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The (Un)identical twins: Public administration and public management toward improving education and training for effective governance in Ghana

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Review

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There are some disagreements between academics and practitioners on how to improve the performance of government officials in Ghana. While academics advocate for reforms in governance through education and training, practitioners may have differing interests and expectations. Such impasse has contributed to the lack of a unified framework of concepts in nation building. Core concepts for training public managers for good governance have fragmented within public administration, public policy, and public management. However, there is hope that pre-service and in-service training and education may provide opportunities to implement reforms through human development. There should be a closer dialogue among all schools of thought based on a generally agreed paradigm for effective governance through education and training. This article looks at education and training of public officials through the lens of the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA). It uses meta-analysis to examine the similarities and differences between public administration and management.

Key words: Public administration, new public management, traditional administration, training, and education.

INTRODUCTION

The management of public affairs by public administrators is a rather complex activity, which entails the balancing of various and sometimes contradictory objectives. These training[i] and education objectives are necessary for the understanding and implementation of public policies. Education and training for public administrators are essential for development in African countries, including Ghana (Okereke, 1985; Jacobs, 1990). One must understand and accept the role and goals of government in both the public and private sectors before such education and training can be administratively effective and productive. Effectiveness is defined in this paper as government's ability to maximize available resources for the benefit of its citizens, while productivity is the outcome of effective management.

As a unitary administrative country, Ghana more or less practices a centralized administrative system despite the constitutional support for administrative decentralization. The challenges faced by Ghana are due to the negative implications of ineffective governance and the

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"widespread recognition that *Ghana* suffers from a lack of management *and administrative* capacities, and that this scarcity of indigenous talent is a major, if not the major, constraint in stimulating national development" (Kerrigan and Luke, 1989: 904).   The historical development and role of public administration education and training in improving managerial and administrative competence in Ghana are discussed in the following sections. This paper utilizes the meta-analysis methodological approach to draw conclusions.

Historical development of public administration education and training in Ghana

In a review of public administration education and training, it became evident that there was no single system that is recognized as a model. As a result, there are various approaches to public administration education and training. These variations may be based on national size, interest of tertiary institutions, and diversity. The type of political system, structures, and the role of the central government are also a key point in understanding a country's approaches to public administration education and training. As the literature shows, there are many different ways for one to become a public administrator or manager with the exception of France, where one has to attend and graduate from the Ecole Nacionale d'Administracion (ENA) to become a public administrator. The same cannot be said about other countries, including Ghana or the United States (Kolisnichenko, 2006). Formal training and education have been the essential components in the attainment of knowledge, skills, abilities, and competencies for various careers for quite some time – for instance, "[t]he apprenticeship method was the accepted procedure for training craftsmen during the era of guild development in industry" (Wingo, 1937: 84). It was not until the early 20th century that formal, institutionalized public administration education and training became a reality. In Ghana, public administration education and training were first seen during the colonial era. It was continued after the country attained its political independence in 1957 (Haruna and Kannae, 2013: Adu, 1965: Haruna, 2004). In terms of governance, Ghana has a checkered local government history and experience. Ayee (2004) noted that before political independence, Ghana did pursue local government policies. This local government experience was deeply rooted in "national bureaucratic framework that tends to hurt rather than promote the transformation of local and rural life," (Haruna and Kannae, 2013b: 140), hence the need for education and training to improve not only local governance, but also the national government.

In the early 20th century the need for trained public administrators and formalized public administration education and training grew rapidly. This was due to the increase in population, the size and functions of government, the replacement of the spoils system with a professional civil service (Schachter, 2007), and the increasing complexity of national affairs; the need for government to "widen its activities continually to take up new kinds of work, particularly in the social and scientific fields," and the establishment of new positions "requiring not only technical skill but *real executive ability*" (Wingo, 1937: 84). Supporting Wingo's argument, though dated but still relevant, Haruna (2004: 176) also noted that the establishment of institutions in Ghana, a new independent country-post colonial Gold Coast, in the early 1960s "contributed to reinforce the bureaucratic perspective of administrative education, training," and managerial skills. He argues that public administration institutions in Africa were modeled after the colonial occupiers: The British, French, Portuguese and others. For example, Haruna maintains that GIMPA, a public administration institution in Ghana, reflects the Royal Institute of Public administration in England.

The central administration strategy associated with public administration and management of public affairs in Ghana was evident in the British colonial administration, the post independent civilian administrations of Kwame Nkrumah (1957-1966), Kofi Abrefa Busia (1969-1972), and Hilla Liman(1979-1981) including the 1966, 1972, 1979, and 1981 military administrations. Since the genesis of the Fourth Republic of Ghana (from 1992) and the 1992 Constitution, much emphasis has been placed on local government administration and reforms for effective governance. While the 1992 Constitution clearly supports local government and decentralization, one could argue that not much training and education are given to local government personnel to specifically address the needs of the citizens. This is, in part, due to the centralized governance structures where the central government continues to appoint public administrators for the regions and districts.

These appointments are based on political affiliations (the spoils system) and not solely on the appointees' professional training and educational background. As Ayee (2002: 174) noted, "the president appoints almost every one to practically every key government institution at the national, regional, and local level." Governance at the local level is different.   Education and training in public administration should provide adequate preparation for public management, as they create awareness of the political process for government officials. Unfortunately, one could argue, some government appointees lack the required training to function as expected, since most of the appointees by the government are rejected at the district level. [ii] Although some institutions of higher learning provide public administration education and training in Ghana, it is the University of Ghana's -School of Business (UGSB) and GIMPA that are known for their quality education and training for administrators, public service personnel, and politicians. A critical examination of GIMPA's curriculum by Haruna and Kannae (2013)

revealed the institution's full commitment in the education and training of future public administrators and managers in Ghana.

Education and training for public administrators and managers in Ghana

As Haruna and Kannae (2013: 502) noted, GIMPA uses a semi-residential modular education and training format, which allows "public managers to combine work with study in a manner that minimizes the losses in man-hours while maximizing education and training." GIMPA, in providing a theoretical-based education in all its programs, places pragmatic emphasis on professional effectiveness. In addition to UGSB and GIMPA, other universities and institutions, such as the Management Development and Productivity Institute (MDPI) and the Civil Service Training Center (CSTC), also provide public administration education and training "for top, middle, and junior level civil service employees" (Haruna, 2004: 178). GIMPA, established in 1961, is undeniably the only institution in Ghana that provides and focuses solely on an extensive education and training for administrators in its graduate school of governance and leadership, where masters degrees are offered in public administration, development, management, executive governance and leadership, along with public sector management training programs. The school also provides consultancy services in many areas, including strategic management, human resources management, and community training (Haruna, 2003).

    It should be noted that UGSB, in addition to its masters and doctorial degree awarding programs, also provides weekend and executive masters of public administration (MPA) to serve the educational needs of individuals who may already be in the workforce. Education and training in Ghana for public officials dates back to the colonial era, when the British, a colonial power, laid the foundation for how Ghana should be governed. In so doing, expatriate public administrators were purposely trained in universities in the United Kingdom to conduct administrative business of the British Colonial Empire in Ghana and other occupied British colonies (Kirk-Green, 1969; Haruna, 2004). Such administrative structures only served the interest of the colonizers and not the governed or colonized: Ghanaians, the locals, had absolutely no inputs in the administration of national affairs.

    GIMPA is primarily focused on public affairs education and training in the country. This institution was empowered through Act 676, which was passed unanimously by the unicameral legislative Ghanaian parliament in 2004. Referred to as the GIMPA Bill, Act 676 legally gave GIMPA the authority to consolidate and reestablish itself as a self-sustaining public tertiary institution and "graduate-degree-granting university" (Haruna, 2013: 495). Since its inception, Haruna

maintains, GIMPA has taken a bureaucratic perspective of management education and training similar to the British civil service model. GIMPA and the other institutions mentioned above, based on their curricula provide, at least in theory, public managers and officials with the competence to manage national affairs, nation building, and the task of human resource development, but their educational models still mirrors the British system despite attempts for reforms by post-independence governments.

METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION FOR ANALYSIS

Methods incorporating both observational data and quantitative approach were used to explain what is considered triangulation as this strategy is one of the potential solutions to a problem of conflicting tasks, and criteria to be identified in a *multimethod* research (Gerring, 2012). Babbie (2001) defines triangulations as the "use of several different research methods," which he sees as "valuable research strategy" (113). The data gathered from the journal publications qualitatively were used to justify the findings through elaboration. Though the study used mixed methods approach not all methods were overly relied on, since there are some expected methodological disadvantages associate with every method. However, meta-analysis seemed appropriate for this particular study.

    Meta-analysis, usually used in statistical methods for contrasting and combining results from different studies, is utilized in this paper by examine the conclusions and results of studies on public administration and management. This article used secondary data by gathering information through publications on education, training, public administration, and management. First, classical definition of public administration and public management as presented in the literature was examined while critical similarities and differences were discussed based on the literature. Meta analysis, seen as a subset of systematic approach to case report, case control study, and cohort study, was used to examine the curricula of UGBS and GIMPA as the selected schools to represent tertiary institution in Ghana. While this may be seen as a small sample of universities in the country, it was determined that these two schools focus more on public administration and management than the others institutions. This determination was based on Internet search, which provided greater ability to extrapolate to the institutions that teach administration and management by providing education and training for public officials. Additionally, we used *word* (education, training) and *phrase* (public administration and management including education and training) Internet search to identify publications directly related to education and training in Ghana. We further narrowed the output of the Internet results by limiting our search to only peer reviewed journals.

Public administration and public management in the context of education and training

The following sections cover first, traditional public administration and the predominant form of public management – the New Public Management (NPM). This discussion then proceeds to an examination of the similarities and differences between public administration and NPM. In the concluding thoughts, major points are reviewed and suggestions are offered with respect to how higher institutions in Ghana, such as GIMPA and UGSB, can provide training and education to ensure competency in public administrators and managers through their degree and certification curricula.

Given the Ghanaian political environment, it is obvious that competence in governing is not restricted to government officials and the public sector alone, but also involves the private sector, including not-for-profit agencies. While much improvement is needed in administrative and managerial capabilities, one is likely to admit that scanty attention has been directed to training and education for nation building. I argue that public administration and NPM can supplement each other in ways that can help promote effective governance, which will improve public welfare through training and education. This will increase managerial productivity and competence at all levels - national, regional, and local governments.

It is most likely that public administration and management are often confused, with many failing to recognize the difference and using the two concepts interchangeably (Leonina-Emilia and Ioan, 2010). According to Kaboolian (1998) there are boundaries, however, surrounding public administration and public management that distinguish the two concepts. Exploring this distinction enables one to compare and contrast public administration and management. Additionally, an understanding of what constitutes the two can help practitioners and academicians initiate steps to understand one another by establishing a unified framework of governance to promote public welfare, where each official's duty is clearly defined and well understood by the citizenry.

Public administration education and training – An overview

The practice of public administration has been around since the emergence of governing structures and is "as old as the governance itself" (Leonina-Emilia and Ioan, 2010: 1020). Public administration education and training generally consists of professional education and training for those who are going to join the public sector and further their professional training and/or education for those who are employed in public administration. It was not until Woodrow Wilson (1887) wrote *The Study of Administration* that public administration emerged as an academic area of study. This is not to argue that the practice of public administration was absent in traditional societies. The indigenous African societies had their own administrative system unknown to their European slave masters and occupiers (Antwi-Boasiako, 2012). Initially, public administration was considered to be a sub-discipline of political science (Boyne, 1996; Gray and Jenkins, 1995), but with the passage of time it has become a discipline of its own, which is firmly rooted in political science, constitutional law, and other disciplines that touch on the realm of public administration (Henry, 2010).

The concept of public administration can be referred to as the academic area of study (public administration theory), the activity of executing policy (public administration practice), or the administrative structures of a country. As such, it is not surprising that public administration has evaded precise definition (Stillman II, 2010: 1-6). For example, in Ghana, the role of the public administrator is so confusing that most citizens, arguably, look up to the central government - the executive - to provide basic necessities, ignoring the other institutions of government. This situation is further complicated because public administration, "[d]ue to its sociocultural context, its evolving intellectual content and its tacit values . . . is not constituted by a single set of principles or concepts" (Sindane, 2004: 666). The particular forms of administrative structures and systems utilized in a country are path-dependent (Gheorghe, 2012; Kim, 2007; Pollitt, 2002) and are shaped by context – specifically, a country's history, culture, and level of development (Ackroyd, 1995; Jreisat, 2010; Sindane, 2004). Thus, public administration as structure and practice can be characterized by flux and transformation. This, in turn, insinuates that public administration theory can also be characterized by flux and transformation (Haruna, 2003) because "[c]hanges to the study of public administration tend to follow those in the practice of the administration of government" (Gray and Jenkins, 1995: 75). That is, public administration is adaptive, art, and reactive.

Nevertheless, several key characteristics define the traditional conception of public administration. Public administration is Weberian in the sense that it is characterized by command and control structures that are intended to prevent arbitrary decision making, promote accountability, and encourage consistency and coordination, such as bureaucracy, hierarchy, rules, the concentration of power, and clear lines of accountability (Gheorghe, 2012; Kim, 2007; Leonina-Emilia and Ioan, 2010; Riccucci, 2001). Those characteristics could be well understood through education and training. Public administration is also concerned with public management; according to traditional conceptions of public administration, "the fundamental responsibility of public managers was to develop efficient, programmatic means for accomplishing well-defined goals" (Terry, 1998: 195). A well-defined goal for Ghana to ensure continuity in

development has eluded successive administrations since the overthrow of the first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on February 24, 1966. The reason, according to Danso (2007) and Ayittey (2005), is lack of visionary leadership cumulating from the absence of trained public administrators and managers.

The traditional public administration argument

Traditional public administration rejects the politics-administration dichotomy on which classical public administration was based, and accepts that public administration is inherently political (Leonina-Emilia and Ioan, 2010; Lynn, 1998; Sindane, 2004). Nevertheless, "in practice, public administrative questions require political answers" (Sindane, 2004: 666). Unfortunately, those political answers are not provided in Ghana. Public administration, however, goes beyond asking administrative questions that require political answers. It is also "concerned with . . . the politics of service provision" (Boyne, 1996: 79). As such, Ghanaian institutions of higher learning such as GIMPA and UGSB "need to be understood as more than instruments that produce policy outcomes" (Sindane, 2004: 668). These institutions must also be seen as instruments of change in the country's political environment, culture, and development.

Public administrators engage in political management, which is based on the assumption "that public managers have a *legitimate right* to exercise political power in the policy making process" (Terry, 1998: 195) in the interest of the public. The concept of public administration is both instrumental – functioning as a means to attain a collective, public end – and constitutive or formative – defining that end during implementation by placing administrators and managers in the position to either subtly or overtly engage in forming public law (Boyne, 2002; Cook, 1998). In the Ghanaian political unitary administrative structure, public administrators and public managers fulfill this constitutional role through the administrative exercise of delegated authority to give meaning to, or interpret, ambiguous legislative mandates. More often than not, they prioritize competing and sometimes conflicting goals and objectives to identify public goods and services for the people (Sindane, 2004) living in more deprived and rural communities. Given this perspective, "the preferred role of government . . . *is viewed as* acting as the principal vehicle for socio-economic development" (Kaul, 1997: 14). As long as this lack of clarity remains in defining public service and who is entitled to such service, politics and administration will be inseparable (Kelly, 1998).

Although public administration is closely linked to administrative structures, especially the bureaucracy, "[w]hat is important about the theory and practice of traditional public administration is the value system embraced and served" (Gray and Jenkins, 1995: 83). Public administration emphasizes what Hood (1991) classifies as lambda-type values; these include resiliency, endurance, robustness, reliability, adaptability, and survival. Additionally, public administration addresses questions of 'how' *and* 'why' and, as such, is concerned with normative values (Cook, 1998; Sindane, 2004). These normative values include those classified by Hood as theta-type values, which include fairness, honesty, and mutuality. Moreover, public administration is based on political values, including democracy, accountability, due process, collective choice, fairness, justice, participation, and representation (Riccucci, 2001 and Rimington, 2009). Collectively, these values are required by "goals, such as equity and accountability, that are absent in the private sector . . . [and] stem from the common ownership of public organizations, and from attempts to control their behavior in order to achieve collective purposes" (Boyne, 2002: 100). This means if the proper public administration education and training are provided in Ghana, administrators and managers should be able to understand and follow the democratic political process for effective and efficient decision making in the interest of the populace. Thus, administrators must be able to explain to the citizenry within their various constituencies "how" and "why" certain political decisions are taken.

Making sense of public administration training and education in Ghana

Basic public administration education and training usually occur at the university level in both public and private institutions of learning in Ghana. A handful of these institutions offer undergraduate and graduate programs in public administration and public management. Some of these institutions are operating in an increasingly com-petitive commercialized environment where their programs and curricula are geared toward public servants at all levels are oriented to issues of economy, productivity, efficiency, and social policy (Kolisnichenko, 2006). Education and training are most likely to be the key causes for transformation in any industry, organization or country. These two, education and training are balancing activities that reinforce each other. Education concentrates on explaining concepts, doctrines, beliefs, practices, and teaching procedures; for instance the theory of how a task should be done. Training, on the other hand, deals with *practicing* and *applying* the knowledge acquired through education, which helps to execute what has been learned. The classical public administration literature tends to provide a framework for developed countries and how, in an idealistic democratic political environment, public administrators and managers should function.[iii] Ghana, like most African countries, was deconstructed and

constructed by external powers in 1844: Colonization. This partition of Africa (Gavshon, 1981) has undeniably affected its political, social, cultural, educational and administrative structures.

Despite these colonial and foreign administrative structures, the native administrative system continues to function; the chieftaincy system. The concept of chieftaincy as a form of administrative authority at the local level still persists and it is constitutionally recognized (Antwi-Boasiako and Bonna, 2012) and functions. Ayittey (2005: 21) admits that the study of the Ghanaian traditional "societies reveal[s] an astonishing degree of functionality: participatory forms of democracy, rule of customary law, and accountability," but the administrative system of modern Ghana "is a meretricious fandango of imported or borrowed institutions that are little understood by" public officials, administrators, and managers. This imported administrative system has forced tertiary institutions in Ghana, including GIMPA and UGSB to, unfortunately, respond "to external pressures, offering internationally acceptable courses that provide students with generic managerial and technical managerial competencies" to the detriment of traditional admini-strative structures where the tertiary institutions curricula fail to address issues of traditional administration and policies relevant to Ghana (Haruna, 2013: 507). Haruna notes there is the need for public administration training and education to address domestic issues. Thus, any public administration training and education must "build knowledge and the ethic for administering in the unique context of Ghana" (507).

Localizing public administration in Ghana

The classical writings in public administration do not discuss traditional administration and management, which have been part of the administrative system in Ghana since the pre- and post-colonial eras. This section looks at the concept of public administration and public management from the Ghanaian perspective regarding the type of education and training available for public administrators. Before public administration became an academic discipline there were administrative structures in indigenous societies, including Ghana (Ayittey, 1992). While those structures were not documented, there was consensus in the administration of justice, law making, policy making (taboos), and delivery of public services through local leaders and traditional chiefs (Antwi-Boasiako and Bonna, 2012). Traditional leaders, similar to elected political leaders, have different leadership styles, which varied from chief to chief (region to region). For example, the Ghanaian political heads of state, from the first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (1957-1966), through to John Dramani Mahama (2012-) [iv] , have different leadership and administrative skills that affirm the diverse administrative

styles of public administrators. This unsurprisingly diverse nature in public administration is normative in focusing mainly on public interest (King and Chilton, 2009). Each one of these administrators, including those not mentioned here, had their fair share of public criticisms of maladministration, given their respective lack of public administration education and training, yet all of them (including the administration of military leaders Colonel I. K. Acheampong 1972-79 and J.J. Rawlings 1982-2000) are more likely to vow that the performances of their administrative teams were in the interest of the public. Ghana, a country of only 58 years of political independence from British colonial rule, has experienced democratic governance under four different constitutions; nevertheless, 21 out of the 58 years were under military decrees, leaving only 37 years of constitutional administration in Ghana.

These leaders and other public officials in Ghana do exemplify the various definitions of public administration, which means there is no singular definition or approach to managing public resources (Stillman II, 2010). Public administrators are engaged in technicalities but, unfortunately, some Ghanaian politicians and a portion of the populace lack the knowledge of the political process to fully comprehend and understand the role of public administrators, as voters are deceived with election campaign promises. Moreover, Ghanaians are not alone as "empirical descriptions from an external perspective," have shown, that "no one really sees the big picture" in the definition of public administration (King and Chilton, 2009: 29); hence the education and training of Ghanaian administrators is based on imported public administration theory and practices, which in most cases do not address the needs of domestic issues (Haruna, 2013).

One can therefore argue that some of the citizens may not fully understand the duties of their public administrators and managers. In addition to budgetary preparations and job classifications, public administrators in Ghana are equally concerned with development of human resources and achieving goals of the people, but the question remains; do public administrators and managers have adequate education, training, and competence to perform their duties? Haruna (2013) attempts to answer this question; first, he sees the challenges facing tertiary institutions in Ghana through their curriculum development. Using GIMPA's curriculum as a case study, for public administrators to acquire adequate training and education, Haruna posits that good governance principles must be incorporated into "public affairs education and training in the larger society" (508). He provides a sample framework for curriculum [v] for development management, which is more likely to focus on, and address domestic administrative and political challenges facing Ghana. Haruna calls for specific course components to address domestic (local) issues and conditions to foster competencies geared toward development, management, and public administration.

DEFINING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN GHANA

Public administration in Ghana, like any other academic discipline, is not isolated but intertwined with the critical dilemmas confronting the entire country. Its diverse nature makes it difficult for ordinary Ghanaians who are not part of an administration to identify the goals of that administration, if those goals are not clearly defined. Many studies, including King and Chilton (2009), Stillman (2010: 2-4), and Starling (1998) have offered different definitions of public administration. Cropf (2008: 8) also agrees "no single, and authoritative definition of public administration is possible." For example, Starling (1998) argues that public administration is the process by which resources are marshaled and then used to cope with the problems facing a political community. It is also the use of managerial, political and legal theories, and the processes to fulfill legislative, executive, and judicial governmental mandates, for the provision of regulatory and service functions for Ghana or some segments of the country. Given the complexities and the amalgamation of traditional (chieftaincy) and modern administrative structures in Ghana, it becomes more confusing if the administration of local communities is laid only on the shoulders of the central government. The logical definition of public administration, the author argues, must be derived from sagacity of different premises. To Ghanaians, despite how ill-defined the field is, public administration must be seen as including transparency, accountability, and decentralization, where the needs of the public are addressed by both elected and appointed government officials. Public administration should be a collective effort to manage the human resources, both skilled and unskilled, for effective implementation of public policies within the budgetary constraints of the country for the local, regional, and national administrative agencies.

Public administration is defined here as an art, which strategically combines available resources to maximize their utilization in the interest of the citizens within a governed jurisdiction. For public administrators to be seen as effective and productive, the area of administration must be politically and clearly defined, hence the importance of education and training to build competent leaders who understand the political processes. The next section looks at public management in the Ghanaian context.

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN GHANA

The transfer of business, management techniques, and market principles from the private to the public sector may be referred to as the new public management (NPM). This concept is based on neo-liberal interpretation of the state and economy where a state's involvement in public activities is expected to diminish while business principles of efficiency are promoted. Unfortunately, in Ghana, any agency (for example, Ghana Water Company Limited and Electricity Company of Ghana Limited) run by the central government does not perform well, hence the need for government to adopt best practices in the business world. According to Hunt (2008: 398), management is an art, a science, a philosophy, and most importantly a technique. Management, as he puts it, "has been called the art of persuading other people to pursue enthusiastically your [ones] own particular objective." Hunt noted that management is expressed in the techniques of administration and organization that have been developed throughout organized society. As a social process, management is based on the acceptance of the philosophy of co-operation. It is, therefore, not a discipline for few individuals but for all. In Ghana, because of the parochial politicians, political party leaders are always at impasse with each other. This has not helped in the administration, management, and development of the country. To Boyne (1996: 684) public management has had a far stronger impact on practice than theory; indeed, "The very word management implies a practical focus." Nevertheless, various "different approaches to advance the understanding of public management research and practice" have been developed, including quantitative/analytic management, political management, market-driven management, and liberation management (Terry, 1998: 194).

Unfortunately, the two leading political parties (National Democratic Congress-NDC and National Patriotic Party-NPP) ideological approaches to managing the affairs of the country do not seem to complement each other, hence lack of development in Ghana. Haruna (2003: 347), in his article *Reforming Ghana's Public Service: Issues and Experiences in Comparative Perspective,* argues that "a composite framework of reform blending the social and cultural experiences of the people of Ghana with Anglo-American values offers an opportunity for transforming *the* Ghanaian society." Here, the author strongly argues that management skills and values of the Anglo-America framework of administration could help educate and train competent administrators in Ghana, where certain characteristics exhibited by the Ghanaian government worker - inefficiency, absenteeism, and tardiness - could be minimized, if not eradicated.

The cultural and political uniqueness of Ghana must be considered as tertiary institutions develop their curricula. In so doing, the blend between the Anglo-American management style, as suggested by Haruna and Kannae (2013), and that of Ghana- the traditional administrative system could help to address domestic needs of the country. The most prominent form of public management since Ghana's Fourth Republic is NPM, which has its theoretical roots in public choice theory, rational choice theory, economic and micro-economic theory. However, as Ayittey (2005: 21) would argue, Ghanaian elites and administrators have very little understanding of these borrowed theoretical concepts developed from afar with

little or no relevance to domestic issues; hence the managerial competence in public administration has become "a product of mass confusion and an internally contradictory system that bears no affinity to either the indigenous system" or the imported Anglo-American system. He maintains that the concept and understanding of management in Ghana is elitism, which runs parallel to the NPM concept.

CHALLENGES: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

NPM directly challenges the ideological core of public administration – particularly the political-administrative dichotomous relational context, its basic values, and concept as understood in the Ghanaian context – and, as such, NPM represents a departure from prior traditional public management approaches. Management reforms are viewed as important developments to improve governance, but reforms are seen as rejections of previous administration's political ideas. Despite these challenges facing Ghana, waves of NPM reforms have been undertaken in developed and, more recently, developing countries (Gheorghe, 2012; Kim, 2007; Sindane, 2004; and Haruna, 2003). However, the impact of the various political administrative reforms for improvement is yet to be seen by the governed in Ghana. The spread of NPM has not been universal; in fact, in Ghana, the various administrative structural adjustment reforms have had abysmal results. For example, Hood (1991: 8) recognizes the absence of any significant impact at the local level. He states,

NPM seems to have had much less impact on international bureaucracies than on national ones, and less on controlling departments than on front-line delivery units. Moreover, much was made of the need for local variation in management styles – so long as such variations did not challenge the basic framework of NPM.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that there has been increasing discursive and decisional convergence of NPM reforms on a global scale (Pollitt, 2002). The extent to which countries are also transitioning toward practice convergence is debatable; however, if practice convergence is increasing, this "would mark an important departure from the prevailing belief in cultural determinism" (Lynn, 1998: 232).

Practical applications of NPM may result in many different types of management reforms; consequently, a wide range of new definitions of NPM have been proposed, few of which are identical. Nevertheless, there are various characteristics that broadly define the NPM movement and encompass its various structural forms (Betley et al., 2012). NPM rejects public administration and bureaucratic structures as inefficient, ineffective, and failing to ensure accountability, something that is common in Ghana. In seeking to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of government, NPM conceptualizes the role of the central government as facilitative and collaborative (Hope Sr., 2001; Kim, 2007). As such, NPM encourages marketization, managerial entrepreneurism, private sector management practices, structural decentralization through the institution of lean, flexible, disaggregated, and autonomous organizations, and the substitution of hierarchical relationships with competitive, contractual relationships and privatization (Kim, 2007; Rimington, 2009). Thus, NPM can be understood as promoting governance instead of government due to the "narrowing of government institutions and responsibilities," which is based on the assumption that "governments need not be involved in many aspects of policy implementation" (Kaul, 1997: 14).

For example, Behn (1998: 210) asserts, "Public managers can help to improve… [a] system of governance . . . [by] help[ing] correct seven failures of governance: organizational, analytical, executive, legislative, political, civic, and judicial." To enable Ghanaian public administrators and public managers, both at the local and national level, to succeed in this endeavor of improving the efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability of administrative systems, NPM reforms must be incorporated in the curricula of institutions at all levels. Additionally, NPM shifts the managerial focus from inputs and processes to outputs and outcomes or results, thereby elevating the importance of performance measurement in promoting accountability through unambiguous output control (Kim, 2007; Pollitt, 2002).

NPM reinstitutes the Wilsonian politics-administration dichotomy that has been discarded by traditional public administration (Gheorghe, 2012). Hood asserts that 'political neutrality' contributes to NPM framework's flexibility, which enables the adoption and implementation of reforms in a variety of contexts such as district, local, and traditional governments in Ghana. Additionally, NPM reforms distinguish between political responsibilities (policy formulation) and managerial responsibilities (policy implementation), thereby rejecting the constitutive role of public administrators and public managers in favor of a solely institutional role (Cook, 1998; Kaul, 1997). Unfortunately, in Ghana, such distinction is not made clear by politicians to voters making the latter confused in what is expected of the public administrators and managers. Advocates of NPM overlook the rhetorical-reality disconnect that this rejection of constitutive roles and elevation of institutional roles causes and instead view this as "a necessary precursor to strengthening accountability" (Kaul, 1997: 17). In his article, *The new public management: Context and practice in Africa*, Hope Sr. (2001: 123) argues that all societies need a capable public management structure to keep order, collect revenue, and carry out programs." Ghana, like most African countries, in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, experienced severe political instability (series of military coups), which made it difficult to implement the reforms identified by

Hope Sr. The disruptions by non-democratic admini-strations (military coups in 1966, 1972, 1979, and 1982) in Ghana's political history and the absence of well defined national policy for development have affected progress in this regard. For example, any time there is a military administration, the programs by civilian governments are abounded, while a change in civilian administration tends to rejects previous administration's projects and political ideology.

According to Hood, the politically neutral framework of NPM also allows many different values to be effectively incorporated into management reforms. Among the most commonly emphasized values in NPM are sigma-type values, which "match resources to defined tasks" and, in doing so, promote frugality (Hood, 1991:12). Due to its incorporation of private sector management practices, NPM also emphasizes private sector values including efficiency, effectiveness, quality, responsiveness, empowerment, innovation, and entrepreneurialism (Hope Sr., 2001; Pollitt, 2002; Sindane, 2004). These values associated with the private sector suffered under the various military regimes in Ghana. For example, in the 1982 military coup, led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, the properties of some private companies were confiscated while others were sold through the military government's divestiture programs. [vi] Some scholars have expressed concerns that the values NPM promotes, however, may not be mutually exclusive or universal. Indeed, Gray and Jenkins (1995: 86) claim that the values underlying NPM are inherently in conflict, due to the conflicting values of the political ideologies on which it draws. They argue that this conflict can be seen in different conceptualizations of "a seemingly common reform strategy, decentralization," as either administrative decentralization or political decentralization, "each leading to different frameworks of analysis and offering differing structural solutions." Such different concep-tualizations are what have affected the lack of development in Ghana.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Although public administration and public management are distinct concepts as discussed above, they are not mutually exclusive (Hope Sr., 2001). Indeed, there are numerous differences and similarities between public administration and NPM; however, they are sometimes used interchangeably. The following sections attempt to examine some similarities and differences.

Similarities between political and public administrators

It would not be out of place if one argues against the claim that public administration is both political and public. "Public administrators are, after all, public servants" (Terry, 1998: 197). So how do education and training given to public administrators and managers create awareness of Diver's argument, that public administrators are servants, given the Ghanaian traditional understanding the role of public officials who are mostly referred to, and seen as *Honorables?* Advocates of NPM claim that it is 'apolitical' or politically neutral due to its acceptance of the politics-administration dichotomy and its corresponding separation of political responsibilities from managerial responsibilities. Never-theless, both public administration and NPM are inherently political and public; everything is about politics in Ghana. For one to be an effective administrator, one has to understand the administrative and political processes. Here, the role of GIMPA and other tertiary institutions becomes essential. The education and training provided must not only focus on the theoretical understanding of public administration, but also incorporate the idea that public officials are elected or appointed to serve not to be served.

Public administration and NPM both focus – or at least claim to focus – on promoting the public welfare, although the two conceptualize the public welfare differently as a result of their different underlying values and definitions. As such, both public administration and NPM are concerned with "politics of the most fundamental sort . . . the politics of fulfilling, maintaining, and enhancing the character of the regime," an undertaking which is in and of itself *public* (Cook, 1998: 229). In addition, Moe posits that "all reports on government organization and management have as the basis some theory about the nature of government and about the management of that government" and, as such, are political and public (Gray and Jenkins, 1995: 75).

Furthermore, both public administration and NPM are concerned with administration and management that, in practice, is carried out by public organizations, which "are controlled predominantly by political forces . . . [such] political control is the essence of *publicness*" (Boyne, 2002: 98-99). Thus, public administration and NPM are inherently political and public in that both seek to define the proper role of administration and management in the public sector. In Ghana, the question of who gets what, when, and how depends on the type of leadership and political party in power, though all political parties claim to work in the interest of public at large.

Taken together, these points insinuate that, regardless of whether NPM is regarded as neutral or 'apolitical' by its advocates, NPM is, in fact, both political and public. NPM's prescriptions, which seek to answer political questions in terms of enhanced efficiency, in an attempt to promote the public welfare, are carried out in a political and public context, making both administration and management political instrument for development. Moreover, NPM's conceptualization of the proper role of

the administrative state should be rooted in agreed-upon values and political ideologies of the government of Ghana, which are central in determining the proper role of public administration and public management as a political instrument. For this reason, Cook (1998: 227) insists that: "An understanding of an appreciation of the inescapable fact of public administration's character as a political institution and its complex implications should be the foundation of the administrative enterprise. It should stand at the center of the conception of the public manager's job."

Differences: The impasse; public administration and NPM

Perhaps the most fundamental concern of public administration and NPM is how the relationship between the public and the private sector is perceived. This difference sees "[t]he boundary between the public . . . [and] private sector[s] . . . has a crucial importance in the understanding [of] the future course of public administration" (Leonina-Emilia and Ioan, 2010: 1022). Where this boundary is drawn has implications concerning the management practices, values, and accountability systems that can appropriately be applied in the public interest. In Ghana, it is not uncommon to argue that some of the administrative decisions and policies implemented are not seen to be in the interest of the public. Public administration is based on the presumption that, while there are similarities between the public and private sectors, they are "fundamentally alike in all unimportant respects" (Boyne, 2002: 98). With my understanding of public administration, the public sector is characterized by several peculiarities – most notably that the public sector is *publically owned* and *publically accountable* since its operations are funded via taxation and is also concerned with the *public good* (Rimington, 2009; Sindane, 2004). These peculiarities cause the public and private sectors to be fundamentally different with respect to their environments, goals, structures, and values (Boyne, 2002).

As such, advocates of public administration claim that these fundamental differences should inhibit the blind application of private sector practices in the public sector (Boyne, 2002; Chandler, 1991; Sindane, 2004). It is not uncommon that public officials do not know their exact role as public administrators; therefore education and training for public administrators and managers by tertiary institutions must incorporate in their curricula a pragmatic approach in ensuring the courses offered are not solely theory-based but a blend of theory and practice. Education and training for public administrators are crucial in Ghana since administrators need to understand how the traditional system functions within the modern political system: Democracy.

As a result "[r]ecent management reforms have recognized the interdependency between the public and private sectors . . . [and] are clarifying the boundary between the two" (Kaul, 1997: 21). NPM blurs – and, according to some scholars (Kim, 2007; Pollitt, 2002), erodes or eliminates – the distinction between the public sector and the private sector, due to its incorporation of private management practices and reliance on privatization, contractual relationships, and public/private partnerships. The adoption of private sector management practices "was one of the earliest features of NPM, and remains one of the most enduring," demonstrating the centrality of the blurred distinction between the public and private sectors and the re-clarification of public-private boundaries in NPM (Boyne, 2002: 97). Critics of NPM identify this blurred distinction and consequential removal of traditional barriers as the fundamental flaw of NPM, arguing, in the spirit of public administration, that the distinction between the public and private sectors is too great to allow for the adoption of private sector management practices in the public sector (Riccucci, 2001; Sindane, 2004), but the practices in the private sector could be adopted in improving the public sector. We should remind ourselves that the main focus of the private sector is profit while the public sector maintains provision of service to its clientele.

Researchers have examined whether there are fundamental differences between the public and private sectors that should inhibit the application of private sector practices. For instance, Boyne (2002) tested thirteen hypotheses concerning the supposed differences between public management and private management by analyzing 34 studies of the public and private sectors. Boyne found that statistically significant distinctions do exist between the two sectors – specifically, that "public organizations are more bureaucratic, public managers are less materialistic, and organizational commitment is weaker in the public sector" – but concluded that these differences are too "narrow and uncertain [of a] foundation for rejecting the element of NPM that seeks to draw lessons from the private sector" (116). Boyne's conclusions play squarely into the Ghanaian public attitude toward public sector workers. Through education and training public administrators and managers' commitment in the public sector would increase productivity. Unfortunately, the Ghanaian public official is not only overly bureaucratic, but far more materialistic.

Boyne's findings, however, are not widely accepted especially in Ghana, which is illustrated by the continued persistence of some scholars to point to the distinctiveness of the public sector from the private sector (Rimington, 2009; Sindane, 2004). One can hardly argue that the public and private sectors are completely distinct – indeed, "there are great similarities between private and public organizations in as far as administration is a cooperative group effort" – but in adopting private sector management practices, one cannot lose sight of the fact that "the purposes or goals of human [public] and

material [private] organizations vary and . . . that it is the cardinal principle of democratic government that public servants be *guided by public opinion*" (Sindane, 2004: 671). The public sector (government) provides the basic infrastructure, which benefits the public including the private sector. In Ghana, the activities of the public sector are not inherently different from the private sector, as the two sectors seem to supplement each other. For example, private cocoa farmers rely on the assistance of government or public resources for supplies to improve productivity.

Values. Another fundamental difference between public administration and NPM is related to the values that are espoused in theory and practice. This difference has been widely recognized and is viewed by advocates of public administration as concerning. As such, "[t]here has . . . been extensive discussion of the shifting set of values that underlies the transition from traditional public administration to the new public management" (Gray and Jenkins, 1995: 76). The "different administrative values have different implications for fundamental aspects of administrative design – implications that go beyond altering the 'settings' of the systems" (Hood, 1991: 9); in part, because the emphasis on certain values may result in ignoring other critical values, which may have a dramatic impact on the ability of public administration and public management to improve the public welfare. In Ghana, more often than not, most public policies are implemented without any explanation to the citizens. This could be due to the lack of proper education and training for public administrators and managers.

Although public administration and NPM differ in their underlying values, there is a need for advocates of both public administration and public management to recognize the importance of morality as a primary value in the interest of the public. Viewed in this way, public administration's emphasis on equity and NPM's on efficiency and economy (the 'three Es') should be considered secondary values "that only have merit worthy of pursuit if affixed to some more primary value" – in this case, morality (Chandler, 1991: 390). According to Chandler, without morality as the primary value, the 'three Es' "can lead to ethical difficulties, which not only may be objectionable in themselves, but can also undermine the whole enterprise" (390).

Accountability. How accountability is ensured represents another fundamental difference between public administration and NPM in Ghana. The accountability systems associated with public administration and NPM vary due to different conceptualizations of the division between the public and private sectors, different underlying values (profit vs. service) that result in different organizational structures, and different conceptions of the role of the public. The differences surrounding the accountability systems of public administration and NPM merit further discussion regarding education and training in Ghana because accountability systems must be appropriate to ensure that the public sector is fulfilling its purpose of providing service for the public welfare.

Unfortunately, in Ghana, given its democratic structure and process of appointing public officials, public administrators and managers are directly accountable "to the president, not customers of government agencies, for the execution of the laws of the land" (Riccucci, 2001: 172). Accountability is proactively promoted through control mechanisms such as bureaucratic structures, policies and procedures (Boyne, 2002). In sum, "traditional visions of public service . . . place administrators as [proactively and retroactively] accountable to the public through the *political system*" (Gray and Jenkins, 1995: 92).

In Ghana, the accountability systems of public administration are not effective in the NPM framework due to decentralization and the devolution of resource control. The question of decentralization in Ghana tends to favor the well to do districts in the country. Indeed, "[t]he relatively simple notion of the formal elected representative holding the bureaucracy accountable for delivering goods and services is less viable within this framework;" decentralization (Kelly, 1998: 205). Instead, accountability is maintained primarily through performance measurement and the empowerment of citizens as customers. Given the fact that public administrators and public managers are granted increased authority through NPM reforms, it is essential that they are held accountable; again, the education and training provided in our tertiary institutions for public administrators and managers must emphasize on accountability to ensure continuous performance of public officials. Monitoring performance is important in continually improving the provision of goods and services in an effort to improve the public welfare. It is also necessary to ensure accountability in an environment of delegated authority characterized by contracting, privatization, and the devolution of resource control with "[a]uthority . . . explicitly delegated to senior officials in exchange for accountability for performance" (Kaul, 1997: 20). As such, performance measurement should effectively promote accountability in the NPM framework and this can be achieved through education and training of public administrators and public managers.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EDUCATION AND TRAINING AND TRADITIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN GHANA

The lenses used to scrutinize public administration and management in Ghana tend to ignore the role of traditional administrative practices, let alone lack of adequate education and training for those leaders, like chiefs and community leaders in the traditional

administrative authority. The administrative practices in Ghana would better be understood with a deepened appreciation if the various perspectives (traditional and democracy) were looked at together and synthesized, instead of wholly importing the administrative systems of other societies with very little or no understanding of how those systems operate (Ayittey, 2005). To Haruna (2013), tertiary institutions such as GIMPA must provide education and training for administrators within the context of the Ghanaian social, cultural, and political environment. For example, any solitary approach to examining a phenomenon tends to miss critical aspects of what is to be studied. The Anglo-American under-standing of administrative theories tends to either reject or ignore presence of the traditional and chieftaincy administrative systems in Ghana (Antwi-Boasiako and Bonna, 2012). The theoretical understanding of the classical public administration literature does not usually translate to the practice of administration in Ghana, since it does not incorporate the Ghanaian culture, or the traditional systems of administration, which is unknown to the proponents of these theories.

For example, pre-colonial traditional Ghanaian admini-strative practices do not separate religion from public administration and public management. Any in-depth understanding of administration needs epistemic plura-lism, which is the amalgamation of different perspectives of the multiplicity for administrative data analyses. For instance, would the classical administrative theories even consider traditional Ghanaian administrative practices? This pluralism, along with other related questions not asked here, is what must be considered as the theoretical framework of administration to address domestic needs as one develops educational training for public administrators and managers in Ghana. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana acknowledges the role and importance of traditional institutions in the country; therefore, any effective educational training for public administrators and managers must incorporate the traditional chieftaincy administrative heads as partners in development in the interest of the public. There are attempts by some of the tertiary institutions in the country, such as GIMPA and UGSB, to provide public administration education and training for academics and practitioners through their programs, but such education is not extended to traditional system of administration.

Since the 1960s, Ghana has been steadily increasing its proportion of the limelight in African and world affairs. However, governance and political administration in the country, some studies[vii] have affirmed, has been on the decline since independence in 1957. It is often easier to document and discuss the collapse of public administration and governance in postcolonial Ghana. There is a "complex notion of subalternity pertinent to any academic enterprise, which concerns itself with historically determined relationships of dominance and subordinations" (Gandhi, 1998: 2). Ayee (2000) refers to

such phenomenon as proclivity for experimentation or laboratories for investigation. It is good to question or challenge assumptions of classical public administration theories to effect change as noted by Farmer (2010), who insists, "radical change is needed in the way that we conceptualize the role and nature of *political administrative* theory" (Farmer, 1995: 4). To expand on Farmer's claims, one could argue that Ghana's pre-colonial traditional administrative system, which focuses mainly in the developments at the local level, has been ignored in public administration education training in the country, despite the efforts of tertiary institutions to train public administrators. Though many studies (Ayittey, 2005; Danso, 2007) have criticized the failures of public administration, leadership, and governance in Ghana, very little has been done to the deconstruction and constructing of theories to advance and effect positive change through public education and training. Given a postmodernist approach of reinventing government for effective performance and efficiency, there is every reason to re-examine the pitfalls of postcolonial political administration in Ghana from a critical theoretical and pragmatic perspective, where education and training are embraced in all formal educational institutions in the country. In an attempt to develop a blueprint for Ghana to address a political structure that encourages develop-ment, Ghana must develop a national policy that would be followed by all governments regardless of which political party may be in power.

Conclusion

Public administration and management are both concerned with effective government and governance; however, they are distinct theories and practices that are rooted in different theoretical foundations and, because of this, define 'effectiveness' differently. There are similarities between public administration and NPM – most notably they are both essentially political and public due to their focus on government and governance. Nevertheless, there are also important differences between public administration and NPM regarding whether a fundamental distinction between the public and private sectors exists, which values are of the most importance in promoting effective governance, and how accountability to the public is to be ensured. This can be achieved through education and training for public administrators and managers including traditional leaders. Since, Ghana's Fourth Republic 1992-Constitution recognizes the role of traditional institutions, education and training must consider incorporating the traditional administrative system in national affairs.

To ensure effective government and governance, there is the need for public administration education and training in Ghana. Fortunately, there are tertiary institutions that have incorporated public administration

education and training in their curricula, especially GIMPA and UGSB. Academically, as Haruna (2013) noted, GIMPA has provided the platform to educate and train public administrators and mangers. However, the impact of the education and training provided to public officials for effective governance is yet to be realized by the governed. GIMPA and UGSB, despite their impressive curricula, are said to be responding to international pressure to the neglect of addressing domestic issues. Haruna (2013: 509) therefore suggests "a nominative comprehensive curricular" through informed pragmatic local and foreign political conditions as "basis for developing a true global curriculum of public affairs education and training." It is not clear, if the education and training provided by the tertiary institutions in Ghana are having any positive impact on public officials. However, African tertiary institutions need to incorporate the traditional administrative system in their curricula.

Conflict of Interests

The author have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Endnotes

[i] There are several objectives, which are not discussed. This article limits itself to two main objectives: Education and Training.

[ii] It is not uncommon for government appointees to be reject by citizenry: The basic argument for the rejection is that those individuals are incompetent and lack managerial skills to govern (see *Rejection Galore at DCE Elections* at http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/regional/artikel.php?ID=279836. Retrieved on November 18, 2014

[iii] See *Classics of Public Administration* 6th ed. by Jay M. Shafritz and Albert C. Hyde 2004. This is a collection of some classical writings, which provide some foundations for public administration, management, and governance.

[iv] The end date (year) of the John Mahama is not provided because he was still the president of Ghana at the time writing this article.

[v] See Haruna, Peter F. and Lawrence A. Kannae, "Connecting good governance principles to the public affairs curriculum: The case of Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration," *Journal of Public Affairs Education* 19, 3:480-93.

[vi] There are a number of published articles in the Ghanaian print media indicating how governments over the years have discouraged economic growth by the private enterprises. See for example, "Where is the hand of President Mahama in this?" Retrieved on December 23, 2014 from http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID=339722 See also Dr. Akada Mensema"*All Die be Die Ewe/North Elites tell JJ to apologize*" Retrieved on December 23, 2014 from http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID=304118