areas of public health, nutrition and home extension education.

35. The heads of the regional agricultural offices and the regional meteorological officer participated together in several problem identification sessions, and brought out a problem between the two agencies for all department heads to hear. They realized that the timely sharing of weather data to help predict the start of the rains in districts would be helpful. Meteorology was saying the agriculture people had lost opportunities and misdirected farmers while the agriculture people said they had not received valuable meteorological information on time. A communication plan was developed to improve the data transfer between the departments and it was presented before the other regional heads.
36. After district seminars in Bole and Damongo and several regional heads' workshops, the regional head of the Animal Husbandry Department promoted a program for the district officers to make their own annual work plans and to draw their own district financial estimates for his approval. Previously, all departmental planning and budgeting was done at the regional level.
37. Combining training sessions in the districts with those for regional bosses led to a number of new practices within the Ministry of Agriculture: monthly meetings of regional section heads, durbars at the district level with technical officers, use of work objectives.
38. The District Chief Executives each with post-graduate education, high visibility, high local influence, were initially suspicious of the management training exercise. Often being some of the more sophisti-

cated officers in the area, they felt above needing training from a local group. At the same time, their low performance on the job was being covered up. Now many of them appreciate the way the ERDM interventions have helped them and their department heads and councillors feel much more self reliant, locally responsible, and able to contribute deliberately to local economic development.

39. The Bishop of one diocese sends a car for the ERDM team that lives 6 hours away. All professional expatriate and Ghanaian lay and religious personnel participated in 3 workshops to improve the Catholic Church development program implementation. The Church says the ERDM team is made up of "small boys doing wonders."
40. The nationally renowned Credit Union Association in the North contracts to have ERDM run its staff improvement courses, although the CUA has its own trainers. A sharing of experiential and financial management training methods is taking place and negotiations are under way for a general management seminar for headquarters staff in 1982. ERDM is also helping local societies better formulate projects.
41. When the Head of the Audit Department in Yendi installed the job enrichment plan he had designed with a team in a seminar, there was a tripling in the number of audits completed in the district. He broke his department into three competitive sections. As news of his reform became public, he began to serve as a local consultant to fellow department heads on how to delegate and to use work objectives to aid supervision.

42. In a major way, ERDM served as a model for self-renewal in international project management. Exposure to the formalized intensive staff development program within the ERDM section of the MFEP led a number of international schemes to invest more in their staffs. The Institute of Field Communications and Training (IFCAT) (Dutch and IBRD) added formal staff training to their series of staff meetings using the assistance of the ERDM team. They conducted training sessions six times in the past two years.
43. ERDM designed and conducted a conference on Rural Animation Methods that produced a manual and served as a start-up event for the Community Participation Department of the CIDA-Norrip regional program.

ANNEX II: ERDM PERFORMANCE DATA - 1978-81

Empirical data on the 1978-82 performance of the regional teams is available at the National Secretariat, ERDM/MFEP and at ODA/USAID, Accra as well as at each regional office of MFEP. Rather than estimate what the total level of ERDM management improvement activity is nationwide, we prefer to provide up-to-date figures for 2 of the 8 regions covering 17 of the nation's 68 district councils. Further analysis of the project should look at whether or not this 2-region sample is representative.

TABLE II
Number of Training/Consulting Interventions by Type of Client, Upper and Northern Regions, 1978-81
 (figures in brackets are percentages)

YEAR ¹	CLIENTS				
UPPER REGION	District	Regional	Public Boards/		
PVOs	Councils	Officers	Corporations		Totals
1978	1(100)				1
1979	1(7)	11(79)	2(14)		14
1980	2(13)	12(80)	1(7)		15
1981	7(32)	5(23)	2(9)	8(36)	22
NORTHERN REGION					
1978		1(100)			1
1979		13(81)	3(19)		16
1980		16(76)	4(19)	1(5)	21
1981	12(43)	14(50)	2(7)	0	28
	22(19)	73(62)	14(12)	9(7)	118(100)

¹In 1978, field work started in September and was conducted by ERDM staff from both regions

Analysis of Table II

1. District and Regional Council management improvement efforts made up 74% (87 of 118) of the formal interventions by the ERDM teams from October 1978 to December 1981.
2. Work with local government shifted in 1981, contracts had decreased to 38% (19/50) of that year's outreach effort compared to a high of 80% (24/30) of ERDM formal activities in 1979.
3. In 1981, ERDM worked equally with the PVO sector, contracting for 19 workshops/consultancies, as it did with district government. Eight key PVOs (202 participant contacts) working in the areas of agriculture, animal husbandry, credit, and health, were involved in staff and program development. More intensive efforts with fewer organizations took place. With two agencies, five interventions each were conducted within a four month period.
4. The frequency of ERDM interventions increased overall for the two regional teams, from a low of 30 activities in 1979 to a high of 50 in 1981. But team strength was 15% greater in 1979 than in 1981.

TABLE III
ERDM Activities and Clients, Upper and Northern Regions
1978-1981

UPPER REGION

Year	No. In-Service Events	Days-Formal Inservice	Training/Consulting Interventions	Days-Training Consulting	Councillors Involved	Total Participants	No./District Government Clients
1978	4	63	1	10	6	28	28
1979	2	14	14	126	84	362	275
1980	3	17(6)	15	86	132	435	349
1981	3	4(5)	22	61	31	476	127
Subtotal	12	98(11)	52	283	253	1,301	779
Total		109					

NORTHERN REGION

1978	4	63	1	10	0	23	23
1979	2	14	16	134	74	475	357
1980	5	22(6)	21	113	53	429	315
1981	4	4(6)	28	53	26	360	189
Subtotal	15	103(12)	66	310	153	1,287	884

Total

115

For Two Regions

118

593

406

2,588

1,663

¹ Field work started in September, 1978

² Formal inservice training for ERDM staff started in March, 1978. The figures in brackets are for in-service training days that 1) took place in either the Upper or Northern Region, 2) were locally financed, and 3) were attended by trainer/consultants from both regions. The column figures are for Nation-wide, centrally financed formal training sessions.

Table III Summary

1. 115 days on in-service produced 593 days of training/consulting (1:5 ratio).
2. 115 days in-service produced 118 field interventions (1:1 ratio).
3. 115 in-service over 870 work days (3.8 years) meant one in-service day for every 7.5 days of field training/consulting over the 1978-81 period.

Summary

On the average, the Northern and Upper component of ERDM each year organized 36 seminars/consultancies (185 annual seminar days) reaching 809 participants at 20 different locations. Figures for 1982 suggest continued linkages with PVOs--3 of 5 reported interventions (January through April) were with the private sector.

TABLE IV

U.S. Technician Involvement* in Management Improvement Efforts

1978-81, by Region

<u>NORTHERN REGION</u>			<u>UPPER REGION</u>		REGIONAL AND NATIONAL **In-Service
Year	No. of Inter- ventions attended	%	No. of Inter- ventions attended	%	
1978	1/1	100	1/1	100	4/4
1979	15/16	94	9/4	64	2/2
1980	17/21	81	4/15	27	5/5
1981	24/28	85	5/22	27	4/4
Totals	57/66	86	20/52	38	15/15
Two Region					
Totals	77/118	65			

*Involvement = from making observations to actual participation in formal training at the site.

**Three of four two-team formal in-service sessions were conducted in the Upper Region. One formal session with only Northern Region staff also done.

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ANNEX IV: GLOSSARY

ADB	Agriculture Development Bank of Ghana
AID	U.S. Agency for International Development; also USAID
BAREDEP	Brong-Ahafo Regional Economic Development Project
CAP	Church Agriculture Projects
C DST	Community Development Staff Training Project
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CUA	Credit Union Association of Ghana
CUSO	Canadian Universities Service Overseas
DCE	District Chief Executive
DIPRUID	District Planning for Rural Integrated Development
E EC	European Economic Commission
ERDM	Economic and Rural Development Management Project
FAAD	Farmers Agrobusiness Association Development Project
FTS	Formal Training Sessions or ERDM training-of-trainers Ghana
GIMPA	Institute of Management and Public Administration
GOG	Government of Ghana
GSO	Government Services Office
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
GTZ	West German Technical Assistance Agency
IAM	Institute of Agricultural Management, Kwadaso-Kumasi
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IFCAT	Institute for Field Communication and Training
LGGC	Local Government Grants Commission
MFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning

MIDAS Managed Input and Development Agriculture Support Project
MOH Ministry of Health
NORRIP Northern Regional Rural Integrated Programme
MP Member of Parliament
ODA Office of Development Administration, USAID
PEA Peoples Education Association of Ghana
PVO private voluntary organizations
USAID U.S. Agency for International Development
UST University of Science and Technology, Kumasi
VIDED Village Development through Non-Formal Education Project
WHO World Health Organization