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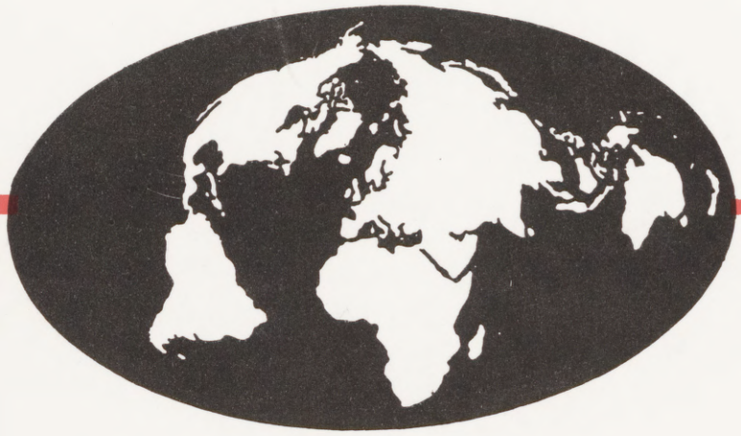

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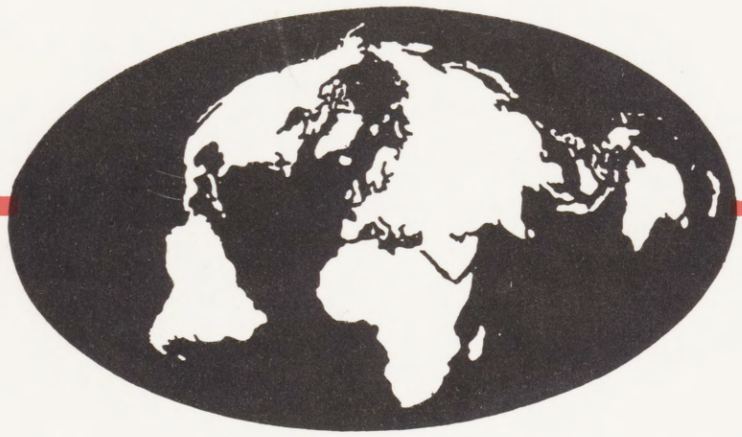

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DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

What is Development Management?

by

Alan Thomas

DPP Working Paper No 28

Development Policy and Practice Research Group

Faculty of Technology

The Open University

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Preface: Development Management and the Open University

These brief notes are based on discussions in the Development Studies Subject Group at the Open University (OU) aimed towards the presentation of a distance-taught global Diploma and Masters programme in Development Management.

The Global Programme in Development Management will be a modular programme of supported open learning leading to Diploma and Masters qualifications. It will be presented directly in the EU and through partnerships with local institutions in developing countries, initially mainly in Southern Africa. It will be aimed at people in middle-ranking and senior positions concerned with development - and those aspiring to such positions - in ministries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international and inter-governmental agencies and public and private enterprises.

The OU Development Studies Subject Group already presents a multi-disciplinary full-credit undergraduate course (*Third World Development*) which attracts 300-500 students per year. These are mostly including this course in a six-credit undergraduate degree programme, but there is a substantial number of "associate" students studying on a one-off basis, many of whom are from the staff of development agencies in Britain and increasingly the rest of Europe. From mid-1994 a number of packs of learning material based on parts of the undergraduate course have been available; the group also has an ongoing research programme and a history of collaboration with development studies academics both in the UK and overseas.

For the past five years or so the OU has been expanding its programmes overseas very fast, mainly in Western and Eastern Europe. Much of this expansion has been led by responses to requests for management teaching at a distance. Emphasis has been on providing advice and technical assistance on distance teaching, including educational technologies and administrative systems, and on finding models for collaboration with overseas institutions. Generally this has meant presenting management courses and programmes available "off-the-shelf" (such as the Open Business School MBA), which means courses and programmes developed for the UK context. Many of these collaborative arrangements have appeared to be very successful, at least in terms of student take-up and standard of performance.

Up to now, not many of these international activities have been outside Europe. There have been several examples of advice and technical support for distance education systems in countries outside Europe, but few cases of academic collaboration on the actual presentation of courses or programmes. However, pressure has been building up for a considerable expansion in this area. Prompted partly by this pressure, a

review of the OU's whole overseas programme has been undertaken, by an internal academic commission chaired by the Vice-Chancellor, which reported early in 1994[1].

The report proposed three scenarios for Open University activity overseas, the third of which, dubbed "The Academic Network", was suggested as particularly appropriate for work in African and other developing countries. This scenario emphasises the importance of working with academics in a range of such countries, for two reasons. First, this approach contributes to capacity building in academic institutions in developing countries. Second, such a scenario should ensure that learning materials developed are appropriate to the teaching of a particular subject in particular countries, rather than assuming that an approach developed in the UK can be exported as it stands.

In the circumstances it is extremely important that a programme on development management should be based on considerations of the nature and requirements of the subject in the contexts in which it might be taught.

It is also important to develop the intellectual basis of the programme openly, to allow for critical comment from the academic development studies community in the UK, from practising "development managers", and from potential academic collaborators from developing countries where the programme may be presented.

This paper, and the discussions on which it is based, are intended as steps in this direction. The paper has been revised and extended from notes prepared for the Inaugural Meeting of the Development Management Study Group of the Development Studies Association, held at RIPA International on 18 February 1994. The revision has benefited from comments from members of that study group and from David Wield, Chris Cornforth and other colleagues at the Open University, as well as from discussions at the special day workshop on the proposed Global Programme in Development Management held in London on 28 June 1994.

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[1] The *Report of the International Activities Review Group* is an internal Open University paper (Senate paper no. S/109/6, May 1994).

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT?

by Alan Thomas[1]

1 Introduction

How does *development* management differ from simply "management"? Is there any validity in the idea that management principles are universal, so that whatever the context management can be taught using the same learning materials? If not, does the idea of development management go beyond simply management in a context of development? Should development management be considered a special subject in its own right, with a theoretical basis and a set of required skills of its own?

This paper is intended to clarify thinking and work towards a framework for conceptualising about development management. It is hoped that such clarification will be helpful both for development management as an academic subject and for the proposed new Open University postgraduate programme in development management.

Before looking at the phrase "development management", I will consider the concepts of "development" and "management" separately, to see which of the various meanings and connotations of these terms might be most appropriate when they are used in combination. Rather than embark on a long survey of the ways these terms are used in different academic discourses, I will restrict myself to how they are introduced in Open University teaching - which any new Open University programme would have to complement. In the final section I will summarise my view of development management as a distinctive academic field, and bring out the implications of this view by listing the conceptual and skill areas to be included in that field.

2 "Development" and "Management"

Development

In the introductory textbook for *Third World Development* (Thomas and Allen, 1992) there is a standard discussion of various aspects or dimensions of development as 'progress', which might in principle be measured in order to recognize whether development has taken place. Economic definitions of development, including increased prosperity measured by GNP per capita, economic growth, industrialization and modernization, are contrasted with approaches that define development in terms of the satisfaction of human needs, exemplified by the idea of development as creating the

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[1] Senior Lecturer in Systems and Co-Chair of the Development Studies Subject Group at the Open University.

conditions for "the realization of the potential of human personality" (Seers, 1979). There is also mention of debates as to whether ideals such as equity, political participation, and so on should form part of a *definition* of development, and the importance of including environmental considerations, analysis in terms of gender relations[2], and a more general recognition of culture in any discussion of development.

Such questions of definition are not simply academic debates, but underlie some basic political conflicts with big implications for policy and hence for development management. For example, 1994 has seen a major disagreement between two of the world's most important inter-governmental development agencies, the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), on how to measure development. The UNDP's annual *Human Development Report* bases its assessment of the state of development of the countries and peoples of the world on its *human development index* (HDI), which combines measures of a number of aspects of human development (health, educational attainment and purchasing power), while proposing to extend the range of factors taken into consideration to aspects of democratisation and human rights. This is in direct contradiction to the World Bank's insistence, in its *World Development Reports* (also annual), on assessing countries' performance mainly by economic criteria.

This disagreement implies an equally major disagreement on what are preferred policies for attacking global poverty and achieving development, and indeed the two agencies have very different practical proposals. However, in practice it is the World Bank, together with other agencies that tend to share its view of development such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), that is able to see policies implemented based on its view of development. The same conflict is played out in country after developing country over structural adjustment and the conditionalities applied before a country can receive a World Bank loan. This conflict, between the World Bank and a succession of governments of different countries, is very largely based on the difference between an economic and a human-needs-based definition of development - though different views on *how* development is to be achieved (see below) also underlie it.

Examples of differences in how to define development underlying differences in policy abound also at more local levels. A common type of conflict is that between local or

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2 The need for discussions of development, and hence an analytical approach to development management, to include consideration of gender relations, is particularly acute given the tendency of traditional approaches to development administration to ignore or avoid the question. I have taken the view that an integrated approach should give a central place to consideration of gender relations, but have not pointed out every place where that consideration would be important. Hence in this paper there is no mention of gender relations as a specific topic to be added to a list of topics for consideration in development management.

international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), working with local communities, and the national government of the country concerned. Here the NGOs, in their definitions of development, tend to emphasise political participation, democratization, and the immediate basic human needs of local minority populations, whereas the type of development at which the national government is aiming is likely to be defined in terms of economic growth and industrialization at the national level. Such differences in definition underlie very practical conflicts over questions such as the displacement of indigenous groups in favour of large-scale "development" projects.

After presenting these debates on the meaning of development, the same introductory textbook goes on to what is possibly an even more important distinction with respect to *how* development is seen as taking place:

> "Development can be seen in two rather different ways: (1) as an historical process of social change in which societies are transformed over long periods; and (2) as consisting of deliberate efforts aimed at progress on the part of various agencies, including governments, all kinds of organizations and social movements."
>
> (Thomas, 1992, p.7)

Which of these two views of the process of development is to the fore has considerable implications for how development management is conceived.

The first view includes an enormous variety of theoretical positions, particularly on the left and right rather than the centre of the political spectrum. Thus, on the left, Marxists and other structuralists see history in terms of political and economic struggles between large social groups, particularly classes, as new structures and systems of power replace old ones across the globe. On the other hand, neo-liberals see what to them is progressive social change and modernization resulting from the actions of millions of individuals and other economic entities who compete in a global market-place.

What these extremely opposed political and theoretical positions have in common is that in each view development is a process which cannot be directly controlled by human agency. Thus the notion of "development management" as the management of the development process could have little meaning. The process of development would simply provide the context within which management is carried out, including management of industrial firms, of government departments, of international or local humanitarian relief and welfare operations, and so on.

It has often been pointed out how left and right agree on the ideal of a minimal role for the state in the very long term. However, in the meantime states and others clearly have some kind of development remit. Of those subscribing to versions of this first view of development as historical change, left and right agree again that all such agencies, particularly states, should try to facilitate the theoretical development process by maintaining the conditions under which it will work without hindrance, rather than actively trying to promote development.

In the post-Soviet-Union world, it is the neo-liberal notions of "rolling back the state", maintaining a "level playing field", and so on, that are in practice most important here. States and other agencies, including the World Bank, already mentioned above, are extremely active in pursuit of such ideas. It is clear that their activities in finance, administration, law-and-order, etc. are extremely relevant to "development management". The World Bank, for example, promotes a particular view of "good governance" which is said to be necessary for successful "development management". However, this is more an ethical code of practice for the administration of government functions than a recipe for how to achieve development. In this view development will proceed if the conditions are right but cannot be pushed or hurried.

Such ideas, and the policies resulting from their application, are part of the political context in which efforts at development necessarily take place. However, in this first view, "development management", if it means anything, simply means managing in a development context. For a manager in a multinational corporation posted to a subsidiary in a developing country, this means managing in a business environment that is different from that in his or her home country. For a civil servant in a government department or an NGO staff member in a developing country, this also means managing in a context specific to that situation.

Thus "development management" in this first view, in this sense of "management in a development context", will have connotations of "management of (or in) less developed regions", or, historically, of colonial administration (or, in South Africa until recently, administration of the Bantustans). Such "development contexts" can all too readily be assumed to have certain typical characteristics. For example, the idea of "good governance", mentioned above, can be regarded as a response to the assumption that administration in "less developed regions" is usually corrupt in particular ways. Again, the idea of "underdevelopment" can be assumed to apply to those being managed and to imply their cultural inferiority.

Of course, the idea of development as process does not necessarily lead to the adoption of crude dichotomies between assumed characteristics of "more developed" and "less

developed". There is no need to assume that management in such circumstances means leadership on the part of some who are more advanced and culturally superior and thus rightly have authority over other, inferior, beings. There is another extreme to avoid as well: that of assuming management to consist of a set of skills with best practices more-or-less independent of context - though this view of management deserves at least a little more consideration.

One has to avoid both these extremes in order to appreciate the importance of this view of development as broad historical process. Even if one concentrates on building up the skills and competences for managing in a variety of development contexts, there is still a need to understand development as a long-term process of social change in order to be able to describe, analyse, and perhaps improve, how various activities are managed within it.

In the second view, the deliberate efforts aimed at progress would themselves be activities requiring to be managed. The disagreements and debates between different versions of "progress", and hence over what is meant by development, and the variety of interests involved, ensure that there is no clear agreement about the goals of such management.

There may be some degree of agreement, for example on the need for development to be "sustainable", which implies that the management of development efforts should have a much more long-term focus than simply ensuring the successful implementation of development projects. However, the kinds of differences described above over what is meant by development, carry over into what is meant by "sustainable development". Thus the difference between economic and human-needs-based definitions of development leads to disagreement over whether development should be managed in such a way as to achieve sustainable economic growth or aimed at sustainable improvements in various aspects of human development. The typical conflict between local or international NGOs working with local communities and developmentalist states, characterised above as involving different definitions of development, also means a conflict between aiming at "sustainability" of national institutions and trying to achieve "sustainability" at the level of communities and the resources available to them.

In this view, in all such examples different development agencies are deliberately managing their efforts in favour of conflicting visions of development. Overall, development is a process which might be pushed in one direction rather than another depending on how the efforts of various development agents are managed.

To summarise the argument so far, we have two views of development leading to two conceptions of management development:

	Development as:	*Development management* as:
1	historical change process	management in the context of the development process
2	deliberate efforts at progress	management of development efforts

Management

The first course book for the Open Business School course *Managing Voluntary and Non-profit Enterprises* (Paton, 1991) discusses what is meant by management. It is pointed out that the term may be used about people (as in "the management") in which case it has connotations of authority and power; it may refer to a set of ideas, practices, techniques and principles, in which case it has connotations of industry and commerce. These connotations, it is suggested, may lead those involved in managing voluntary and non-profit enterprises to prefer to think of themselves as organizers, coordinators or administrators. (There may be a similar reluctance on the part of those involved in development, who may see the notion of "development management" as just dressing up what used to be called "development administration" with business language, and hence with ideas and values from industry and the private, market, sector generally.)

Paton goes on to distinguish two views of "what it means to manage" which are not necessarily industry-specific. The first, classical, view is the one that underlies "scientific management". The original clear statement of this view is often attributed to Fayol (1949) who stated:

> "To manage is to ... plan, to organize, to command, to co-ordinate and to control".

The second view is described by Paton as "Managing as enabling". He refers to the concepts as diverse as Peters and Waterman's (1982) attributes of "excellent" organizations, Kanter's (1989) "new managerial work" and Mary Parker Follett's idea that authority should derive from the task, and sums up this view as follows:

> "'To manage' is simply *to create the conditions under which the work will be done, and done well.* Management is therefore about *enabling* (or *empowering*) effective action."
>
> (Paton, 1991, pp.35-36, emphasis in original.)

Paton warns his readers against assuming that the first view is necessarily opposed to the aspirations of value-based organizations such as many voluntary organizations. Fayol distinguished between the five "elements" of management (i.e. those in the quote above) and a number of principles, covering specialization, division of work, authority, discipline, leadership and so on. Such principles may underlie "scientific management", but Fayol insisted that they simply reflected his experience (as an engineer and then the Managing Director of a large industrial company) and different principles might suit different circumstances. One can similarly distinguish between what Paton calls "functions" (such as controlling, planning, motivating, directing, monitoring), which may be necessary for effective management of any activity, and particular authority structures and management styles.

On the other hand, Paton also warns against an uncritical acceptance of the second ("Managing as enabling") view as appropriate in all circumstances. He repeats the following warning quote, from one of the founders of the `human relations' school of management:

> "I believed, for example, that a leader could operate successfully as a kind of adviser to his organization. I thought I could avoid being a `boss' ... I thought that maybe I could operate so that everyone would like me - that `good human relations' would eliminate all discord and disagreement. I couldn't have been more wrong. It took a couple of years, but I finally began to realize that a leader cannot avoid the exercise of authority any more than he can avoid the responsibility for what happens to his organization."
>
> (Douglas McGregor, quoted in Handy, 1976, p.97.)

Thus, rather than the two views remaining basically incompatible, they can be seen as describing forms or styles of management that have different strengths and weaknesses and may be more or less appropriate depending on circumstances. The nature of the task in hand, and its context, will determine which is more appropriate. For example, to achieve quick and effective provision of humanitarian relief in an emergency it may be essential to think of management in terms of "command and control", while the management of a successful agency giving advice and assistance to small businesses may be better thought of in terms of "empowerment and enabling". This seems to unite the two views into the simple idea of management as *getting the work done by the best means available.*

Although this emphasis on results is usually an important part of management thinking, it is not all there is to it. As Paton goes on to point out (1991, pp.39-41), this *instrumental* aspect of management needs to be complemented with a realisation of the

importance of the *expressive* aspect of management, in which values and ideals are promoted as part of how an organization (and its members and managers) defines itself (and themselves), not just as one way of getting things done.

How far can such ideas be applied to *development* management? It is not easy to follow the form of argument adopted above for the two views of development and suggest that each of the two views of management leads clearly to a particular conception of what is meant by "development management". One way forward is to take the idea that the nature of the task determines the appropriate version of management and attempt to apply it to development.

3 Development Management

What is the nature of the development "task"? In the first view of development, there is no *development* task as such, but all kinds of activities, with "tasks" ranging from routine public administration to relief and welfare work by voluntary agencies, from mutual aid among self-help organizations to small and large scale manufacturing processes, will require managing in the context of development. As in any context, which view of management is appropriate will then vary according to the particular work being done. Thus one might argue that routine administration, relief work and large-scale manufacturing would tend to lend themselves to the "command and control" view of management, while welfare work, mutual aid and small-scale industry might benefit from the more flexible "enabling" approach.

In the second view, however, development specifically means deliberate efforts at progress. Although many kinds of task may be undertaken in the name of development, in this view there is something specific about those tasks which may be called development tasks. To undertake a development task is to attempt deliberately to influence the course of social change, to intervene in a positive (and "sustainable") way. One should note here that this implies that development management is the management of a process that can take place anywhere, not just in developing countries.

The specific nature of development tasks means that managing such tasks differs from the simple idea of getting the work done by the best means available on several counts. First, aiming at social change means directing effort outside the particular organization one works for, as well as within it. Second, there will never be enough "means available" to impose a particular social change; hence the emphasis on influence or intervention. Third, it may not be agreed what work has to be done (and this may not be a point to be settled just by a leader's authority, as suggested in the McGregor quote

above). Finally, and more generally, ideas such as influence, social change and sustainability all point to the overriding importance of process and continuity. It is not just that development agencies undertake tasks of trying to influence ongoing social processes; the policies and practices of the development agencies, and hence the very tasks they carry out, are themselves part and parcel of those same processes.

Let us take these four points in turn. How far does each imply that development management is distinctive, and in what ways? The first point is that while conventional management is mostly a question of trying to achieve *internal, organizational* goals by coordinating internal organizational resources, *development* management also aims further, at *social* goals *external* to any particular organization. Of course, the skills and competences relevant to coordinating the use of internal resources are still relevant. They now have to be extended to include assisting in the mobilization and coordination of resources from a variety of sources. Generally speaking, no single agency has control over all the relevant resources, so there is also a need for inter-organizational negotiation and brokering as a prerequisite to the coordination activity.

This brings us to the second point. This was expressed above as the lack of sufficient means (even if all resources from different sources were brought together) to impose a given social change. Another way of expressing much the same idea would be to note that social goals are generally not amenable to being achieved simply by the concentration of sufficient effort. "Means available" just is not the right concept for working towards social goals. Hence, where conventional management may be about *directing* resources towards meeting goals, development management is more about using resources for *influencing* social processes or *intervening* in such processes in favour of certain goals. One can extend the point about no single agency having control over the relevant resources to noting that no single agency has anything but very partial control over these social processes.

Once again, there are skills and competences in conventional management that remain relevant, in this case those used to work out what is the "best means available". These would include methods for calculating efficiency or appraising alternative investments, as well as employee appraisal, the use of motivational techniques, and so on. But once one moves from directing to influencing and intervening, the appraisal methods required also need to broaden, to include social research methods, economic and social policy analysis, and so on. Particular research and analysis skills are needed for the quick but rigorous appraisal of specific situations and the likely impact of proposed interventions on the basis of incomplete information. In addition, the forging of alliances and mobilization of resources across several organizations requires an

extension of motivational techniques to the management of values, since it is often on the basis of shared values that organizations are able to work together effectively.

Third, how is it decided what work is to be done in the name of development? The social goals aimed at are strongly subject to value-based conflicts, derived from different conceptions of "progress" and development, and from differences in interests, as mentioned above. Thus, development management can include facilitating a process of conflict resolution or negotiating between interests in order to formulate widely accepted goals. Or it may be that conflicting interests are not reconcilable, in which case achieving a development task can be a matter of struggling to promote a particular view of "progress" in the face of opposition from other, powerful, interests. In some cases, extreme perhaps but unfortunately not uncommon, conflicts are all too violently physical. The resulting social upheaval may be such that it is not clear how anything approaching "development" can take place, but there is certainly work to be done.

The expressive aspect of management may be very important here, and basic ethical and philosophical questions are involved. For example, what gives agencies the right to act or negotiate on behalf of particular groups or interests? Given the uncertainty of achieving any particular long-term result, can it be legitimate to employ means aimed at development that impact negatively on particular groups in the short term? And so on.

Finally, the importance of process is a point that may be missed if the notion of task is emphasised too much. Development agencies are trying to influence social processes but they also have their own histories and their own policies and practices change as a result of such processes. They are even subject to influence from other development agencies! Although we are here considering a view of development as the result of deliberate efforts at positive change, this view is certainly not a mechanistic one in which one agency (a particular state within its borders, say) prescribes solutions to development problems and development results directly from their implementation. States may be more or less powerful but there is always a multiplicity of agencies whose actions impact on the course of development. And the idea of process is important, not only because development is a process which such actions may be designed to shift in a positive direction, but also because such actions result from policies on behalf of the agencies which themselves shift. Development policy itself should be regarded as process.

What exactly are the implications of this last point for development management? Are there particular skills or competences required to manage in such a context? There may be certain skills required for building up the capacity to maintain influence into the future rather than just carrying out projects or other one-off interventions. In the

context of a single organization such capacity building would require skills in the area known as organizational development; with multiple agencies involved these skills need extending into *institutional development.* On the whole, though, rather than any specific additional skill requirements, what is suggested is the overriding need for an appreciation of the complexities of development in terms of policy as process involving multiple agencies. This appreciation may even be a starting point for the whole subject of development management.

There is still a range of tasks that may be called development tasks. Although the above four points hold in general terms, some of these tasks are less subject to debate about goals, or to problems of lack of resource or control, than others. For example, despite the warnings about the need to see development projects, say, as part of wider processes, there are still projects in areas such as health care, infrastructural development, education, and many others, where what is being attempted is not subject to overwhelming controversy. In such cases it is possible to argue, as in the first view of development as being simply the context for management of all kinds of activities, that different development tasks will require different views of management. There are perhaps relatively few development activities that are quite so straightforward that a "command and control" view will suffice overall. But it may well be the case that once a particular task or project has been agreed, such a view of management would be appropriate to managing the implementation of that particular project.

Given the nature of the development task as set out above, the "managing as enabling" view often seems to be the appropriate one. But this is not just because "enabling" is often the best way to get the job done, particularly when there is a need for flexibility, responsiveness and human commitment. The "managing as enabling" view also carries a second justification within it. This is that, in some circumstances, to empower members of an organization or community is more important in its own right than getting any particular job done. In fact, it may be argued that unless all are empowered the task will inevitably end up being defined to correspond with goals that do not take the interests of the disempowered into account. Empowerment or enabling then becomes a goal in its own right.

In the context of U.K. voluntary organizations such as those considered by Paton, there would be a number of self-help and advocacy organizations taking this kind of line. And, more importantly for the present argument, this view of empowerment as a goal in its own right, and as a prior step before assisting those empowered to go on to develop in their own terms, would correspond strongly with certain views of development.

We can distinguish here a view that "development management" could imply a certain style of management[3] committed more to the human development and empowerment of individuals and groups than to the achievement of particular pre-defined tasks. In an international context, this view tends to be associated with certain NGOs with a strongly value-based or radical view of development, though it can also be adopted by intergovernmental agencies or government departments. However, in the latter case there may be an overriding commitment to the maintenance of national identity and security that may make for irreconcilable differences on what should be meant by development.

Thus, in this second view of development as deliberate efforts at progress, there is potentially more basic disagreement as to the appropriate view of management. Since, as I have argued, in this view development management means the management of intervention in social processes, in the context of conflict over social goals, this is perhaps not surprising. The disagreement stems from the question: "in whose interests is the intervention to be undertaken?"

As noted, there are cases where there appears to be little disagreement about goals. It might appear in those cases that there was consensus over what is meant by development and about what work needs to be done. Then we might return to the idea that the nature of the task should determine the appropriate form and view of management. This may well be the only way to get things done. However, it could well be that what appears to be consensus is in fact moulded to the interests of a relatively powerful development agency such as a state or an international organization.

If, however, it is suggested that it is possible to intervene in the interests of poor and powerless groups, that would necessarily imply a commitment to the view of management as enabling. The congruence noted above between this view and the idea of development management as a style of management devoted to human development and empowerment would come into play.

One should note here that relations of power apply at many different levels. Two which have already been touched on above are the relationship between a local community, where a local or international NGO may be working, and its national government, and the relationship between a national government and a powerful intergovernmental agency such as the World Bank. To try to intervene in favour of the

3 I am indebted to Carlo Borzaga of the University of Trento for the suggestion that "development management" can mean a style of management in the same way that scientific management is a style of management, as well as meaning the management of a particular activity, analogous to, say, retail management. Thus "development management" can mean management that favours (human) development within any organizational context, and also mean the management of development activities in or by a development agency.

powerless in local communities against the policies of the national government, or in favour of the poor in a developing country against the policies of the World Bank[4], would in each case entail avowing the "enabling and empowerment" view of management. In addition to the skills, competencies and understandings mentioned so far, there would be a need to use radical participative methods, to engage further in institutional development and capacity building, and to consider explicitly the strategic choice of whether to go along with the most powerful agencies while trying to influence their policies, or to oppose them. (In either case there might well be no great expectation of success.)

We can extend the little table above to summarise the argument so far, as follows:

	Development as:	*Development management* as:	*Management* as:
1	historical change process	management of anyt ype of task in the context of development;	'Command and control'or 'enabling', depending on task
2	deliberate efforts at progress	management of development efforts; i.e. management of intervention, with conflicts of goals	If "consensus" or intervention in interests of powerful then as above; if in interests of powerless, `enabling'

4 Summary and Implications

Given the various alternative conceptions expounded above, what is distinctive and special to "development management" that would not be included in the study of "development" and "management" separately? Beginning to provide answers to this question should form part of the intellectual basis of development management as a subject; it should also be useful in deciding which specifically new learning materials need to be developed in order to teach or facilitate learning in the field.

In the first view, of development as historical change process, there would seem to be little distinctive or special about development management. A simple combination of development studies with management would suffice - though one should note that to

4 One of our overseas collaborators, a leading economist from a Southern African country, points out how the top young economic graduates in his country need to be able to negotiate with World Bank officials, but that conventional economics and management studies do not give them the skills to do so.

combine a study of development and management at all is rather unusual. Management would provide concepts and theories about how goals can be achieved in organizations, plus skills and strategies for achieving them. Development studies would give the examples and knowledge of specific development contexts in which these management skills are to be applied, plus additional concepts and theories for understanding and analysing the development context. (See Austin, 1990, for a good example of a combination of a relatively conventional approach to management with analysis of the "distinctive business environment" of developing countries.)

It is by taking the second view, of development as deliberate efforts at progress, that certain special elements particular to development management become apparent. However, the first view should not be dismissed. Indeed, even when considering the management of such deliberate efforts at progress, this should be within the context of development as a long-term historical process. So, in a full programme of study on development management, one would expect to find modules on development studies and conventional management separately, with applications of management concepts, skills and strategies in a development context, as well as modules dealing with the distinctive points arising from the second view.

This second view has characterised development management as the management of deliberate efforts at progress on the part of one of a number of agencies, the management of intervention in the process of social change in the context of conflicts of goals, values and interests. (As noted above, in this view development management is a process or an activity that can take place anywhere, not just in developing countries.)

The above discussion identified four distinctive features of development tasks, viz.: external social goals rather than internal organizational ones; influencing or intervening in social processes rather than using resources to meet goals directly; goals subject to value-based conflicts; and the importance of process, the appreciation of which was suggested as a starting point. From that discussion one can deduce the importance of the following conceptual and skill areas (starting, as suggested, with the last point and its implications):

1 The idea of *development policy as process* - involving public action on the part of a number of agencies. This is opposed to the view of policy as prescription for actions to be undertaken by the state alone (see Wuyts, Mackintosh, and Hewitt, 1992). It is a basic starting-point for development management as a distinct subject area

2 Recognition of the *variety of development contexts* and institutions and the number of different types of agency involved, including local and national state agencies, NGOs and intergovernmental agencies. Staudt (1991) is one of the few authors on the management of development who explicitly addresses this question. She notes, for example, that "[d]evelopment management is inherently political, and [requires] the diagnosis of political contexts and organizational politics more than techniques" (p.3). There are various techniques for analysing situations where a multiplicity of agencies is involved, ranging from simple stakeholder analysis to more complex network or influence diagramming. However, on this point as with the previous one, appreciation is probably more important than specific skills.

3 *Project design, management and appraisal.* This is to be seen not in terms of applying strict control and rationalistic techniques but as an adaptive and flexible means of intervention. Rondinelli (1993) goes some way towards this with his suggestion that development projects should be regarded not as blueprints to be put into practice but as experiments designed to promote what he calls "a process of adaptive administration" (p.158). One might go further and consider how projects, particularly those involving the resources of more than one agency, derive from the policy process and then feed back into it.

4 *Negotiation and brokering.* Finding ways of working with or alongside other agencies is crucial. If possible, one should move from thinking from a position within one agency about its "external environment" and how to deal with it (as with the concept of "resource dependency" as the basis of interorganizational linkages - Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978), to conceptualising a whole development arena as an inter-organizational domain, with a variety of actors who each has a part to play. A practical aspect here is the mobilisation of resources through negotiating exchanges or bringing together those with complementary needs. A different possibility is the use of shared values as the basis for working together, which could imply the need for techniques of conceptual mapping or other means for the management of values on an interorganizational basis.

5 *Economic and social policy analysis.* Here the need is for an appreciation of the important elements of a particular economy or policy area without specialising in economics, social policy, or any other single discipline. Such an appreciation needs to integrate micro with macro and public with private. It could work through sets of key questions to ask of given types of situation, together with a knowledge of appropriate research or investigative methods (see 6 below).

6 *Research and appraisal.* It is particularly important to be able to undertake the quick but rigorous appraisal of specific situations and the likely impact of proposed interventions on the basis of incomplete information. Relevant methods include rapid rural appraisal, environmental impact assessment, systems-based methodologies and others.

7 *Appreciation of political strategy.* Clark (1991) distinguished between collaborative, competitive and oppositional strategies; Batsleer and Randall (1991) discuss the factors involved in choosing a strategy involving particular types of negotiated relations between a variety of agencies. Not having control as a single agency means that such strategic choices are critical.

8 *Institutional development and capacity building.* This area arose in the above discussion through a consideration of "sustainability". To be sure that development is able to continue into the future means building up human institutions that sustain their values and their capacities. An important question here (which links with that of strategic choice in 7 above) is how to `scale up' from successful project management to broader intervention: whether to aim to do this through collaboration, advocacy, or organizational growth. Edwards and Hulme (1992)[5] set out this problem from an NGO viewpoint, but it is of more general relevance. This is also the place to bring in consideration of democratization as a process of development of institutions throughout a society and even internationally.

9 The particular case of *extreme social upheaval* (including war) - managing in such circumstances involves a mixture of very practical decisions with assisting the building up of social institutions that may allow for development later.

10 Finally, *ethical and philosophical questions* - on when any agency has the right to intervene on some others' behalf, the basis of representation, what are legitimate means to development ends, and so on.

In addition, there is specific importance to be given to the case where management development implies managing an intervention on behalf of the poor and powerless against other powerful interests. Here, as pointed out above, management has necessarily to be seen as enabling and empowering. This can occur at various levels including local and national. Thus the following list, shorter but no less important, has

5 Edwards and Hulme (1992) in fact propose four models of `scaling up' for Northern NGOs, viz: collaborating with Southern governments; lobbying Northern governments; linking grassroots with advocacy; organizational growth.

to be added to the above list of conceptual and skill areas specifically relevant to development management:

11 *Empowerment and participation,* including more or less radical methods for working with communities and particular groups of the poor and powerless. Many of these methods derive from Freire's (1972) ideas of conscientisation; different versions have been pioneered by a variety of development theorists and activists (e.g. Chambers, 1983; Fals-Borda and Rahman, 1991). There are now whole families of methods under headings such as *Participatory Rural Appraisal* and *Participative Action Research* which are quite different from the participatory methods that may be included within the general understanding of `management'. (Even though the idea of "participative action research", for example, is current both in Western organizational studies and in work on the empowerment of rural communities, these are effectively two traditions separated by their approach to power - only in the second case is the `action' meant to be *against* existing power structures. See Brown, 1993.)

12 *National capacities and globalization.* Some of the above areas, such as the appreciation of the variety of development institutions including local, national, nongovernmental and intergovernmental, the need for skills in negotiation and brokering, economic and social policy analysis, and institutional development and capacity building, come together in the scenario of national institutions struggling to maintain developmentalist policies in the face of conditionalities imposed by intergovernmental agencies such as the World Bank. Structural adjustment and similar internationally sanctioned policies that constrain development are crucial arenas for integrating a number of conceptual and skill areas in order to build up a political appreciation of what is needed for development management.

To summarise, development management should be seen as including three types of material:

1a Development studies; and

1b conventional management theory in a development context.

2 New areas arising from viewing development management as the management of intervention aimed at "progress" in a context of conflicts over goals and values.

3 Radical participative management methods aimed at enabling and empowering, arising from the cases where development management may be viewed as the management of interventions on behalf of the relatively powerless.

The above lists correspond to the second and third of these. However, those lists are by no means exhaustive, corresponding to a partway stage in thinking out development management as a new field. They are lists of conceptual areas, in some of which there are clusters of necessary skills and competences. Sectors of development have not been listed separately. Environment, health, rural development, industry, micro-enterprise, etc., etc.: these are all fields in which the conceptual and skill areas listed above can be applied but which do not appear in their own right on the lists.

The lists emphasize areas and approaches less well covered in traditional subjects like development administration, in order to make clear that there is indeed a substantially new field here. This being so, a notable omission from the lists is gender relations. As noted at the start of the paper, the need for gendered analysis could be said to require constant underlining because of its neglect in conventional development administration. However, while adopting what Staudt calls "the commonsense assumption that gender, along with ethnicity, region, class and other factors are part and parcel of development management" (1991, p.3), I have not actually called attention on every occasion to the specific requirements of an analytical approach that takes gender relations seriously.

Expanding the lists into a coherent outline of this new field of development management is an immediate task, and not an easy one. One problem is that the conceptual and skill areas listed require integrating with each other, and it is not at all easy to take each separately. Probably the distinctive features of the development task, and in particular the need to start from an appreciation of development policy as process and a political analysis that includes cases where development management may mean working against powerful interests, are more basic as starting points than the specifics of any lists.

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DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE

The Development Policy and Practice Research Group was set up in the Open University towards the end of 1984 to promote research on development issues. Its members have a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds (engineering, sociology, economics, education, geography and anthropology). At present, research is focused in four areas:

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(ii) Alternative technological capabilities and the implications of different technological strategies for development;

(iii) Women, children and households: the social and cultural context of employment and livelihoods, children and social policy;

(iv) 'Managing development' and policy as process: the role of national and international non-governmental organisations.

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