

- Wallace, A. F. C., "Revitalization Movement". *American Anthropologist*, 58: 264-281.
- "Revitalization Movements in Development" in *The Challenge of Development*. Edited by R. J. Ward, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co., pp. 445-454.
- Weber, M., *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations*. Translated by Henderson and Parsons. New York, The Free Press, 1966.
- Wein, F. C., "Solidarity as a Variable in the Study of Social Movement". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Cornell University, 1969.
- Wills, J., "Peasant Farming and the Theory of the Firm". R.D.R. 68. Makerere University (Mimeo), 1968.
- Young, F. W., "Reactive Subsystems" (mimeo). Cornell University, 1968.
- "Incest Taboos and Social Solidarity". *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 72, pp. 589-600.

## The Public Service in a New State

*Development Administration—the Kenya Experience*

by Goran Hyden, Robert Jackson and John Okumu  
(Oxford University Press, 1970)

B. A. N. COLLINS\*

Many studies of new states have focused on the dramatic political and constitutional changes and the leaders who achieve them. The reading public everywhere soon learned to anticipate certain steps in the ritual of British decolonization; the return home of the ardent nationalist, his victorious struggle over other less radical local politicians, his new mass party, the inevitable arrest by the authorities on charges which, subsequently, appear ludicrous, his re-emergence as a proud "prison graduate" to accept the premiership, the Constitutional Conference(s) in London, and, soon after, the Independence Ceremonies graced by Royalty.

Less interesting, and yet possibly no less significant, is the change-over from a moderately "liberal" British-led Civil Service responsible to the British Governor for the maintenance of orderly rule, the provision of basic public services, and the advancement of exports of plantation-type commodities—to a larger, more "interventionist" administration, staffed by local citizens, and helping elected Ministers to perform the enlarged functions of an independent, innovating government.

Changes in public administration are much less visible than political or sociological evolution. Political theorists from Aristotle to the beginning of this century discoursed on the ends of Government, but generally ignored the executive process. Plato was concerned with the selection of rulers, Machiavelli with their tactics, and Montesquieu with their number, but the actual business of administration seemed unworthy of much note. Perhaps this attitude reflected the circumstances of societies which were predominantly agrarian.

Today we live in an age which is more "administered" because societies are, or seek to be, more "industrialized". The key to understanding the modern state, some theorists now believe, must be sought through the study not only of the prevailing political ideology, whatever it may appear or claim to be, but also of the administrative apparatus which supports the nation. In this age of managers, the principal focus of investigation should be their choice, development, deployment and performance.

A body of thoughtful writing on the public service in newer states is developing, largely through the efforts of scholars from advanced countries seeking fresh insights into aspects of political behaviour, and also through the reports

\*B. A. N. Collins is Professor of Government and Public Administration at the University of Guyana.

The views expressed are the author's and should not be associated with those of the Organization in which he is currently employed.

of innumerable Commissions of Enquiry into aspects of one or other particular Public Service. Some themes recur often enough, at least from the new Commonwealth, to command a recognition of emerging patterns and to encourage theorizing. We note that in British Africa the transfer of constitutional power came faster than the preparations to devolve onto native shoulders the management of the executive function, because it proved impolitic in the face of demands for "self-government now" to restrain political advance to keep pace with the development of local civil services. The services had to be quickly indigenized to catch up with political changes through the progressive replacement of permanent officials from the metropolitan country by locally-born personnel, whose qualifications and experience were now deemed to be sufficient.

Localization led to rapid promotion. Kenyan Africans became permanent secretaries in their thirties, often reaching the top in the same time it took a counterpart in the British Home Civil Service to move from Principal to Assistant Secretary. The view that it takes about five years in each senior grade to master elements of a complex administrative job was disproved, or at least disregarded.

The new local civil service, contrary to one proclaimed justification for localization, proves to be no cheaper. The cost of administration remains very high when seen in proper proportion to the nation's G.N.P. In retrospect, it seems fortunate that new states became accustomed to the high costs of public services during the colonial era. For the civil services soon become remarkably bigger. The new states need positive government, not *laissez-faire* withdrawal because the newly enfranchised citizens demand more public services which their representatives are now obliged to provide. The lonely District Commissioner is now joined in the field by a swarm of Community Development and social welfare officers. New sets of occupational qualifications are created at Headquarters—economists for the new Ministry of Development, commercial officers for the Ministry of Trade, budget-analysts for the Ministry of Finance, etc., etc. Generalists are now flanked by highly specialized officers. (New States have less use for the old-style British administrator—stout characters with a knack, as they said, for handling men.) To co-ordinate Headquarters activities more staff is required, and so the numbers grow.

The ex-British states all had to enshrine Public Service Commissions in their first constitutions; this was one of the conditions of independence. Fortunately this meant that such requirements of a modern state as a career service and a merit system of promotion did not have to be introduced in the face of selfish or reactionary interests, as in the United States. Some would even say that the basically modern, non-partisan civil service structure which the departing British left behind may well be a more valuable bequest than the democratic philosophies which Britain had fashioned for herself and sought to export.

This non-partisanship is not of course to be always taken for granted. New political leadership wanted a public service in which loyalty and enthusiasm counted more than efficiency. Furthermore, the entirely localized civil service can become to a greater extent a mirror-image of the dominant standards and

attitudes of its community. As de Tocqueville showed long ago, only by examining the mores of a society can the decisive colour and character of many of its institutions be understood. The civil service, no longer British-led, is now influenced almost solely by local attitudes of approval and disapproval. The local civil servant does what the community expects of him, or what it will tolerate.

At the same time the rules of the service helped to transform the society it served. A public service in which universalistic criteria of merit and qualifications were demanded for admission and promotion—rather than class or colour or links of clan—did much to encourage social mobility, and to diminish tribalism. And since a state short of educated talent simply could not afford to ignore half of its available potential, African women increasingly came into public service in new roles that helped shatter tradition. Finally, no effort could be spared in training people of both sexes and at all levels. Every new state has a big training programme and the hypothesis that training can make up for educational and social deficiencies is receiving a crucial test as the new states spend heavily on training schools and institutes of administration.

In short there has been in Commonwealth Africa an administrative transformation occurring simultaneously with the more dramatic political developments, though the apparent continuity of the machinery of administration since colonial days has masked the revolutionary nature of the change. The transformation of one ruling bureaucracy is discussed in the book, *Development Administration—The Kenya Experience*, printed and published in East Africa by Oxford University Press, and edited by three scholars at the then University College of Nairobi, Goran Hyden, Robert Jackson and John Okumu.

This book, which seems to be the first such African national study, was a project of the University's Institute of Development Studies. Ten authors produced papers, evidently edited rigorously, on aspects of Development Administration in contemporary Kenya, and their combined efforts provide a useful compendium (366 pages) on this theme. It is intended to be of use to African university students, to academics interested in comparative administration, and to studious civil servants in Kenya and other developing countries. It represents the work of scholars who had some considerable research experience in Kenya, though in fact only three are East Africans and only one, Robert Ouko, was himself a civil servant. According to the foreword by Prof. James Coleman, the Director of the Institute of Development Studies, such a country case-study can contribute, from a solid empirical base, to "the broader social scientific concern with the process of national development in new states". (Page vi.)

The authors were required to relate the body of general concepts and exploratory theses of the development administration movement to Kenya, though comparison with other East African countries was not ruled out. Each author seemed to have been asked to be informative, and, at the same time, to pursue academic respectability by at least some middle-range theorizing; it was to be a work of political science, rather than a hand-book. Yet the fourteen chapters, however linked by the general theme, and by the editors' desire to avoid both "parochial analysis" and "grand over-simplified administrative theory", defy

treatment as a unity, and a review must attempt to deal, with perhaps unfairly harsh brevity, with each contribution in turn. At the risk, therefore, of being somewhat laborious, there follows a brief comment on each contribution, with receive.

the acknowledgement that most deserve more than the cursory reference they

Dr. Goran Hyden, Visiting Senior Lecturer at University College, Nairobi, discusses "Basic Civil Service Characteristics" in Kenya in the keynote first chapter. He considers the growth of the civil service, noting that it is the major single source of employment in the modern sector of the country. It remains highly centralized; the Office of the President performing a role not very unlike that of the old Central Secretariat in spite of the present Ministerial system. At the time Dr. Hyden wrote, some problems existed over the large number of autonomous statutory Boards; but many of these Boards, we have been informed, have since been brought within the ambit of the President's Office. The civil service is less accountable to Parliament, the press and the larger public than appears to be the case in Great Britain. It is still élitist, conscious of its status and importance, and by comparison with other states where the party is the power "it assumes the major responsibility for solving or at least coping with such basic problems as political order, national integration, and economic development" (page 22).

Dr. John Okumu, Senior Lecturer in Government at University College, Nairobi, raises some fundamental issues in his cautiously critical discussion of "The Socio-Political Setting". He discusses the tension and misunderstanding between civil servants and politicians—a familiar feature of new states—and offers reasons which include, rather interestingly, the correctness of civil servants' behaviour.

Many administrators tend to define their roles and functions too strictly within the usual legal divisions of the Constitution, evincing a slight disdain for what they consider to be purely political roles and functions. Although they are right their neglect of the pragmatic roles built into the political and administrative process often makes their work more difficult.  
(pages 26 and 27).

Dr. Okumu discusses at some length attacks in Parliament on the civil service. This seems to be a recurring feature in Kenyan public life which, *inter alia*, reveals the recognized power of the civil service. No one kicks a dead horse; but everyone keeps trying to check the bucking bronco. However, the conflict is somewhat mitigated by the basic convergence of interest among the new Kenyan middle-class of civil servants and politicians—new men arriving together at power and influence. Dr. Okumu considers this a "white-collar middle class", in terms of the C. Wright Mills definition, which controls decision-making and role-implementation, but does not own the means of production, at least as yet. Dr. Okumu is concerned with the basic pervasive insecurity of this "class", which, he suggests, causes Kenyans to shy away from recognizing and discussing even the positive uses of stresses and strains in their society.

Dr. Henry Bienen, a Visiting Professor in East Africa from Princeton, dis-

cusses the way in which Kenyan public administration affects and is affected by "The Economic Environment". Kenya, he feels, benefited economically from its "intensive" colonial experience by comparison with the Protectorate of Uganda and the Trusteeship Territory of Tanganyika. It received a good inheritance of well-equipped basic services—a good port at Mombasa, good roads, good agricultural services, at least for the plantation sectors, strong police and general security services. Since independence there have been rapid developments in the economy, which among other things, lead to short-term imbalances within the administration. As the economy becomes more complex and development proceeds the need for high and middle level man-power expands at a rate faster than the need for total man-power (page 62). His conclusion suggests the need for improving performance in the Kenya civil service, if it is to continue to stimulate economic change.

Robert Lacey, Research Fellow at Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, writes on "Foreign Resources and Development". Kenya encourages large in-flows of foreign capital and personnel. Indeed a key objective of foreign policy, and of the foreign service, is exploiting the external environment to channel resources to Kenya. This puts civil servants into a complex web of relationships with embassies and with expatriate technical staff (raising certain problems of dependence and counter-dependency). Mr. Lacey notes that foreign aid may have slowed down Africanization of the private sector, though Kenya can record impressive economic expansion as a result of this help. Mr. Lacey concludes significantly that the problems that have arisen in the use of such resources may call for an altered strategy for the future. He refers (page 87) to a speech of October 1969, in which President Kenyatta described the transfer of the ownership and management of the economy from foreign into local hands as the greatest challenge facing the nation.

Mr. David Leonard, a Research Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, offers an interesting paper on "Communications and Deconcentration". He observes that status differences have diminished since independence and consequently there is greater demand for access on the part of the public to top administrators. He even comments on the remarkable use of office telephones, a feature perhaps related to the quality of secretariat help. He goes on to offer some speculations on the probable consequences of the transfer, in 1969, of parts of the functions of County Council to central ministries. Dr. Hyden in a linked paper on "Language and Administration" brings his own perspective as a person writing in a foreign language to the problem of communication. He thinks a real boundary is created by the use of the English language, a boundary which separates Government officials from the governed. He is positive that a solution could be the wider official use of Swahili which "may bridge the gap between cognitive demands of modernity and the affective needs of tradition and therefore overcome or at least minimize a major barrier to the successful instigation of development through government administration" (page 124). Both he and Mr. Leonard illustrate some important issues of research, particularly the role of the field officer as a literal "interpreter" between the headquarters and the grass roots.

Colin Leys, Visiting Professor of Government at University College, Nairobi, offers in an astringent chapter on "Recruitment" Promotion and Training, a Weberian analysis of the Kenyan bureaucracy. He comments on the work of the Public Service Commission whose success here, as elsewhere, in creating an approximation to the Weberian ideal type resulted from commission leadership with both integrity and sensitivity. He observes, as the others do, that aspects of the bureaucratic system designed for control are not necessarily well adapted to the needs of development. The pattern of recruitment and promotion might well stand some alteration in the light of such considerations. He observes that the key training institution, the Kenya Institute of Administration, which was designed for the rapid Africanization of cadres, now seeks a new role, in addition to survival, and is itself a case study of the kind of institution that flourished in the 'fifties and 'sixties with international assistance. He suggests a new look at the objectives and consequent apparatus of training for Kenya.

Dr. Robert Ouko, a former Permanent Secretary and the only experienced civil servant among the authors, writes on "Personnel Management". He offers an historical and descriptive account not the less valuable because it is not over-concerned with scholarly under-pinning. His footnotes refer to official reports rather than to the "literature" of administration. He traces the obstacles to the more effective management of human resources to the colonial period. But he stresses that the establishment of a new personnel system is a present problem and task for which Kenyans are solely responsible. He advocates more "management by objectives" in the public service.

He makes shrewd, knowledgeable comments about the morale of the civil service; "African officers become frustrated when they see the ease with which some expatriate officers get access to top officials in contravention of the established codes" (page 163). One wishes that he had also developed the point about a loss to the service which occurs when so many able young Kenya civil servants have been translated into political or business roles, before they could complete their important potential contribution to the development of the public service.

Robert S. Jackson, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia offers a somewhat sceptical chapter on "Planning Politics and Administration". The limits of planning in Kenya are to some extent set within a broader framework of political and indeed governmental pluralism. "The political system is basically characterized by competition and bargaining between a number of ethnic groups and more modern interest associations on the one hand, and government on the other" (page 177). He gives valuable information on the machinery of planning, both central and provincial. He relates the experience of the district development officers — that organizational hybrid, part-professional, part-political, yet lacking the technical certainty of the one and the authority of the other. Mr. Jackson suggests that it may be just as well that popular rural participation in planning and public decision-making has not got beyond the stage of rhetoric in Kenya. While Kenya possesses an organization for planning, "planning is still pro-

bably only marginally influential in shaping the public allocation process" (page 200).

Frank Holmquist, a Research Fellow at Makerere University, writes on "Implementing Rural Development Projects". His discussion reminds us, as do comments by Lord Balogh and other economists, of the importance of animal husbandry to the developing areas. He offers a case study in Kisii which illustrates, specifically, the gap between planning and performance. Mr. Holmquist also points out how there can be "penetration from below" which could reinforce or frustrate the efforts of development initiated at the centre.

Thomas Mulusa of the Friends World Centre in Kenya writes on "Central Government and Local Authorities". His useful historical study, including a note on the short-lived Majimbo constitution which sought a form of federalism, ends with a comment on local government reforms. He finds that the politicians who gained power reinforced the tendency of local authorities to become the hand-maiden of the central government, implementing the policies of the latter but not always participating in the discussions which formulated them.

The topic of the paper by Richard Sandbrook, Lecturer at the University of Toronto, on "The State and the Development of Trade Unionism" deserves to be included, because of the part played by the trade union movement in the drive for self-government. His historical chapter gives valuable information and useful comparison with experiences in Uganda and Tanzania. The familiar story of the evolution of Trade Unions after independence, when they cease to be anti-colonial battering-rams, remains an instructive one. Today, he says, the Unions possess less freedom than in the colonial regime. Also discussing how institutions can undergo a change. Dr. Hyden writes in "Government and Co-operatives" on the transfer to East Africa of British and Scandinavian experience and the attempts to make co-operatives succeed in a new context. He discusses the efforts which are required by the Government because the values, attitudes and skills of rural populations are not always appropriate to initiate or sustain co-operatives. As a result co-operatives prove to be a branch of government rather than a self-managing movement. But they serve an important function of integrating peasants into a monetary economy—a modernizing role—and as an opportunity for leadership and social mobility.

In the final chapter, Dr. Jackson attempts a review of outstanding problems in "Administration and Development in Kenya". The record is one which is mixed; some achievements, some persisting and vexing problems. A recurrent theme is the impact of the colonial legacy as shown by the survival of procedures and structures which no longer fit the people's needs, and another theme is the political-administrative conflict. He comments on the views expressed by Fred Riggs that too much power in a bureaucracy can impede effectiveness because of the weakness of controlling political power to guide and to enforce standards. Another theme is the attempts through the public service to control private organizations which are constrained, however, by

welcoming policies towards potential investors. Another theme is resource scarcity which to some extent is mitigated by the influx of capital which Kenya gets because it can be put to use (that is, on grounds of effectiveness rather than of compassion). And finally he reviews the theme of administrative performance, the factors impelling and impeding productivity in the public service. He indicates the urgency of an effort of administrative re-organization and renewal—which was indeed being made at the time of publication by the Ndegwa Commission. Such local commissions become a feature of many new states a few years after independence—Trinidad and Guyana, Ghana and Nigeria are examples that spring at once to mind—as new Governments seek new ways to increase the performance (and alleviate the grievances) of their public services.

One does not know if, in the editing, discussions on the role of the foreign service had to be omitted. And it may be regretted that more could not be said about the actual internal working of the bureaucracy and the daily issues and dilemmas of the administrator. Do public service regulations still inhibit serving officers from contributing to such a volume? But the concept behind the book is an excellent one, and the editors are undoubtedly right to stress the task environment in which the administration serves, which fundamentally is nothing less than the creation of one nation out of a grouping of heterogeneous peoples.

This useful book confirms the value of such efforts of analysis and understanding, not just for the advancement of scholarship, but also to clarify the objectives and reinforce the endeavours of those who seek to respond to the people's desire to attain, with all speed, a better and fuller life. This desire had driven people to throw aside the ascriptive biases of colonial society, and to reject all authority but of their own choosing. In Kenya this was done with resolute violence. But Kenyans know that this better life will depend greatly on the effectiveness of human mechanisms, including the bureaucracy, which they have devised to work for their chosen ends. Sir Ivor Jennings, a close student of the transfer of power, had said that the most difficult obstacle on the road to self-government was the staffing of the public service. This satisfying case-study of Kenya reminds us that thereafter the quality and performance of their public service remains a key factor in attaining those purposes for which men had struggled for independence.

## Leadership and Institution Building in Uganda

CHERRY GERTZEL\*

The process of political modernisation requires consummate political leadership. At the same time it poses acute problems for such leaders who seek to found a new state out of a former colonial territory made up of diverse groupings. Most new states are plural societies, and it is the primary task of the leadership to integrate the many groups in the society, divided though they be on ethnic, regional, economic and religious lines, into a new national entity. At such times personal leadership may well be vital; and the legitimacy of that leadership provides the source of political stability. Consequently the charismatic leader becomes a focus of considerable attention.<sup>1</sup>

But leadership cannot be considered in a vacuum. The leaders of new states work within a situation characterised by fragile institutions, and it is their task to build and stabilise an institutional framework that can contain and accommodate the tensions and conflicts inherent in the modernising situation. Political stability may depend on the charismatic qualities of the leadership of the new state; but increasingly it will come to depend on the kind of political institutions created, and the degree to which the legitimacy of those institutions is recognised.<sup>2</sup> Thus the consideration of leadership in any particular situation must take into account the institutional environment within which the leadership works, and also such adaptations or changes as are made.

This paper seeks to consider the relationship between leadership and institution building in Uganda, where in January of last year the former President, Milton Obote, was deposed by his own Army. For nine years, from independence in 1962 until January 1971, the primary responsibility for keeping Uganda together lay with Obote, first as Prime Minister and then (from 1966) as President. Uganda's political problems had for many years been focused on the difficulties of associating the Kingdom of the Buganda situated in the heart of the country, the single largest ethnic group, and the most economically educationally developed, with the rest of the country, in the face of that Kingdom's deep reluctance to acknowledge or accept such association. But Uganda's pluralism is based on more than the division between Buganda and "the Rest". Her people are also divided in terms of ethnic background, regional interests, and particularly religious divisions primarily between Protestant and Catholic Christians. There has also for many years, since the late 1940s at least, been a strong attachment to district (the basic colonial administrative unit which was usually, but not always, an ethnic group) which has created a strong local

\*Cherry Gertzel is Professor of Political Science at the University of Zambia. This article was presented as a paper at the Universities' Social Science Council Conference, Makerere, Kampala, December, 1971.