

The Human Resources Factor in African Public Administration: A Review*

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Many reviewers of the state of the public services in Africa today, have very hard words to say about them. The services are described as ineffective, inefficient, performing poorly and a host of basically negative descriptions.¹ The poor performance is either ascribed to one of three causes: the failure to appropriately restructure the inherited organizational arrangements in order to cope adequately with increased, expanded and more complex activities; the hostility of the environment within which administrative organizations have to operate; and the inadequacy of the resources at the disposal of public administrative organizations, such as finances, materials and manpower. A lot has been written concerning the problems emanating from the organizational and ecological factors.² In this paper, therefore, we shall focus on the aspect of manpower and view how African countries have dealt with it in the past twenty years and what measures ought to be taken to improve its performance in the future.

THE AFRICAN PUBLIC SERVICE PERSONNEL SYSTEM: CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

In discussing the characteristics of the African public service personnel system we shall focus upon those characteristics that are common to many of the countries, and are critical to, or have a bearing on, the performance of the services.

First, we shall discuss the principles which guide the organisation and management of the services and review the extent to which these principles either constrain or enhance the performance of the service. The major guiding principles in the organisation and management of the service in many English-speaking African countries, are derived from the colonial legacy. One of the principles is the Career Service, first developed in Britain and France, but having been tried earlier in China. In Britain and France it arose out of the need for a public service system which

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would have a high degree of efficiency or productivity. In order to achieve this, it was deemed necessary to establish a career service which would offer a dignified and respected career on a full-time basis and would attract and retain persons of superior capacity in the service of their country.³ When colonies were established, the same principle was used in the colonial service, from which the constituting individual colonies derived their men. The principle of full-time, life-time career was also to be used in the recruitment of the supporting local staff.

Independence, in many of the countries being reviewed, has not changed the position: both the principle and the practice of staffing the services is still under the career service principle. There are, however, a few rumblings concerning the relevance of the principle in present day conditions. It is argued that the emphasis on permanence and tenure for public servants arose out of the need to maintain stability, order and continuity and was also a function of the scarcity of eligible entrants into the service. The present state of the world, Africa included, and the character of the problems facing African countries, is what is best described as turbulent, demanding a high degree of flexibility on the part of the managers of the situation. The employment of public servants on a permanent basis, therefore, deprives the government of the flexibility which it needs for meeting changing situations, through its personnel administration. In a period where government functions are expanding so fast in number, scope and complexity, it might become necessary to shift the human resources from tasks which are felt to be no longer necessary to new tasks.⁴

A related aspect is the organization of the service into hard and fast classes, which in turn was intended to make the career principle operational. As in Britain, before Fulton, many African countries have their services divided into several lateral and vertical classes, including the professional classes, the administrative class, the executive class and the common cadre. The movement between classes tends to be very restricted: recruitment is at the bottom of the class, with any vacancies occurring at the upper levels being filled by upward movements. The objective of organising the services along these lines is like the objective for adopting the career service, to attract and retain the best, as well as created commitment to the unit, but it tends to deny the government the necessary flexibility in its efforts to manage turbulent environments.

Another important principle, employed by the African governments in their organization and management of the personnel function, is the *merit principle*. It, too, is an important ingredient of the British (indeed, also the French) public service system. In the case of Britain, the principles are incorporated within the legal structure of the government as a basis for personnel selection, promotion and career management and is a concomitant part of the career service. The principle is composed of four elements: competence, equality of opportunity, open competition for appointment by examination and political neutrality. Competence and open

competition ensure that the quality of the civil servants remains high. Equality of opportunity is part of the democratic ideal. Political neutrality is thought to be necessary under a system of political democracy where there are more than one party. It guarantees both expert, objective and impartial advice in policy-making and loyal and faithful execution of policies.

Although no African government has come out and rejected the principle of merit - indeed as we shall note later, all the governments support the principle publicly, the practice of many of them is indicative of their unhappiness about it - they ignore it, many a time. Many of the governments accept the aspect of competence, equality of opportunity, they may be willing to go along with open competition, through examination, but few, if any will accept the aspect of political neutrality. The feeling on the part of many governments is that no government employee can be neutral with regard to the tasks at hand - all ought to be committed to the basic party goals and sensitive to the political process. This feeling was particularly intense at the time of independence, when the nationalist politicians, who had just assumed national political offices used to equate the instance on political neutrality by civil servants to siding with the departing colonialists. Since then, many of the countries have either become one party States, or military regimes and in either case, the feeling is that it is ridiculous to argue for neutrality when there is only one alternative presented by the single party state. The situation now, therefore, is as follows. Among the countries surveyed only four, Nigeria, Ghana, the Gambia and Swaziland are still adhering to the principle of political neutrality although in practice they expect the senior civil servants to at least toe the line of the party in power. The other countries, except the civil/public servants, especially those occupying senior positions to not only toe the party line, but to be active party members.

Partly as a consequence of the commitment by the government to the above principles, or in some cases, to the departure from the principles, and also as a result of other factors, including the relative underdeveloped character of the African countries and the colonial legacy, African public service personnel systems have a number of characteristic features, which we shall review below.

Low Degree of Competence

This feature has its origins in the colonial legacy, in that the colonial administration was satisfied to use officers recruited from the motherland for the management and supervisory functions; using local personnel only for the semi-skilled and unskilled activities. For that reason little or no emphasis was placed either on provision of educational facilities for the purpose of preparing a pool, out of which recruitment would be made, and/or training facilities for purposes of increasing the competence of recruited personnel. The whole of East Africa, for example, had only one

university and the whole of central and southern Africa relied on the University of Rhodesia only. Even Nigeria and Ghana, which were much better off in this area, were not adequately provided for with respect to the education and training of professional personnel. They were heavily dependent upon the colonial civil service.

For this reason, therefore, almost all the African countries found themselves totally unprepared in the manpower area when independence came. They had either to continue using the colonial servants to perform the management/supervisory functions of government or to make do with the not too well trained, inexperienced local manpower resources that were available. They chose to do both. The administrative class positions, especially, were immediately filled with local personnel. Some of these were well educated but had been denied the opportunity to gain the necessary experience. Many of them, however, though not well-educated, had been in the service for a long time performing supervisory responsibilities. They could, with crash training programmes, easily perform the management tasks. Professional positions, however, continued to be occupied by officers either loaned by the former colonial service or recruited through technical assistance.

Since then, however, the majority of the countries have taken serious steps to correct the situation. The bigger ones have established universities of their own which are turning out educationists, engineers, surveyors, doctors and administrators. They have also set up training facilities for improving the competence of staff already in posts. Where facilities are not available, trainees are being placed in overseas institutions. These efforts, however, have not been able to seriously improve the position, mainly because of two factors.

The first is that, the expansion in facilities has occurred at a time when the scope of public involvement in social activities had been growing tremendously and the size of the economy has of course, been growing fast, to the extent that the supply has on no occasion matched demand. The other factor is that, in many of the countries, the growth in educational and training facilities has not been a systematic exercise, linked to projections in manpower requirements and the anticipated changes and growth in the economy. Tanzania, has been the most systematic in its manpower planning, but even Tanzania has seriously neglected the supervisory levels, to the extent that there are now great distortions in the country's high and middle level manpower supply, which is very top-heavy.⁵ Zambia, Kenya, the Sudan and Nigeria have also taken some steps and the success they are having is commendable, although the impact of their efforts seems to be still heavily constrained by the absence of an authoritative decisional nerve-centre, at which demand for manpower would be linked to supply. We shall discuss this later.

Size

Another important aspect which does affect the productivity of the services is the rapid expansion of their staff. Swaziland, one of the smallest among the countries we are focussing on, for example, had since 1968, when she gained independence, experienced a doubling of government personnel, from 4900 employees in 1968 to 9,105 in 1975. Tanzania's public service (the civil service) has increased from 35,000 employees in 1961 to well over 100,000 in 1976. Other countries could report similar expansion. The noted expansion is, in part, a consequence of the increase in government activity in both number and scope. All governments now provide the services they were providing when they gained independence to more people, they also provide a wider range of services. In addition, and may be as a consequence, they have to extract more resources and they have to regulate more activities than they did at the time of independence. They definitely had to take on more personnel to be able to cope with this expansion in activity.

However, the expansion in part is also a consequence of pressures on the government to provide employment to the boys. In all the countries visited, expansion of the service due to this factor was said to be a regular feature to the extent that, in some of these countries even many people presently in government employment are occupying posts which are not even established. But even when you have few or no employees occupying unestablished posts, that is in no sense indicative of that country's ability to control the personnel complement, as there are very few countries, if any, where a proper job analysis has been done to establish the exact personnel requirements. The problem seems to be under active scrutiny in many of the countries, notably the Sudan, Swaziland and Tanzania. Tanzania has indeed acted, though haphazardly, to deal at least with the symptoms. In 1976 it carried out a retrenchment exercise involving the reduction of the number of public employees by 20%. Swaziland has been considering doing the same, but the Government has not found enough will to undertake the exercise.

This expansion, has had several adverse consequences on the overall performance of the service. First, as we noted earlier, the system has little management capacity and is already hard put to manage the services, even without the expansion. The expansion in the size of the services, further overloads the capacities of the systems, thereby the controlling and supervisory function is improperly performed. With reduced supervision and controls, discipline, on the part of the operators, might, and indeed has tended to decline. As a consequence productivity declines. Secondly, since the additional employees, have in part been hired without there having been any substantial workload, the tendency has been for them to remain relatively unoccupied or to share workloads with existing personnel. But since the additional employees have to be paid salaries at existing rates, this has meant an increase in the cost of the services without a commensurate increase in the amount of work performed, with adverse consequences on the productivity of the services.

Morale and motivation

Morale is yet another aspect which is said to be presently low and is adversely affecting the productivity of the services. This factor, perhaps, more than others deserves being given a lot of attention by policy-makers if African countries have to cope with the problems of the 1980s. Not that it is necessarily the most critical, but it is a factor whose resolution is within the competence of policy-makers in most African States, yet it is very much neglected. In country after country which we visited, the majority of the people we interviewed cited low morale as the explanation for the noted decline in productivity. In one country, for example, a driver who was assigned to us was late to pick us up several times and when we reported the matter to his supervisor, the matter was simply brushed aside and ascribed to the low morale in the service. The country, where productivity of the services seemed to be least affected by a decline in morale, at least to the observer as we were, is Kenya. We shall discuss some of the reasons for this exception later.

The reasons for this state of affairs were varied and included the constant interference in the services by politicians, especially with respect to such issues as recruitment, promotion discipline; the increasing abandonment of merit in recruitment and advancement, conditions of service that compare unfavourably either with the private sector or with the parastatals; conditions of service (salaries and other benefits) which are ever being adversely affected by the vagaries of ever-rising inflation when political interference takes place, it tends to increasingly demoralise the senior civil servant, he no longer feels competent to take decisions on issues without such decisions being reversed; his subordinates tend to increasingly regard him as a toothless bull dog whose authority is meaningless, thus undercutting the basis for maintaining discipline and control in an organization. In such circumstances, the civil servants abdicate their authority.

One aspect of this factor which seemed to attract most attention in our discussions, was the question of pay and conditions of service in the public services. It is also the subject upon which governments have devoted considerable time and efforts - in all the countries studied, the subject of pay and conditions of service has been studied at least once by commissions of inquiry since the attainment of independence. It is also the most intractable and seems to affect morale most. The issue seemed to be conceived differently among the various countries studied. In Kenya, for example, the problem was conceived as consisting of how to attract and retain well-qualified and experienced personnel in the public service, in view of the fact that the private sector pays so much more. In Tanzania where there is little private sector to speak of, the problem was one of what salary and other benefits would make the public servant (both senior and junior) put in an honest day's work and resist from being corrupted by the public. In Zambia it was more a problem of what salary

and other benefits would enable the public servant to fight the vagaries of spiralling inflation. Nigeria has only recently completed a salary review and awarded large increases, yet even there, the question of declining morale as a result of pay and conditions of service loomed high amongst the items discussed. It, therefore, deserves to be discussed at length. This we do in the next section.

TOWARDS AN ENLIGHTENED APPROACH TO PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

The foregoing survey was intended to give us a bird's eye view of the major problems afflicting the African public service personnel systems. In this section we shall discuss the extent to which enlightened personnel policies may resolve some of these problems and lead to improved productivity of the services. We shall treat the subject under the following sub-headings: the importance of personnel policy; organization for management of the personnel function; approaches to staffing; the role of manpower development; compensation and its relationship to motivation; performance appraisal; and staff relations.

The importance of a personnel policy statement

It is fashionable for governments to issue policy statements on what the objectives of development ought to be, and as they do so, they also mention the importance which they attach to the various resources required for the development process. These statements consist mainly of policy statements on land, finances, capital abound in the Five Year Plans of the respective African countries. Little mention, however, is made on one of the most important resource - people. The public services of the African countries are composed principally of people or personnel, but little is said concerning how that important resource may be obtained, harnessed and deployed for purposes of accelerating socio-economic development. In our interviews in the countries we visited we were at pains to discover whether there was a comprehensive government statement which one could construe as the policy of government on public service personnel. To our disappointment there was no such statement in any of the countries. One had, therefore, to distil the policy of the government from numerous circulars on various subjects of the personnel function. Even when it was said earlier that most governments are committed to the organization of the service through the use of the career service, the statement did not have any authoritative base. It was more of an assumption than anything else.

Governments will have to deal with this issue seriously to convincingly indicate the importance they attach to human resources as an aspect of the development process. Preferably, such a comprehensive statement ought to be issued by the highest office, either the office of the

President or Prime Minister to give it the necessary weight. The statement ought to be subject to periodic revision to take into account changes in circumstances. Its circulation ought to be wide, preferably, displayed on notice boards so that all staff may have access to it. The statement would include a statement of principles on each of the personnel management functions, including, recruitment, training and development, conditions and terms of service, promotion and advancement, and staff review. It is in this statement, where the role of central organization for managing the personnel function would also be stated.

Central Organization for managing the personnel function

Next in importance to clarity of governmental objectives in public personnel management is the need for properly constituted organizational mechanisms through which the function of managing personnel would be carried out. Such organizational mechanisms ought to be given requisite prominence, status, power and facilities.

The situation obtaining in the bulk of the countries is far from this ideal. Taking the countries surveyed, for example, the central organization for the management of the personnel function consists of: (i) the Establishment Secretariat or Directorate of Personnel Management, (ii) the Civil or Public Service Commission; (iii) Departmental Establishment Offices; and (iv) the Office of the President or Prime Minister. Power, authority and responsibility in respect of various aspects of the personnel function is shared amongst these units.

This arrangement, whereby responsibility and authority for the personnel management function is shared among agencies has been criticized in some circles and in our field research, a number of people made submissions supporting the integration of the various agencies. We were told of the many occasions where conflict of jurisdictions occurred between the public/civil service commission, the directorates of personnel management and departments. Furthermore, it is pointed out that the public service commission, as they are structured and staffed in many countries tend to be unresponsive to government's staffing needs. The majority of the commissioners are not professional personnel experts, yet they are required to decide on such matters as recruitment, appointments, promotions and disciplinary actions, which require a professional hand; and, as a consequence of passing these responsibilities to the commissions, these vital management functions are divorced from the line managers of government. At best, this arrangement is viewed to be cumbersome causing delay and frustration in vital personnel decisions. At worst, it is a breach of basic management principles, in that the staffing of key government units is denied to the people who are charged with the management of the units.⁶

Against this argument is the fact that the Commissions work in-

dependently, thus helping to ensure that personnel decisions are made objectively, on merit alone and, because it works as a team, it is able to avoid inclinations towards victimization or prejudice, which individual managers might find difficult to avoid.

One approach to the resolution of the problem involves the merging of the Public Service Commissions with the establishment division/directorate of personnel management. The Director of Personnel should in turn delegate to the maximum extent possible, these responsibilities to the permanent/principal secretaries. Thus, the full spectrum of the personnel management function from recruitment to retirement would be centred in the establishment division/directorate of personnel management. Government would then have a true central personnel agency, both responsible and accountable to the senior management of government for proper and adequate staffing. Following this proposal, the Public Service Commission would be replaced by an agency appointed by the President and responsible for hearing appeals by aggrieved employees or applicants, who feel they have been treated unfairly by government. These appeals would cover all aspects of personnel management, as they affect individuals. Such a board would be empowered to hear evidence and call for relevant information. It would recommend action to the head of civil service based on findings. The institution of such a body could allay fears that might arise from consolidating the entire personnel management function with the establishment secretariats/directorates of personnel management.

The approach to the problem outlined above, though sound, might be considered too revolutionary and therefore unacceptable. What might be acceptable is the retention of the present executive role of the public/civil service commission. But this increases delegations of authority to permanent secretaries for appointments, promotions and disciplinary action in respect to certain job group categories up to a certain level. It might also be possible to use more vigorously the department and ministry heads in roles of advisers to the commission, especially concerning matters affecting their units.

Regarding the Directorates of personnel management/establishment secretariat we have the following observations. As said earlier, establishment secretariats, at the time of independence, were in most of the countries, small units located in either the prime minister's office or the treasury. Often, as in Kenya and Tanzania (Tanganyika then), the central personnel functions were performed by two separate units: one located in the treasury and another in the office of the prime minister. In many countries, a consolidation of the functions into one unit, invariably called directorate of personnel/establishment ministry or public service ministry has taken place, although in some countries residual functions are still performed by the treasury. Locating the establishment secretariats in the office of the prime minister/president is intended to bestow upon the personnel agencies, the authority and power of the biggest and most powerful office in the land, and thus increase its latitude *vis-a-vis* line ministries.

The experiences of countries, where this is the practice, as evidence from Zambia and Swaziland indicate, is that this location has tended to act as a drag rather than an advantage, in that they are considered to be of smaller status than a ministry. The head of the civil service, who could provide protection happens to be very busy in his other roles as permanent secretary to the head of the government and the secretary to the cabinet. The result is that the directorates and up are without effective strength to make things move their way.

An alternative to locating the central personnel agency in the office of the head of government, is the creation of full fledged ministries of personnel management under the overall leadership of a cabinet minister and permanent secretary. The advantage of this approach is that the problem of being regarded as an agency which is inferior in rank to other ministries would no longer exist; it would then be in position to stand and defend itself directly in all forums, no longer under the tutelage of some 'big brother.'

The extent to which the central personnel agency is effective, however, may not depend so much on location, and nomenclature. It is a function of the orientation which the agency has, concerning the personnel function. The conception of what personnel management in government entails will, in turn, condition the internal organizational structuring. If the conception of the personnel management task is that it involves concentrating on the administration of rules, regulations and procedures, then a static organization will emerge. The achievement of the bold objectives set by government requires an orientation which views the personnel management function as requiring action, boldness, initiative and development. As the Udoji Commission noted, it is important, that the approach to the structuring of the Ministry responsible for personnel management is cognizant of this fact.⁷ The Udoji Commission suggested the creation of several divisions around four major dynamic functions, and, although the Commission had the Nigeria situation in mind when making its recommendations, the approach could profitably be employed by other African countries in the organization of their central personnel agencies. The key tasks for such an organization would have to include: the continuing view of the tasks of government with a view to determining manpower requirements in quantity and quality and to assess recruitment and training needs; the establishment of personnel policies and practices and to monitor their application throughout the service in areas such as recruitment, training, promotion, evaluation, and pay, assisting of ministries in developing the type of organization that would enable them to perform their tasks more efficiently, and the study of modern management techniques with a view to determining their adaptation to the situation obtaining in the country concerned. Once the importance of these functions is realized, a viable organizational structure can be worked out.

Approaches to staffing

In the survey of personnel problems being experienced by African countries, we noted that one of the factors contributing to the incompetence of the services was the approach to staffing which is out of date. Broadly speaking, staffing should involve a number of activities including: (i) the determination of manpower needs and requirements which is achieved through job analysis and manpower planning; (ii) the search for, and decisions on sources of recruitment and (iii) selection and placement of the right candidates. Originally the first and second activities tend to be merged. An organization that is following an enlightened policy to staffing would want to approach it, by following the activities through, not necessarily in sequence, but many a time concurrently. Let us devote a little time to review the experiences of African countries and suggest measures for ameliorating the situation.

The determination of manpower needs

The process of determining manpower needs has two major dimensions. On the one hand, it involves evaluating the total amount of work to be done by the organization, and then establishing the work to be done in each job in the organization, including establishing the relative importance of jobs, called Job Evaluation; establishing the relative relatedness of jobs - job grouping; and determining the overall job needs in the organization.

The situation obtaining in many of the countries is that the public service jobs were established piecemeal in response to either crises or in some cases as a consequence of 'Parkinson's law'.¹⁸ Of all the countries studied, only the Sudan had made an attempt to carry out a comprehensive job analysis in the entire public service, and even there, the exercise is still incomplete. In some cases, some of the jobs may have been established for purposes of fulfilling a real need, but following the establishment of posts, little attempt is made to review the consequence of these new jobs to the existing ones.

Many countries, however, seem to have the right setting for take off along the desired direction. Thus, in Kenya, Tanzania, Swaziland to mention just a few, the current organizational set up for Central Personnel Management have job analysis and related functions prominently catered for. The next step, however, should be to move from intentions to action. Action would require that job analysis and related activities be not simply assigned to some unit in the personnel office, but that the units charged with performing the functions be adequately and competently manned, which, due to the general short-supply of trained manpower in all the countries, is not the case presently. Since the objectives of government are changing; becoming more complex all the time, the analysis of the structure of government activity, and the component parts, which are the jobs,

ought to be equally continuous.

The other dimension of this activity is the determination of current staffing position in relation to the jobs being done and likely to be done in future, with a view to identifying shortfalls. This activity is called manpower planning. Effectiveness in performing this activity of determining current needs and forecasting future needs depends upon three basic inputs: information on organizational plans and the consequential job requirements, which is dependent on how well the job analysis functions are performed; knowledge of present manpower resources; and information on the manpower environment, which would tend to influence future supply.

Just as we said for job analysis, manpower planning in many African countries is very unsatisfactory. Among the countries of our study focus, for example, two of them, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, have not even organized themselves for the performance of the function. The others have at least set up organizational frameworks for performing the activity, although the measure of success differs considerably. For some, notably Zambia, Nigeria and Swaziland, their human resources planning efforts are characterized by their *ad hoc* and piecemeal nature and general lack of perspective. They tend to be responses to crises rather than carefully integrated planned strategies.⁹

Some of the countries, however, notably Kenya and Tanzania, are approaching the manpower planning activity with increasing precision. Kenya, for example, has in the development plan (1973-78) which has just been completed detailed specification of personnel requirements on the basis of development targets to be achieved and a clear differentiation is made between the existing personnel, the required personnel, the actual number of persons to be trained and an indication of sectors with a likely surplus and those with a deficit. Actual implementation of these specifications, however, has been hampered by the fact that implementation of the manpower targets, was never made the responsibility of any one specific agency. As a consequence, there were many uncoordinated efforts resulting in the dispersal of energies and wastage of resources. The United Republic of Tanzania has approached the manpower planning function with equal if not greater seriousness. Starting from a poor manpower supply base, it decided to take a pragmatic and utilitarian approach to educational and human resource planning. The major objective of Tanzania's approach was to satisfy the economy's demand for high-level human resources by 1980s, while in the meantime guarding against excess supply, which is socially undesirable both in respect to employment considerations and the opportunity cost of the scarce resources available to satisfy the many other urgent demands.

To make the manpower planning function effectively, therefore, a number of measures ought to be taken by the respective governments, including the following: the need to integrate manpower planning into the overall national socio-economic planning, involving as we said, in the case

of Kenya, detailed specification of personnel requirements on the basis of development targets to be achieved; a clear differentiation of the existing personnel the required personnel and the actual number of persons to be trained. The designation of a competent and authoritative agency to be responsible for the integration and coordination of the efforts of the various units involved in data collection and implementation. This might, in many countries, involve moving the manpower planning functions from the Ministry of Economic Planning to the Central Personnel Agency; strengthening the manpower capability in the respective line agencies/ministries by appointing officers whose job will be to continually review organizational manpower needs; instituting machinery for facilitating dialogue between all the agencies involved, especially between the users and the suppliers.

Policy on Recruitment

Many of the African countries have no explicit policy on recruitment, but, by and large, the unstated policies are influenced by the extent of commitment by the government to the twin principles of merit and a closed career service. These in turn, are divided into a number of horizontal and often fragmented 'services.' The services invariably include general administration, judicial administration, and the foreign service. Those services are in turn divided vertically into classes of employees, sometimes on two or three levels.

Under the arrangements of the closed career service, a civil servant tends to be recruited at an early age into the service with an implied promise of a life career during which he works his way up the hierarchy of the service. This promise of career means that, unless the candidate is not confirmed, he is assured of a life long employment which can be terminated only by mental or physical incapacity or the committing of a criminal offence. The structure is closed because it has no adequate provision for the admission of outsiders (who might be well qualified and experienced) into the higher grades of the hierarchy. Such a career and closed system does not provide enough incentives for change, modernization or the achievement of excellence and can lead to a type of inbreeding and obsolescence, which affects not simply structure, but organization and management. This situation is hardly satisfactory and such a service can not react speedily to the turbulent demands which are bound to be placed on it in the 1980s. The public service structure must, therefore, be change-oriented.

A number of countries with such closed career systems have made adaptations with a view to achieving a certain amount of flexibility in the use of the scarce personnel available to the nation. The adoption of a common grading structure has been done in some countries, so as to facilitate lateral movement between service and cadres. This falls short of adopting an open career system, but it at least places all jobs of sub-

stantially equal difficulty and complexity in the same grade and therefore on the same scale, thus offering opportunities for easier vertical and lateral mobility within the service.

It may be possible to go a stage further by replacing the closed career systems with open systems with lateral entry possibilities at all levels. Although no country (among those studied) has adopted the system, many of them have filled posts at various levels of the service, including the post of permanent secretary, with people from the private sector, or the universities, and the practice is becoming acceptable. The major constraint in regularizing the practice is the disparity in terms and conditions of service between, especially business organizations on the one hand, and government on the other, which makes it difficult for government to attract well-qualified and experienced personnel from the business world. It may, however, be possible to think of ways and means of resolving the problem, including the devotion of a special fund for topping up the salaries of people recruited along these lines, where it is thought to be necessary. The price might be worth it if it leads to the infusion of valuable new blood into the services.

The extent of commitment by government to the principle of merit has tended to affect recruitment policy in the following manner. Publicly, all African governments support the need to adhere to merit in recruitment for the public service. But much as they may support the merit principle, government often find that they have other important goals to achieve which may be hindered by too much adherence to merit. Thus, in the early years of independence in Africa, over-adherence to merit would have entailed the retention of the colonial civil servants and thus thwarted the fulfilment of the Africanization objective. In ethnically heterogeneous countries for example, it may be necessary to adopt a policy in recruitment which is either intended to correct earlier imbalances in government employment opportunities or to achieve the hegemony of a particular tribe. In one party States, persons are not considered qualified for government service if they do not adhere to the ideology of the ruling party. Many a time these considerations are valid and we do not suggest that African governments should disregard them. Our submission, however, is that whilst cognizant of these constraints to their full adherence to the merit principle in recruitment, efforts should be made to obtain the best people within the narrow limits available.

Selection

One other activity of the staffing function which has not received due attention and has in turn affected the quality of the public service is the selection of staff. Concerning this aspect, the *Udoji report* had the following to say about the position in Nigeria.

present method of recruitment reveals that it is perfunctory. Vacancies are normally not advertised and the omission relies on unsolicited

applications. The Commission puts out advertisements only when it is requested to do so by ministries. The advertisements are dull and are not capable of attracting the most promising men and women to apply. They do not contain enough information about career prospects. On the basis of unsolicited applications and occasional advertisements, the Commission invites candidates for interview, 12 at a time, and spends between 15 and 30 minutes with each candidate. The interview consists of questions on the candidate's record of educational qualifications and work experience. These are interspersed with a few questions on current and international affairs. There is no determined attempt at discovering traits, interests and abilities...¹⁰

The foregoing description of the recruitment process in Nigeria easily fits the situation obtaining in any of the countries being reviewed. As a consequence, the selection process, never really helps to get the best available for the organization.

In many countries, the rationality of the selection process is, however, hampered by other non-logistical factors, some of which we mentioned earlier in our discussion on recruitment policy. A recurring factor is the interference and interventions by political authorities and politicians with the work of the selection agencies, whether these be the commissions or the line authorities. It is not unusual for a minister to direct that a particular candidate fill a particular post, in spite of the fact that the selecting authorities would have chosen some other person, based on the rational established process, limited though it may be. The consequences of such intervention is to make a situation which is already bad much worse.

The rationality of the selection process may be improved by making the logistics of the selection process to be more methodical than is currently the case. It may involve the adoption of the selection methods being used by private business. These methods include: occasional sampling of the labour market; keeping rosters of potential candidates; carrying out preliminary interviews; and, the use of tests to supplement interviews and the use of specialists (such as psychologists) as advisers in the selection process. This might elongate the selection process, and might involve increased expense, but the additional expense may in the long run become offset by the improvement of personnel quality.

Rectification of the problems arising out of unprogrammed interventions by politicians may include: the strengthening of the powers and authority of selection agencies through the appointment of respected and authoritative individuals to such bodies; the protection of such agencies by important power centres in the country such as Office of President; but mainly, by impressing upon the perpetrators of the intervention, the irregularity and consequences of their actions on the overall performance of the services.

Education and training

An important method of enhancing the capability of public ad-

ministration is to increase the availability of qualified persons, in order that recruitment may benefit, and improving the capabilities of civil servants who are already in post. The availability of qualified personnel for the most part depends on education. The quantity and quality of education, would, in most cases, largely determine the kind of persons available for recruitment into the public service. As we have indicated earlier, the number of educated persons (especially college graduates) in Africa is small, and qualified people in the technical and scientific areas are even more scarce. A major reason for this is the paucity of facilities and, of course, resources. A long-term approach to the issue is through the improvement in the educational system and expansion of appropriate facilities.

The past decade has seen Africa make great strides in this area. Although the results have not been able to satisfy the great demand for qualified personnel, which is over-growing, the efforts are laudable. In 1961, for example, English-speaking Africa had less than 6 universities and many of them were concentrating on the liberal arts, law and the social science. Today, countries such as Nigeria, have more than six universities and a whole range of disciplines from computer science to hydrology are being offered. In 1961, only one of the countries had an administrative staff college, today all of them either have at least one or are in the process of setting one up. This is no mean achievement given the paucity of resources which we have been noting all along.

The question to ask, however, is whether this emphasis on the expansion of educational facilities and, consequently, on increased enrolment was intended to meet the real manpower needs of these countries? The reply is that often it has not since it was never quite related to the manpower planning activity which we discussed earlier, mainly because many countries did not have manpower plans anyway. Because of this disjointedness in needs and facilities, therefore, in many countries for example, there is an over supply of arts and law graduates (Ghana and Kenya) whilst in the same countries there are critical shortages in the technical and scientific fields. In Tanzania, the country has been doing very well with regard to satisfying the professional and management levels, but, as it has recently been realized, the first line supervisor level (the technicians) in factories and industries has been badly neglected.¹¹

There is a need, therefore, to approach the question of education from the perspective of 'education for what?' Given the paucity of resources, facilities cannot mushroom without being related to the achievement of societal objectives. It is important that the provision of additional and even existing educational facilities is related to the country's manpower plan which would in turn be premised on the country's development priorities. This might require a certain degree of high-handedness on the part of the government unit responsible for manpower planning as it attempts to influence universities, private organisations, and ministries to keep in line. The frustrations on the part of the agencies being co-

ordinated might be eased by the establishment of a consultative machinery, through which the views of the parties concerned might be aired. An example of such a body is the National Manpower Board, which the *Udoji Commission* recommended to have established in Nigeria.¹²

Whatever the quality of employees recruited happens to be, there is a need to improve the capability of public servants through training once they are in post. This need is especially important in African countries where the educational facilities available are limited and often do not produce the persons needed by the government. This is especially true, as we have noted, of certain basic skills and specialized fields, such as public health, tax collection, and the postal service. Even in the fields in which the educational system provides enough persons, it may be necessary to supplement the education of the new recruits by a certain amount of training.

Current position on training in Africa is unsatisfactory, and a lot will have to be done before it can have a positive impact on performance. The amount of training being conducted and therefore the number of public servants going through training programmes is so scanty; it is often unsystematic; the little training being carried out is often not directed towards the achievement of special objectives; and, the training efforts are uncoordinated. Thus, in Nigeria, the *Udoji Commission* notes that in spite of a strong awareness by the Nigerian Government of the need for increased efforts in training reflected in the doubling of facilities with consequential doubling enrolment at various training institution, only one in 20 staff members in the administrative categories were receiving any kind of training. This ratio fell to only one in 50 in the intermediate administrative and junior staff members.¹³ In Swaziland, the need to improve training as a tool in public service performance improvement has been a subject of over three reports, the latest being the Wamalwa Report. In almost all cases, the report's recommendations have for one reason or the other not been implemented, in spite of the fact that Cabinet took the necessary action at its level after most of these reports were submitted. Little positive action seems to have resulted. Thus in the first five years of independence, only a total of 556 persons attended refresher or induction courses in the entire public service.¹⁴ Factors accounting for this state of affairs in Swaziland included, the lack of commitment to training by senior echelons of the service, inadequacy of training facilities, and the poor quality of new facilities available.

Perhaps, Kenya is the country which, since the recent reorganization of the Directorate of Personnel Management in 1978 is approaching training systematically and with vigour. When we were at the Directorate of Personnel Management and the Kenya Institute of Administration during our field mission, we were told of plans for expansion of training facilities, including the five year plan on performance improvement training and the imposition of a training levy, all intended to boost the status of training in the country. But even there, the road is still long.

African countries will have to take a number of measures to make training an effective tool in public service performance. The major ones are the following:

First, they will have to emphasize to line managers that, responsibility for the development of their staff lies with them and not either with the training institutions, nor the agency co-ordinating training activities. A demarcation of responsibilities between the ministries and parastatals; and the training institutions and the Directorates of Personnel will have to be worked out. Whatever arrangements are worked out, the position of the Directorate of Personnel as the coordinator of the national training effort ought to be emphasized if the mushrooming of uncoordinated training facilities and programmes and, therefore, the dissipation of scarce resources are to be avoided.

Secondly, they will have to approach staff training systematically and relate it to organizational and staff performance. This has a double edge. On the one hand, the training institutions must be clear about the objectives of the courses intended to be mounted. This is also the only way to subsequently gauge results. On the other hand, the line agencies (departments) must be clear as to the benefits which they expect officers to derive from attending certain training programmes. Performance evaluation of staff will have to be introduced in order that performance gaps may be identified. It is these performance gaps which training will have to correct.

Thirdly, training facilities which are well staffed will have to be made available. Here paucity of resources will act as a constraint. One way of surmounting this problem is to have several countries pool resources for purposes of developing joint training institutions. A number of efforts in this direction are already under way - in management development for example, there are institutions such as CAFRAD, and the proposed sub-regional graduate schools. Such efforts will have to be intensified in the future.

Motivation

While education and training, together with intelligence and inborn capacity, influence the ability of individuals to perform, an individual public employee will be able to contribute his very best only if he is highly motivated. In the survey of the state of the public services in Africa, we noted that public employees were currently demotivated and that morale was generally low. A number of factors influence the level of morale and motivation in any organization, including the state of vertical and horizontal communications; and leadership patterns, but the most critical one is the system of material incentive which is in force. Our discussions on this subject, therefore, will focus on how the systems of material incentives may be made to facilitate improved performance of the service.

Among the variables which affect performance of the public per-

sonnel systems in Africa, the question of material incentives has been subjected to the most frequent examination. There is no country, for example, which has not had a salary review commission since all the African countries attained independence. Indeed some, like Swaziland, Zambia, Kenya, have had more than one. Even when commissions are appointed to review the entire operations of government machinery, one aspect which receives greatest attention is the issue of compensation. In spite of this concern and devotion of effort to the problem, it remains the most intractable and in our field interviews emerged as the issue which generated the highest emotions.

Discussions concerning improvements in systems of compensation in African public services have revolved around the following aspects. First, is the question of the form which compensation should take in government service. What is the desirable balance between the use of pay (salaries or wages); fringe benefits; other conditions of service - such as hours or work etc.; security and tenure constituents of the compensation package? On what element should public services place emphasis in order to attract and retain personnel and to have maximum performance by employees? The second aspect concerns pay or salary policy. In a way, this would involve a rediscussion of the first aspect, but it does involve other issues also. Put in the form of a question, discussions on this issue revolve around the question of 'what factors ought to be taken into account when deciding on the public service wage/salary structure?'

Forms of compensation in African public services

In the industrialized capitalist world compensation packages both in private and public service are often composed of the following elements: salaries or wages; direct supplements to regular pay; programmes that provide assistance to employees in meeting day to day employment problems; and programmes designed to provide security or protection against major hazards, including unemployment, ill health and dependent old age.¹⁵

African public services compensation systems include almost all these elements, although there is a preponderance in favour of salaries and wages and the programmes designed to provide security or protection against major hazards. The tenor of discussions, however, does not so much revolve around the question of the relative prominence of the elements in the compensation package. Rather it tends to concern the relative inadequacy of the entire compensation package from the point of view of being able to attract and retain qualified personnel. Since these two issues are to be treated under other subject headings later in the study, we have little reason to discuss the matter further at this point.

Evolution of policy on compensation: important considerations

Governments, like all employers, should not approach decisions on compensation policy haphazardly if they are serious about the improvement of performance of the service. They need to take into account certain factors, for them to take decisions with a view to facilitating the emergence of certain attributes in the service. And as they are doing so, they are constrained by a number of factors which make them unable to take certain courses of action.

Ideally, public personnel compensation policies ought to be directed at attaining a number of objectives. The first category of objectives relates to the need to ensure that compensation paid to government employees represents a fair reward for the services they render to the nation. This would require compensation packages in the public service to be relatively comparable to compensation packages in non-public service employment. The second category of objectives refers to the need to relate compensation policy to employment market forces. This means that in those countries, where there is an abundance of labour at the lower level of skills, the market price of labour at these levels is likely to be low, and might even be lower than what is considered to be a decent wage for supporting a desirable standard of living. The same forces would tend to push up the compensation packages for the scarce, qualified manpower to levels which might make the gap between their compensation package and that of the low grade workers very large.

Certain constraints, however, make the adoption of these policy directions difficult, if not impossible - not only in Africa but the world over. The first constraint which militates against pegging public service compensation packages on obtaining levels in the private sector is the total inability by the public service to shoulder such a burden. Governments can do so only at the expense of the various development objectives. There are just not enough financial resources to meet the resultant increased cost. Secondly, letting market forces determine compensation packages might not be socially and politically tenable, since this would tend to increase the gap between high income earners and low income groups in many of the countries, other than those where unskilled and semi-skilled labour is in short supply, which is not the case in any of the African countries. Any additions to the blatant gap in incomes existing in all the countries would just unleash undesirable socio-political forces which would tend to destabilize even further, the already fragile regimes. As a consequence, many African governments have tended to adopt compensation policies which are very much against market forces and thus not able to attract and retain the best in the service and those who are in the service tend not to give their best contribution. This situation has in turn negatively affected the efficiency of the service. The problem in many African countries, therefore, is how to resolve this dilemma.

It may, nonetheless, still be possible to work out a compensation

system and package which could attract and retain good candidates for the public service and motivate them to contribute their best without having either to abandon other important development programmes and/or to abandon its commitment to equity. It was in fact suggested that in some countries, the present compensation systems are already to some extent catering for this objective and could with minor adjustment, adequately deal with the problem. The present compensation packages in many of the countries, though low (for senior personnel) in respect to the element of salary, is quite attractive when one takes into account the fringe benefits. In many countries, public servants occupy subsidized housing and rentals in no case exceed 15 per cent of an employee's pay. Leave terms tend to be more generous in the public service than in the private sector. Moreover, the security provided by the public service cannot be compared to the instability of employment in the private sector, which is ever dependent on the continued viability of the enterprise. In the public service, moreover, provision for dealing with uncertainties is much more regularized and adequate. The non-contributory pension schemes, a feature in all the countries studied, does not have its comparison in the private sector. Finally, especially for the very senior personnel, is the element of power, authority and status. The chief executive of Nigeria Shell, may get five times the salary earned by the Permanent Secretary in the Treasury but the latter has enormous power and status - that is not quantifiable and is not translatable into monetary terms, and many public servants would not abandon that power for money. It may with minor cost of living additions, therefore, be possible to attract and retain the good and brilliant into the service.¹⁶

An aspect of personnel policy which has not received adequate attention is grading and salary structure. There is, in many countries, no formulae for equating pay levels in the different services, the Civil Services, the universities, the Judiciary, the Police Service, and the Public Enterprises. Even within the civil services, the differentials in pay amongst positions do not depend on a rational criteria.

In Tanzania, some efforts have been put into the standardization of pay scales, between and among the various services. The exercise, however, was not approached systematically, and, as a consequence, fresh problems have arisen, involving complaints that the gradings are too rigid and tend to compare unlike institutions and unlike jobs.¹⁷ In many of the countries, the present system of grading is based on the traditional British Civil Service concept of classes, administrative, professional, and clerical in which evaluation criteria focus primarily upon the educational attainment of the individual rather than on the specific work content of the post. Within the broad classes, the structure is cut up into some hundreds of cadres which in many cases tend to be arbitrary in relationship. Nigeria, for example, had in 1974, 600 cadres.¹⁸ A small country, like Swaziland, had in 1976, over 115 different cadres and pay scales.¹⁹

The rationalization and simplification of pay and grading structures

ought to be high on the agenda of the African public service if many of the other proposals are to have the desired impact. To achieve this, governments may have to undertake a number of concomitant activities, including establishment of broad uniformity in the grading and pay of all the public services, in order to ensure that every sector is able to recruit and retain its fair share of scarce manpower and to eliminate invidious comparisons between sectors; develop job descriptions which are as close to being descriptive of the work assigned to the employee and the knowledge and skills required to perform the work; establish a system of grading whereby groups of jobs are ranked on the basis of relative difficulty and responsibility of the work from the simplest to the most complex and responsible; and, attach a salary range to each of the grade levels, from the lowest to the highest.

A number of countries have already taken steps to establish a unified grading structure and therefore unified pay structures. Nigeria has done so for the entire public service, including the parastatals and the universities. Kenya, Tanzania, Swaziland have done so with respect to the Civil Services. But the approaches to uniform grading in all the countries has been marked by their failure to carry out the concomitant activities. In many cases, the existing posts were simply slotted into new arbitrarily pay scales without bothering to undertake a serious job description activity. Job classification has either followed or has not been undertaken. In other words they put the cart before the horse.

Performance Appraisal

Another important personnel function which has tended to receive inadequate attention is review of the performance of the individual staff members. Only until recently many of the countries approached this activity through the system called the "Annual Confidential Report." Essentially the confidential reporting system involved a supervisor making an opinionated judgement on the performance of a staff member. The employee affected would not even get the benefit of feedback as to how he had been reported on. Consequently the reporting was irrelevant to the whole question of improving the performance of the individual staff.

A number of countries have now adopted the open reporting system on employees. Nigeria adopted it as a result of the implementation of the *Udoji Commission* recommendations; Ghana just before the *Okoh Commission* and Tanzania and Kenya have adopted it since 1975. However, we can not say that this appraisal system has become institutionalized in any of the countries. A number of factors account for its non-institutionalization.

Firstly, performance appraisal is a technical activity and requires to be administered by persons who are trained in its techniques and methods. In many of the countries the adoption of the scheme was not preceded by requisite training for the administrators of the scheme - as a

consequence they usually grope in the dark. Secondly, this system of staff reporting requires that the supervisor is honest and straightforward and tells the staff the truth. Many supervisors find it difficult to be blunt and they do not want to spoil established relationships — they therefore tend to be light hearted and middle of the road when they report on staff. Finally, the system requires a lot of time to be devoted to the exercise, involving joint meetings between the staff and the supervisors. The majority of supervisors have felt that they do not have the time. In order for performance appraisal to be effective and useful to staff and organizational development, it ought to be approached systematically, the supervisors and employees ought to be trained in its techniques; the organizational climate must allow for frank exchanges.

Industrial relations

In any human organization it is reasonable to assume that conflicts and friction will arise from time to time. It is, therefore, with this realization in mind that workable organizations are designed with inbuilt machinery for resolving the problems arising from the interaction of people. A grievance is anything concerned with pay, working condition or personal relationship that irritates an employee or employees and causes him to be unhappy and frustrated in his work situation. Some of these grievances come to the attention of management and, if machinery exists, efforts are made to resolve them. For a variety of reasons, others never surface, they are suffered quietly by employees. It is this category that can affect morale and productivity of an organization quite badly.

In theory, there does exist machinery for resolving grievances within the public services of many of the countries. In Nigeria, for example, there is the Whitley Commission or the Public Service Negotiating Council whose function is to facilitate staff consultation and negotiation. In all the countries; General Orders/Service Regulation provide for procedures to be followed by civil servants in seeking redress when they have been aggrieved. In Tanzania, Nigeria, Kenya and Swaziland to mention just a few, the law provides for the existence of trade unions/staff associations, which are to protect and enhance the rights of public servants. All the countries, have within the Establishment Secretariats/Directorates of Personnel Management, units which deal with staff and industrial relations matters. From the foregoing, therefore, it looks as if all the governments realize the importance of industrial relations in public personnel management. However, implementation has been almost universally inadequate.

Several reasons account for this inadequate development of industrial relations machinery and grievance handling procedures in African Public Services. First with regard to the industrial relations machinery, both the government and employees are to blame; they have not been energetic and committed enough. This is partly explained by the

shortage of personnel on either the official side or the staff, trained or experienced in the principles and practices of organized employee management relations. In Nigeria, for example, the staff relations section of the Federal Ministry of Establishment in 1974 comprised only four people headed by a Principal Assistant Secretary.²⁰ In Swaziland, the unit is staffed by two junior administrative officers.²¹ Even Kenya, which has just reviewed the structure and staffing of the entire Directorate of Personnel Management, has only two senior personnel officers dealing with this aspect.²² Similarly, where unions and staff associations are in existence, the majority of the leadership of such organization tend to be amateurs in the areas of industrial relations, and bargaining, an example of the paucity of training facilities and opportunities.

The governments, however, have in many of the countries, been lukewarm to the development of viable and energetic trade unionism. They have tended to regard the trade unions as potential threats to stability. Where trade unions have been allowed to exist and thrive, they have been brought under the umbrella of the governing/party, as in Tanzania or have been circumscribed in respect to what they can do or cannot do so in Kenya. If trade unionism in general is seen to be a potential threat to stability, then the would be considered to be idea of a trade union for public servants is shuddered at, even more of a threat to political stability.²³ Trade union and staff associations, therefore, have in many of the countries remained very undeveloped or are toothless bull dogs.

Where trade unionism for public servants has been allowed to thrive, such as in Nigeria, the tendency has not been the emergence of consolidated, strong unions, which can effectively negotiate with the government, but a proliferation of staff associations and unions, divided along cadre and class lines. The result, as the *Udoji Commission* noted, is that no matter how well educated and trained the staff relations officers are, and no matter how well intentioned management is, they cannot be sure who represents whom, and in fact are often confronted with seriously overlapping jurisdictions and interunion conflict.²⁴

The question of paucity of trained personnel in the industrial relations field can only be solved by government intervention. It ought to promote training in the area, through the sponsoring of candidates to take courses abroad, through subventions to be given to universities and management institutes for purposes of organizing short courses and seminars. This is an area where intergovernmental approaches may become necessary.

The problem of government attitude to trade unionism can only be solved by government itself. Government ought to realize that prevention is better than cure. It should take initiatives and promote the emergence of responsible trade unionism. And, if it is felt that requirements for maintaining national unity dictate against the emergence of interest group type of unions, they should begin with, at least facilitate the

emergence of government affiliated unions.

The fragmentation problem may be solved, as it has been in Kenya, by taking action leading to the formation of a single trade union which groups government workers of all cadres and classes. Both the Secretary-General of the Kenya Civil Servants Union as well as the Director of Personnel Management felt that the arrangement was already proving very beneficial to the industrial negotiating exercises since now all civil servants speak with one voice. The only possible hitch under this arrangement are problems posed by the Union membership of Senior Civil Servant (such as Permanent Secretaries), who are also expected to, many times play the role of the employer. It might tend to cause role conflict for them, but evidence gathered during the field work was that it has not yet posed immense problems as yet.

Regarding the aspect of grievance handling procedure, the problems consists of not so much the non-existence of such machinery, for in many countries, such machinery exists, but in the refusal by mainly senior servants to first publicize the existence of such machinery throughout the public service and to allow the machinery to work. In Swaziland, for example, middle level and junior servants complained that the procedure which provides for the aggrieved party to appeal ultimately to the Prime Minister, gets frustrated by the refusal of Permanent Secretaries, to submit such appeals to that level. When this is known to be pervasive, employees abandon the machinery and just 'suffer without bitterness.' To rectify the situation it might be necessary to first simplify the procedures for handling employee grievances by decentralising the point of decision to as close to the work place as possible, so that subsequent levels are involved only in appellate decisions. Secondly, such machinery and procedures ought to be publicised as widely as possible within the service, even if such publicization results in inviting grievances.²⁵

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing, we have stated the attributes which African public personnel systems will have to develop to meet the challenges of the 1980s, reviewed the extent to which their present state can be said to approximate the desired position, pointing out the shortfalls; and finally indicated the major changes or reforms which have to be undertaken to make them development and crises management oriented.

Regarding the attributes of a development oriented public service personnel system, we have emphasized the importance of a well-developed, well staffed, flexible structure at the centre which has to be armed with a lot of authority, power and facilities. Since the majority of the countries are not blessed with a structure with such attributes the task will be to work for its evolving. We have also emphasized that a correct approach to development of such a personnel system requires the evolving and the implementation of dynamic personnel policies, covering such

areas as staffing, recruitment, training, evaluation of performance, compensation, motivation and industrial relations. Since the approaches of many African States to personnel policies are still very primitive and unoriented to development, a lot of work will also have to be done in that area.

FOOTNOTES

1. See N. Kasfir, "Prismatic theory and African Administration" *World Politics*, Vol. 21 No. 2, (January 1969); A.L. Adu, *The Civil Service in Commonwealth Africa*, (London, 1969); also several chapters in G. Hyden and A.H. Rweyemamu, *A decade of Public Administration in Africa*, (Nairobi: 1975) several chapters in part III of the book deal with these issue. More specifically, however, many of the countries have had review commissions appointed by the Governments to look into the functioning of the public services and almost all of them had hard words to say about the level of performance. See Republic of Kenya, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission) 1970-71, Naoribi, 1970; Kingdom of Swaziland, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Structure and Remuneration of the Public Service*, (Mbabane, 1976); Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Public Service Review Commission*, Main Report, (Lagos 1974).
2. Works on this aspect include many country studies such as Christopher Trapman, *Changes in Administrative Structures: A Case Study of Kenyan Agricultural Development*, (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1974), L. Cliffe, J.S. Coleman, and M.R. Doornbos (eds.), *Government and Rural Development in East Africa* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976); Goran Hyden *Efficiency versus Distribution in East African Cooperatives: A Study in Organizational Conflicts*, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1973). W. Tordoff, (Editor) *Administration in Zambia*, (Manchester University Press, 1980), and F.C. Burke, "Public Administration in Africa: The legacy of inherited colonial institutions, (Syracuse Occasional Papers, 1967).
3. For a statement of the major principles governing the British and French Civil Services see Roger Gregoire, *The French Civil Service* (IIAS - Brussels, 1964) Chapter III, and His Majesty's Government, *The Fulton Report*.
4. This line of argument has found very few advocates among professionals and experts of public administration. Two very famous professionals have written very spiritedly in defence of professionalization of public administration. See A Adedeji's article titled, "The Professionalization of Public Administration in Africa" in G. Hyden and A. Rweyemamu (Eds). *A Decade of Public Administration in Africa*, (Nairobi East African Literature Bureau, 1975) and A.L. Adu, *The Administrator and Change* in G. Hyden and A.H. Rweyemamu, *A Decade of Public Administration*, op. cit.
5. The United Republic of Tanzania, *Report to the President on the National Manpower situation*, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1977.
6. See Republic of Kenya, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry* (The Ndegwa Commission) 1971 for a succinct argument along these lines, p. 71.
7. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Public Service Review Commission*, (Hereinafter called the Udoji Commission), p. 21.
8. See C. Parkinson, *Parkinson's Law or The Pursuit of Progress*, John Murray, 1958.
9. For a review of the deficiencies of the manpower planning operation in Nigeria see, *Udoji Commission*, op. cit., p. 14-15.
10. *Ibid*, P. 19.

11. Tanzania Investment Bank, "Study on Performance and Productivity in Tanzania" mimeo, 1978, p. 41.
12. *Udoji Commission, op. cit.* p. 19.
13. *Udoji Commission, ibid* p. 20.
14. Kingdom of Swaziland, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry (Walwa Commission)*, 1975/76, Government Printer 1976, pp. 39-40.
15. Dale Yoder, *Personnel Principles and Policies; Modern Manpower Management*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, 1961, p. 514.
16. Interviews with many senior government officials in Kenya in 1979 supported the point.
17. The exercise was initially approached haphazardly and had as its major objective: the equalization of pay in the government and the parastatals and not the development of a rational unified grade structure. So the cart was put before the horse.
18. *Udoji Commission, op. cit.*, p. 159.
19. *Wamalwa Commission of Inquiry, op. cit.*, p. 123.
20. *Udoji Commission, op. cit.*, p. 52.
21. Kingdom of Swaziland - *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, Wamalwa, p. 36.
22. Republic of Kenya, *Organizations and Functions of Directorate of Personnel Management, Office of the President*, April, 1978, p. 7.
23. Public Servants have not been covered by the International Labour Organization Convention of 1949, which established the right to organize and collectively bargain, until quite recently. It is no wonder therefore, that trade unions for public servants and staff associations have in many of the countries remained underdeveloped or are toothless bull dogs.
24. *Udoji Commission, op. cit.*, p. 53.
25. Republic of Kenya, *op. cit.*, The Commission thought that the increase in reported grievances which might result from the formalization of the procedure and its publicization might have positive results for the service and should be welcome. See p. 79.

The Australian Governments' Changing Attitudes Towards Southern Africa - More Than Just Words of Sympathy for the Blacks?

Klaas Woldring*

At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' summit, held in London in June, 1977, the Australian Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser made history by strongly attacking the racial policies of the white minority regimes of Southern Africa. He made history because no Prime Minister representing the generally conservative Liberal Party had done much more than mildly disapprove of the inequalities of white rule. In many respects Fraser must be rated as one of the most conservative amongst Prime Ministers produced by his Party, especially as far as the domestic economic policy is concerned and also in relation to Russian 'global ambitions.' Thus, his stand at the Summit was perhaps least expected by those not too well informed of the formation of government policy towards Southern Africa and Third World issues, and apparently it even came as a surprise to some who were.

The Australian Financial Review went as far as suggesting that 'compared to Malcolm Fraser, Gough Whitlam's (the previous Prime Minister) performance on the international stage is emerging in retrospect as close to the "imperialistic lakely" tag so often contributed by conservative Australian Prime Ministers by Third World countries.'

Fraser's words in London were forceful and could not be misunderstood. "Apartheid is an offense to the human dignity and a scourge to the dignity of man." Fraser followed Whitlam's uncompromising line on racist sport - a stand that produced a sharp difference of opinion with the New Zealand Prime Minister Muldoon, whose reactionary position on this matter is not admired in Australia. As regards Rhodesia, which he referred to as Zimbabwe, Fraser said; "I think white Rhodesians still hope by some means to muster world opinion in their support. Well, the more they know that they will not be able to do that the more they ought to understand that they have got to come to a proper accommodation in relation to the future, and I think that as each month passes, they ought to know that even more forcefully."

Fraser went on to comment, in another context, that he "didn't believe that there was a policy more offensive to humanity than apartheid." Fraser's rejection of international open market systems as

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