

UNIVERSITY OF VAASA

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY

Robert Odoemene

**RESPONSIBLE BUREAUCRACY AS A VEHICLE FOR SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT**

Comparing Finland and Nigeria's Civil Services

Master's Thesis in
Public Administration

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UNIVERSITY OF VAASA**Faculty of Philosophy****Author:**

Robert Odoemene

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ABSTRACT:

This study is a historical interpretation and comparison of the civil services of Finland and Nigeria and tries to explain the extent to which the two cases have impacted on the wellbeing of their respective nations and citizenry. The task is achieved by comparing the cultures, structures and functions of the two civil services through an extensive research.

The study argues that even though it is generally held that 'bureaucracy' exists in all political systems, its effects on public administration are felt differently. While some nations have transformed their bureaucracies to become responsible and serve as an agent of national development, others are still running the old traditional type which is believed to retard efficiency and slow down development.

Finland actualized sustainable socio-economic development through the strengthening of its bureaucratic institutions and elimination of corruption; education and training of its workforce, reducing hierarchy, and marching rewards with performance. In the case of Nigeria, sustainable development remains far-fetched. Corruption, high power distance and over-staffing are among factors that have hindered efficiency and effectiveness of the Nigerian civil service, and therefore, have derailed the course of socio-political and economic development of the country.

However, it is suggested that the civil service could be made responsible if the Nigerian government can adopt a gradual implementation of New Public Management reform. Firstly, infrastructural facilities must be put in place to facilitate quick service delivery. Then, corruption must be fought head on to guarantee public confidence in the management of public affairs, while public agencies should be managed by competent managers. By that, responsible bureaucracy, another term for efficient management would be achieved to encourage sustainable development in the country.

KEYWORDS: Bureaucracy, Civil Service, Development, Hierarchy, Efficiency, Management, Finland, Nigeria

1. INTRODUCTION

Government does not operate as a single unit or entity. It has a body of administrators (men and women) who oversee and carry out its will within its jurisdictional territory. This body of servants has in modern time come to be referred to as the bureaucracy. In this sense, the term bureaucracy is used to denote government by officials, or members of bureau (Kingdom 1990:1). In another sense, bureaucracy is a process of organizing government by strict compliance to rigid procedures, laws, rules and regulations (Ogunna 2003:243).

An essential principle of modern government is self-government through accredited representatives of the people selected in periodic free and fair elections (Ogunna 1999: 410). The people's representatives formulate policies on their behalf, which are implemented loyally by a neutral body of civil servants (bureaucracy). Max Weber formulated the theory of bureaucracy and emphasized its role in the growth of all types of industrial societies. Weber outlined his depiction of an ideal organization with the belief that its adoption would afford a protection against the dangers of arbitrary rules by officials in an increasingly complex modern society (Kingdom 1990).

Bureaucracy of a nation consists of the body of selected officials in that nation, charged with the day to day running of the affairs of government. It has been said to be the live-wire of every government and by implication, the success and failure of a nation depends on the performance of its civil service. Put differently, the level of political and economic development a nation is capable of attaining depends very much on the quality of men and women that run the affairs of that nation. This is to say that, those nations which have instituted a responsible public service system have tended to achieve a more sustainable socio-economic and political development. In order to ascertain whether the bureaucratic paradigm is a good guide to public management, it is important to be aware of the key beliefs which it contains. Such beliefs are listed by Barzelay and Armajani, in their book, "Breaking through bureaucracy: *a new vision for managing in government*", and it includes:

- Specific delegation of authority defines each role in the executive branch. Officials carrying out any given role should act only when expressly permitted to do so either by rules or by instructions given by superiors in the chain of command. Employees within the executive branch are responsible to their superiors.
- In exercising authority, officials should apply rules and procedures in a uniform manner. The failure to obey rules should be met with appropriate penalty.
- The key responsibilities of the financial functions are to prepare the executive budget and to prevent actual spending from exceeding appropriation (Barzelay & Armajani 1992:5).

Despite the much touted argument that the formal organization is the principal determinant of efficiency and effectiveness, socio-economic development is still lacking or has fully not been realized in many parts of the world even with the strictest application of hierarchy and rule based bureaucracy. Rationality and impersonality, formal rules of procedure and centralization of authority hitherto believed to be providing the locus for efficient management have deviated from their proper course and have resulted in maladministration, abuse of office and inefficiency (Barzelay & Armajani 1992:5).

Lots of criticisms trail the theory of bureaucracy. Many critiques of Max Weber see bureaucracy from a negative light. Some attack bureaucracy as being slow; others believe it breeds corruption resulting in inefficiency and ineffectiveness of government. Some criticize the idea that the formal organization is the principal determinant of efficiency and effectiveness (Barzelay & Armajani 1992:5). Some urged that control be seen as a process in which all employees strive to coordinate their work with others. The Marxists perceive bureaucracy as an agent of exploitation of the poor by the more privileged class in society, and a lot of other writers have formed very negative notions about the subject to such extent that when the term bureaucracy is mentioned, it is often given a pejorative connotation (Ogunna 1999). Bureaucracy is believed to be the reason

why things do not work where they have failed to work. The most important challenge confronting the bureaucratic paradigm arising from the world of practice is the idea that government organizations should be customer-driven and service oriented (Barzelay & Armajani 1992:5). And this is the whole idea of the new public management reform. Modern researchers and political thinkers have in the recent past decades introduced a new form of management, new public management, a paradigm which seeks to streamline management and remove bottlenecks that are associated with bureaucracy, and make maximum utilization of the limited available resources for the maximum benefit of mankind. Support for new public management has been fueled by the commonly shared views that government is incompetent and cannot be trusted to do anything right (Frederickson & Ghore 2005).

1.1. Background of Study/Statement of Problem

Bureaucracy has created more problems than it is intended to solve. Today, many of the socio-cultural, political and economic problems confronting national governments, and which is endemic in developing countries, such as economic inequality, poverty, disease, political instability, election malpractice, unemployment, corruption and mismanagement; poor social infrastructures as bad roads, epileptic power supply, lack of portable water, and poor education and health care delivery have been linked to poor implementation of public policies and programs, caused by ineffective and inefficient bureaucracy.

Taking Nigeria, one of the cases of this study as an instance, it has been argued that the major problem of governance in Nigeria lies to a great extent with implementation of policies and programs, which is the responsibility of the Nigeria bureaucracy (the civil service), rather than the making of laws. More so, it is mind-boggling that despite the abundance of natural resources in most countries, particularly Nigeria, socio-economic development do not seem to take place in them, or at best, has been very slow due to the laxity of the bureaucratic process, or what some might call bureaucratic irresponsibility.

Although, different nations and governments have continually introduced administrative reform programs aiming to 'remove' bureaucracy, in order to increase efficiency, these problems have however, persisted. Bureaucracy has been linked with widespread corruption, embezzlement of public funds, misappropriation of wealth, official irregularities, bottlenecks and red tapes, duplication of functions, overstaffing of public organizations and internal administrative conflicts.

Undeniably, the bureaucracy is made up of human beings who operate within an environment and culture. The culture in which an organization operates usually has some implications on its performance. Unfortunately, the culture of bureaucracy in most countries is negatively influenced by other aberrant but dominant cultures of such countries or societies.

This study argues that even though it is common knowledge that bureaucracy exists in every political system, its effects on public administration are felt differently. I have set out to explain in this study, why bureaucracy has remained antithetical to sustainable development, and try to understand what cultural factors underlie this failure of bureaucracy in some nations, and also why some other nations have been able to actualize sustained development. This research studies the Finnish civil service in comparison with that of Nigeria. Finland's civil service has been an important element in the management of public affairs in Finland and has contributed to the stability of government, and growth in the socio-economic and political well being of the nation, especially in the areas of social benefit administration, which have resulted in equitable distribution of the available resources of the nation.

The Nigerian civil service is also an indispensable part of the federal government of Nigerian and has been there to serve every government that comes into power, whether civilian or military. However, the civil service has in most part been used as an instrument of power politics, to perpetrate political inequality, economic vandalism, mismanagement, looting, fraud and deviant governance.

An objective comparison of two or more cases must follow the identification of similarities and differences in the systems being compared. In public administration and government, it is often easier to look for such similarities and differences in the cultures, structures and functions of Institutions. The civil service presents a clear focus to the comparative nature of this research for the reason that, as well established structures, they are very conspicuous and their functions clearly defined. In addition, their roles in government are very significant and often times, they are at the center of national debates (Kingdom 1990:1).

1.2. Formulation of Research Questions

Based on the foregoing problems confronting the bureaucratic system of administration, some pertinent questions have been raised in this study, thus:

How can bureaucracy be made responsible to encourage sustainable development?

To what extent are the civil services of Finland and Nigeria similar and or different?

In what ways does culture, influence the public administration of Nigeria and Finland?

What lessons can Nigeria learn from Finland's management reform experience?

Attempts have been made in this study to answer the foregoing questions. To answer the first question, I explored the demerits or side effects of the bureaucratic system of government in relation to the new public management reform model. The second question elicits a comparison of the structures, functions, and character of both civil services. The third question is answered by explaining the impact of cultural elements as power distance, individualism and collectivism, ethnicity and religion, and corruption on the public administration of both countries while question four is answered by looking at lessons Nigeria can learn from Finland's reform experience.

1.3. Purpose of Study

The main purpose of this study is to make an historical interpretative comparison of the degree of efficiency of the Finnish and Nigeria's bureaucracies and the contributions of the two civil service cases to their respective national development, using comparable variables as attitude of civil servants to work, discipline, corruption, expertise, presence of information technology, attitude towards change (culture), and rewards and punishment (economy) among others.

The background purpose is to examine the efforts that are being made to make government work better and what can be done to change or improve the bureaucratic system of government with a view to actualizing sustainable development. I have found it imperative and compelling to study the civil services of Finland and Nigeria because of my desired interest in the growth of the bi-lateral relationship that has existed between the two nations. Finland was among the first nations to establish bi lateral diplomatic relations with Nigeria in 1963, three years after Nigeria's Independence, although the country stopped its technical cooperation with Nigeria in the 1970s because, according to the Finnish Ambassador to Nigeria, Anneli Vourinen, it was then thought that Nigeria would develop very rapidly, as was earlier projected by economic indicators (The Guardian 2009), but unfortunately, this projection did not come to fulfillment.

“Up till the 1970s we had a bilateral development program with Nigeria. Not after that. We stopped in the 1970s because Nigeria got richer and became not a country that Finland considered any more to be in need of bi lateral assistance because Nigeria was becoming in principle, a rich country which she is if the wealth will be divided more equally, which is the question, and is another problem” (The Guardian 2009).

Furthermore, the world has become a global village wherein the only thing keeping people apart today, can be said to be “color.” We are in the most interdependent age in human history with the invention of the Internet. Finland and Nigeria, as Independent nations are important members of this ‘villagized’ world. What affects one nation directly or indirectly affects another. The two nations represent two major continents of Africa and Europe, and also provide interesting contrast of administrative reform experiences. The reason may not be far from their varied histories of colonial rule,

geographical location and cultural heritage, and maybe, natural and environmental circumstances. Finland suffered protracted colonial subjugation under Sweden, and later Russia while Nigeria was colonized by Great Britain. Again, Nigeria is the largest nation in West Africa and has an urgent need to actualize development because it is believed that the development of Nigeria would translate to an implied development of West Africa and by extension the African continent. To achieve this, it is important to transform the administrative process of Nigeria by taking a cue from nations that have advanced their public management apparatuses such as Finland.

Finally, as a Nigerian, I am desirous of finding areas of mutual collaborations between Nigeria and Finland and comparing the bureaucracies of both nations will help to guide readers in understanding the cultural differences and similarities of the administrative systems of both countries. The foregoing informs the reason for comparing the two cases which may appear non-comparable to ordinary people. The comparative approach that I bring to this study helps reduce the probability that any general statements that would be made at the end of the study would be culture bound.

1.4. Theoretical Framework of Analysis

This study is conducted within the frame work of the New Public Management (NPM) which has in the last two decades, formed the nucleus of public administration in many countries. The study has theoretically employed the model of NPM proposed by (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:25) in their classic book, “Public Management Reform: A *Comparative Analysis*,” in order to analyze the kind of change that has occurred in the two nations under study.

Some national governments in Europe, America and Britain have in recent past decades adopted this seemingly, better system of public administration, New Public Management. Proponents of this new paradigm of management are advocating the merger of the generic (economic or profit making) principles of the market with administrative principles of bureaucracy (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:25). Although this

model is apparently working in developed countries of Finland, Norway, New Zealand, United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA), not many believe its application in developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America can succeed given the various identifiable circumstances surrounding the bureaucracies of these nations, which tend to suggest that reforms are bound by cultures and socioeconomic conditions (Peters 2001:22). Proponents of new public management are persuading the developing countries to adopt this new 'bride' as it promises a better system of managing public affairs because of its principles of *doing much with less* (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:25).

1.5. Research Methodology

The work is purely a case-oriented comparison of the bureaucracies of Finland and Nigeria and therefore makes use of a combination of both qualitative and comparative methods of data collection. The theoretical sources include books, articles, internet, research thesis and dissertations. The study involves the comparison of large macro-social units (Ragin 1987:1). Data is collected at the level of the nation-state. This is because the research involves the comparison of two independent nation-states, Nigeria and Finland. The cases might appear very different in many, but not all important respects. As with all other comparable cases, there are also points of convergence in the civil services.

Information gathered from books is analyzed comparatively, using qualitative or theoretical method of analysis, based on literature and personal experience, and deductive reasoning. The comparison tries to bring out features of the civil services which appear very conspicuous in the process of research. This is because the research is more or less interpretative and explanatory as could be found in Salovaara (2008:8). A few tables and pictures are used for the purpose of emphasis. By adopting some historical and cultural elements in explaining the cases, the study has been able to avoid the "coin" and "flag" method used in many comparative research, by which some

researchers only gather data without minding the socio-cultural environments or contexts in which such data have to be understood (Bekke & Van der Meer 2000:288).

1.6. Significance of Study

The research tries to address the dilemma of what needs to be done to improve the efficiency of the Nigerian public service to make it development oriented. It contributes to existing knowledge of bureaucracy and how this model of administration can be modified to encourage sustainable socio-economic development. It is about the first comparative work in the discipline of public administration between Finland and Nigeria and thus, provides an understanding of the civil services of the two countries. It is relevant to the growing debate on the effectiveness of the bureaucratic system of administration due to the global economic recession that has threatened world economy. Lastly, the research is important as it is the final paper and more so, a cardinal aspect of the requirements for the award of a Master's Degree in University of Vaasa.

2. THE NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMET: A FRAME WORK

Every nation desires change. It has become imperative in this research exercise to discourse the latest efforts of some renowned scholars from the developed countries of North America and Western Europe who over the years have researched and come up with an alternative model of public management which is intended to correct the lapses that are associated with the traditional model, bureaucracy, and provide the much desired efficiency and effectiveness of management. Most nations are implementing changes in their bureaucracies, adopting the market model of management. Even though civil servants are said to favor the status quo ante, change has continued to occur that even in the poorer and less developed nations today, “the signs of real change are now everywhere” (Peters 1947:3).

Some have considerably reduced the size of their bureaucracies. In such countries, appointments to most senior positions no longer go to only those who have joined the service and have risen through the ranks of the department, the private sector has been invited, and new organizations have been formed to help in the delivery of public services (Peters 2001). Political leadership in many countries take the glory of initiating management reforms, a good example is the Margret Thatcher’s government in United Kingdom, even though in some countries like Australia, Finland, United States, New Zealand, a lot of far-reaching changes have been implemented by the civil servants.

2.1. Basic Terms and Definitions

2.1.1. Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy is defined as government by bureau; usually officials. “It is government officials collectively” (Oxford English Dictionary). The term is defined by Pfiffnner & Presthus (1967:39) as “a system of complex organization, made up of a vast number of technical and hierarchical roles, used to carry out policies usually made by others, and peculiarly suited for large scale organizations”. Bureaucracy in public organizations is a

product of large scale organization. Until the coming into force of new public management, public administration has been associated with features of long hierarchical structure, legalistic impersonality, formalism, routine procedures, tendency toward inertia and administrative impartiality. For some Scholars, public administration is a process designed to achieve as its primary goal, the general welfare of the public, therefore, it has to operate with maximum impartiality, fair play and justice. This is unlike private administration where the business is a private going concern and its management designed to maximize private or personal gains. Harold Laski defines bureaucracy as “a system of government the control of which is completely in the hands of officials that their power jeopardizes the liberty of the ordinary citizen” (Buechman, 1968:46). According to Laski, in Ogunna (1999:407) the crucial characteristics of bureaucracy include the “tendency to refuse experiment, delays in decision-making, and too much routine in administration, rigidity in rules and regulations and manipulation of the government.”

In his own views, Anthony Downs conceptualizes bureaucracy as a body of public officials that “are significantly though not solely motivated by their own self interest” (Downs, 1965:30). Robert Merton (1952:56) argues that “emphasis on precision and reliability in administration may well have self defeating consequences. Rules designed as means to ends may well become ends in themselves.” Talcott Parsons (1960) criticizes the internal consistency of Weber’s ideal type of bureaucracy. He argues that Weber’s model has elements for internal conflicts, more especially conflicts between the professionals and the bureaucratic authority. Alvin Gouldner, R.G. Francis and R.C. Stone feel that the compliance of officials to rules and fixed procedures of organizations would depend on the attitude of these officials to those rules, and this would have an influence on the efficient working of an organization. This fact informs the reason why a good number of public officials in Nigeria and most other developing countries tend not to comply with official rules and regulations as they often show a negative attitude to rules flowing from the top (Ogunna 1999:409). Rudolf Smend criticizes Weber’s view that administration was a rational machine and Officials, mere technical functionaries. He argues that officials are human beings operating within a cultural and social setting (Albrow 1970:15).

Unfortunately, most of Weber's critics lost sight of the fact that Weber was concerned with an ideal type of bureaucracy – a conceptual construct, a utopian concept, a form which is never found in real life.

2.1.2. Responsible

To be responsible according to the Oxford English dictionary means to be answerable or accountable (to another for something). Responsible in the context in which it is used in this paper means to 'deliver' or to contribute positively to growth. A responsible organization is an organization which has a positive impact on not only members of the organization, but on society as a whole.

2.1.3. Development

Development according to Collins Paperback dictionary is simply "the process of growing or developing". It is an increase in the gross national product per capita of a nation as stated by the World Bank. This definition of development makes Western Europe, the United States and a few oil-rich countries appear to be the most developed. However defining development in terms of satisfaction of basic human needs, according to Ragin (1987:18), shuffles the development hierarchy and brings in Eastern European countries to occupy more prominent positions in the development index. Corroborating Ragin's views, Ezeanyika (1999) defines development as a sustained change along a trajectory leading to growth. By this conception of development, he means that the understanding of development goes beyond the confines of economics. It involves more than material and financial well-being of people. Development here is also concerned about the social aspect of people's lives. Accordingly, Ezeanyika believes that positive change brings about development. For the purpose of this study development is defined qualitatively in terms of the emergence of a national political culture supported by a central government, which has achieved substantial economic progress, and which in turn, is acknowledged as legitimate by its subjects (Ragin 1987:18).

Sustainable development has even been a more topical issue since the United Nations Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972, where the concept was first brought to the front burner. However, it was not until 1987 that the concept was defined as; “development that can meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Elliott 1999:7). This definition highlights the very importance of integrated decision making that is capable of bringing to equilibrium the social and economic life of the people with the regenerative capacity of the natural environment.

2.1.4. Management

The complexity of management has made the definition even more complex. Management is defined by the oxford advanced dictionary, as the application of skill or care in the manipulation, use, treatment, or control (of a thing or person) or the conduct of something. Management and leadership are often used interchangeably but may not necessarily mean the same thing. Salovaara (1998:15) sees leadership as the “actual leading of people for example employees, while management is the leading of matters” Though, she believes that through leadership, management is attained. Nivala opines that the work of superiors and management cannot be separated (Salovaara 1998:15).

Management is the utilization of public resources (men, money and materials) to achieve organizational goal or objective. It is the process of organizing, coordinating, planning, directing and controlling of human, material and financial resources in order to achieve organizational goal (Ogunna 1999:3). Management is different from administration in one sense. While the former emphasizes goal attainment and target, the latter places more premium on strict and rigid compliance with rules and procedures. Management is result oriented. Administration on the other hand is the traditional technique by which the civil service exercises its responsibility (Ogunna 1999:3). Management and administration are used interchangeably too. This has tended to blur the difference in meaning between the two concepts.

Some people conceive management as a complex of personal and administrative skills. Others regard management as a means of getting things done through and with people (O'Donell 1972:42). Donald Clough (1963:30) defines management as the art of guiding the activities of a group of people toward the achievement of a common goal. In management, decision making is perceived in the entire management process

2.1.5. Hierarchy

Hierarchy is defined by the Oxford online dictionary as “a body of persons or things ranked in grade, order, or class, one above the other” (Oxford dictionary). According to Ogunna (1989:52), it is “the organization or arrangement of public office and personnel of various ranks, and grades, in a systematic superior-subordinate relationship”. The civil service as a bureaucratic organization is structured under the principle of hierarchy. In a hierarchy, there exist centers of power, lines of command and communication Ogunna (1989:52).

Most bureaucratic organizations are hierarchical (Salovaara 2008:13). Kooiman (2003:115; Salovaara 2008) cites the organization of the Roman Catholic Church as a classical example of the hierarchical structure of the clergy. Hierarchy is the basis of bureaucratic organization (Salminen 2002:67). The hierarchy is structured in such a way that in a large scale organization, it ensures unity of command and coordination. This is perhaps the rationale for a hierarchical structure in the civil service. Hierarchy promotes order and control and ultimately gives effect to effectiveness if properly managed. However, experience has shown that hierarchy produces delay and communication problems in the civil service organization.

2.2. Meaning of Public Management Reform

The problem of finding a definite meaning for most terms and concepts in social science also affects this new paradigm of administration, New Public Management Reform.

But for the purpose of this research work, we could be contented with defining new public management reform as those ‘carefully programmed’ and implemented administrative policies of a government geared towards changing the structures, individuals and processes of public sector organizations (institutions) with a view to making them run better, by adopting features of the market or private sector organizations (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:8). I used the term ‘carefully programmed’ because these policies are not thought out overnight. They are usually carefully initiated and brainstormed upon by the elite (top politicians and administrators). The politician when elected as a representative of his/her constituency in modern democracy is under immense pressure to provide the dividends of democracy to his people. He must do so by initiating policies which in his/her wisdom would benefit the people.

However, these policies and programs would be implemented and enforced by someone else (the civil servant). More often than not, there exist feelings of discontent or dissatisfaction on the part of politicians as to the poor level of implementations or outright jettisoning of these policies they have made by the civil servants. Similarly, civil servants do not feel happy to implement what they often see as ‘myopic and anti-people policies’ that do not emanate from the bureaucracy, and which may have political colorations or intended to further the interests of the political party in power. They believe that their wealth of experience and constant interactions with the people place them in a vantage position to understand the very important needs of the people and hence, would introduce better policies that can meaningfully change peoples’ lives. Again, there is this general feeling of apathy by the people who believe that they deserve a better deal for the tax they pay, and of much more perplexing a scenario is a situation where there is a continued exploitation of the natural resources which culminates in the destruction of their natural habitat, as has been the case in most countries especially developing ones (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004).

All of that contribute to the growing desire to further introduce change. The change we talk about could take various forms. It could be structural change, which may include but not limited to “merging or splitting public sector organizations (creating a smaller number of big departments to improve coordination or a larger number of small

departments to sharpen focus and encourage specialization)” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:8). Process change is procedural in nature. This can involve changing the system through which new people enter into the organizations, say, from ‘man-know-man’ to a system based strictly on merit. It could as well be the introduction of new expenditure and accounting procedures that could provide for cost effectiveness and make it difficult for corruption to thrive in such organizations. Change may also involve the removal and replacement of members of public sector organizations through periodic change of duties, transfer from one department to another, retirement and retrenchments or outright sack (Pollitt& Bouckaert 2004:8).

Everyone agrees that there is need for change in government policies and programs everywhere. What is contentious however is that everyone has not agreed on what really works, and which does not work; or which change offers the most promise to strengthen government policies and ability to deliver services (Peters 2001). Many believe government can be more efficient if all the agencies and parastatals of government are privatized and all the means of production, distribution and exchange controlled by private persons or businesses (private ownership of the means of production). This informs such calls for government to liberalize, to deregulate, to privatize and to commercialize, and to open market. By this economic and management system, government exists as a mere umpire responsible for only supervision and the making of anti-trust laws which guide economic activities. All other administrative decisions guiding the provision of services, infrastructures and amenities are left for private sector businesses that operate with the intent of profit making, and paying royalties and taxes to the state.

However, there are problems that almost by definition exceed the capacity of any individual or private sector to solve. If such problems had been easy or profitable, they probably would have remained in the private sector and government would never have been made responsible for them (Peters 2001:1). Others tend yet to prefer the traditional model of governance that has formed the backdrop against which attempts at reform must be viewed. The traditional model was once thought to be the way in which the public sector should be organized and it worked well for decades. From 1950s through

the early 1970s when the belief in the capacity of government to solve every social problem was in its optimum, this model of governance attracted little fundamental debate (Peters 2001:1). Experts then were more or less concerned with how to refine the model, to make it more 'rational' with techniques such as program-budgeting (Novick 1965) and cost benefit analysis, and then merely to let the governing system continue to produce effective policies and socioeconomic programs (Peters 2001:3). Later, in the 1980s, political thinkers started raising questions about the virtues of those traditional governance ideas especially, the increasing role of the public sector (Friedman 1962; Hayek 1968; Peters 2001:3). Most people both in and out of government had believed that by virtue of its all inclusive nature and by its powers of authoritative allocation of values, government could regulate the economy through taxing and spending and that it had sufficient economic resources to ameliorate social problems such as poverty, sickness, and poor education (Peters 2001:3). But recent events owing to the sophistication of social problems, increase in population, globalization and limited economic resources and the recent global economic meltdown have shown that the hands of national governments in solving these problems are tied.

The 1950s and 1960s also saw the period of "mixed-economy welfare state" and a tremendous affluence (Rose and Peters 1978) as well as a promise of a brighter future through public action (Peters 2001:3). Some developing nations, Nigeria, a good example, then, embraced this shallow rooted economic system without identifying the boundaries and meeting points of the various systems being mixed.

Reforms generally are intended to solve problems but more often than not, they create other problems that could call for future reform (Kaufman 1978; Aucoin 1990; Peters 2001:4). That is the more reason why Peters suggests that a government introducing any form of reforms in its public sector needs a considerable amount of caution so as not to fall into the same or even a more dangerous mistake to that which it wants to correct.

Public management is the merger of the norms and values of the traditional public administration with the guiding principles of general management (Perry & Kraemer 1983; Pollitt & bouckaert 2004). It is not concerned with the functioning of just a specific department or arm but the whole systems of organizations. An interpretation of

public management in the context of the social system theory represents public management as existing and functioning in accordance with its own order, but at the same time, depending on its environment in a complex and changing world (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004).

New public Management Reform is intended to achieve the creation of surplus wealth as it provides an enabling environment for public-private partnership in the provision of infrastructures and delivery of public services. It is intended to enshrine a cross-fertilization of ideas, a pooling together of resources in the form of counterpart funding, and the combination of human capital between the public and private sector in providing public services. In the field of academics, it is expected to develop an understanding of how public sector organizations may accomplish the missions charged to them (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). Though treated as a new course, the topics and principles which public management is concerned about may also be found in political science, public administration or administrative sciences as it is called in the Nordic countries, and economics.

NPM has concerned itself with the integration of generic (commercial, profit making) management of private business and the very traditional principles of public administration. The dialectics of this merger is being recommended for its capacity to produce a synthesis of efficiency, cost effectiveness (doing more with less) and high productivity which are at the center of all economic development blue prints. “The concern of democratic values is fully retained but the enterprise is given a sharper cutting edge in terms of risk taking, flexibility, performance management and goal achievement” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:10).

However, there are still a lot of doubts as to the possibility of combining these divergent organizational values, ideas, cultures and modus operandi in such a manner that a palpable friction might not be generated. It is feared that NPM might sooner than later attract the kind of criticism that has trailed the ‘Weberian’ model of bureaucracy. Hood (1991) is of the view that NPM presupposes a big stress being placed on ‘stigma-type values’ (efficiency, matching resources to clear goals). In other words, it is not clear

how the values of NPM could be combined with those of the traditional model. He also adds that even if it were to be proved beyond reasonable doubt that such values had been realized in practice, it remains to be investigated whether such successes are bought at the expense of honesty and fair dealing and/or of security and resilience (Hood 1991; Pollitt 2003; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:10).

The new system deemphasizes the dichotomy between private and public sector organizations and stresses what I may call 'internal convergence' which supports that government may well be involved in steering nongovernmental organizations and firms, or in cooperating with them, in the pursuit of collective purpose (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:10). Government bailout of private companies witnessed around the globe, following the recent economic meltdown has in one way demonstrated the very importance of cooperation between public and private sector organizations. For example, foreign investors and business ventures within the United States clearly enhance the public sector and its accountability— insofar as the appropriate legislation is feasible (Fredrickson & Ghere 2005:345). In passing the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977, the U.S. Congress placed the responsibility of preventing criminality on businesses, rather than on governments, in matters that involve bribery of public officials (Ghere 2005). Much later, a similar measure was adopted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an alliance of twenty-nine industrialized nations.

Change, they say is inevitable, and every other thing changes except change itself. Every government, organization and institution desires change and therefore introduces reforms from time to time. A lot of variable factors affect many nations' decisions on how to improve their administrative systems. These factors are present in every political system though they do not appear in reform implementation of different nations at the same time. Figure 1 has been used to analyze what forces influences the implementation of reform programs in Finland and Nigeria, and their outcomes on the socio-cultural and political lives of the nations, their civil services and the entire populace.

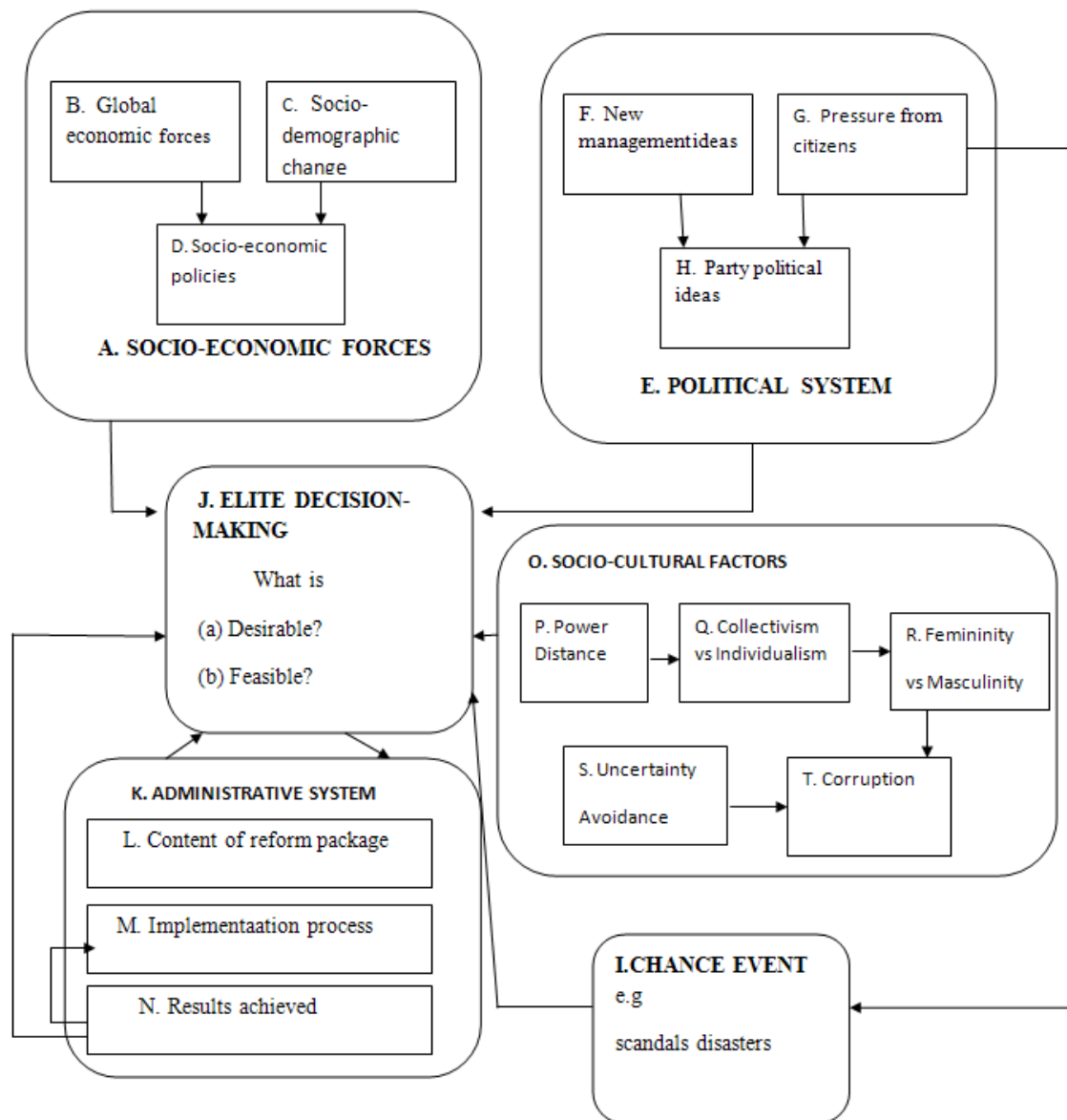


Figure 1. A Modified Model of Public Management Reform (cf. Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004:25).

2.3. Elite Decision-making as a Factor of Change

Decision-making is an important aspect of management in every large scale or bureaucratic organization. It is perceived in the entire management process. Thus, Clough (1963:2) defines management as “the art and science of decision making and leadership”. In this definition, he is concerned about organizational decision-making and manager-type of leadership. Elite decision is referred to as strategic decision-making. Decision-making is the “consideration of alternative allocation of resources which may allow an organization to pursue its goals” (Cleland & King 1968:5). O’Donnell (1972:47) sees decision-making as selecting objectives, and the strategies, policies, programs and procedures for achieving them – either for the entire enterprise or any organized part thereof.

Many factors influence management decision making process. Some of these factors are the personalities of political leaders who are involved in decision-making, the nature of the management decision-making system, the political system, national attributes, culture and the nature of the international system (Inamete 1994:1). Although all these factors affecting management decisions are important, the nature of the management decision making system according to Inamete occupies a central position. Charles F. Hermann (1978) postulates that the nature of the decision structures affects decision processes which in turn affect their outcome. A decision-making structure might consist of a predominant leader with a small subordinate and pliable staff; an authoritative leader with individuals who have some autonomy and independence (although the leader may be able to remove any of them – but at a significant cost to the leader). A decision structure consisting of a predominant leader with a subordinate and pliable staff according to Inamete (1994), “gives rise to a decision process in which the staff serve mainly to reinforce the views of the strong leader and to quickly furnish the leader with the information he/she needs in order to make a decision” (Inamete, 1994:17). He believes such a decision process is faster and more efficient.

On the other hand, a decision structure made up of a large group of individuals who are representatives of outside entities, and who are fairly equal in power results in a very

slow and cumbersome decision process that involves competition and bargaining among members. This sort of decision process leads to a decision output that has a compromise profile (Inamete 1994:18).

Elite decision making structure or policy making machinery varies with different countries. In a particular country, the decision making structures can also change in relation to issue, time and place. “Decision making structures may be the Prime Minister, the President, juntas, cabinet, coalitions and parliament” (Inamete 1994:19).

Elite decision making constitutes the nucleus of the new public management reform. Public policies usually emanate from the high echelon of politicians and bureaucrats. These elites rely on the wealth of their personal experiences, level of education and length of service, in the making of policy decisions. In genuine democracies as in Finland, New Zealand, and USA, decision making is influenced by the wishes and aspirations of the people whose interests are considered paramount. In these nations, decision making process may not strictly be top down but could best be described as ‘horizontal’ since the people can have a say in what affects them, and authority flows from different power sources (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:26).

Bruce would add that the administrator’s role in a democratic society requires him to inform others participating in the decision making process (supervisors, peers, subordinates) of significant information which is properly relevant to their roles in the decision; and accept decisions made within the “rule of the game” even though he deems them unwise (Bruce 2001:99).

The implementation of the market model of management has changed the idea of decision-making in large-scale organizations. In modern democracies for instance, decision making process is no longer the sole preserve of the top management in public organizations. Other sources of authority and influence are emerging. Peters (2001) believes that it is worthwhile to “empower” lower echelon workers in organization to enable them make more autonomous decisions about services. He argues that the rigidity of bureaucratic structures designed to ensure greater equality of service for clients restricts the freedom of employees both to self-actualize on the job and prevents

them from making more creative and humane decisions about their clients (Peters 2001:12).

2.3.1. Decision-making in Finland

Decision making in Finland has been decentralized to allow different levels and organs of government the authority to make policies, and this power devolution has applied in practice. The Republic of Finland operates a parliamentary system of government in which parliament, which is the reduction of the entire citizenry, is supreme. The Finnish parliament makes decision for the administration of the whole country. It is headed by the prime minister. During parliamentary sessions, the members of parliament express their opinions in turn from the most junior member through to the most senior, on any issues for debate. Where necessary, a vote is taken and in the event of a tie the prime minister's was decisive (Selovuori 1999:12).

Finland emphasizes the importance of timely decision making. Some economic issues are very important in every political system. New public management requires that political debates on such issues have to be carried out in a manner that decisions on them are taken with much urgency, though with tactfulness. All stakeholders are carried along in public decision making in Finland and the citizens are always kept in the know in all matters affecting them.

Again, in making decision, there are these issues of what reforms are desirable and what are feasible, and reconciling these differences has always posed a problem to decision makers. This fact of political life exists in every political system, and because of the limited availability of resources no nation or individual can get all that it needs or bargained for. Intelligent reformers naturally opt for what is feasible and this is akin to 'cutting one's coat according to one's cloth rather than according to one's size,' and this is exactly what the new public management reform is all about (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004).

The Finnish model of decision making is a proactive type of decision making. Proactive decision means that decisions are taken on situations and events before they occur. Proactive decisions prevent avoidable circumstances that can bring about failures or lead to maladministration. Herbert Simon in his book, *Administrative behavior* writes about rationality in decision making. For him, “rationality implies a complete and unattainable knowledge of the exact consequences of each choice” He believes that human beings have just a fragmentary knowledge of what happens around them. Therefore rationality is completely limited by a lack of knowledge; or if you like, (too much knowledge which have been made possible by modern information technology in our time). Therefore he prescribes the disjointed ‘incrementalism’ as an alternative to rationalism (Simon 1997:94).

The policy making machinery (PMM) of Finland has tried to involve more and more people of diverse knowledge, attitude and values to contribute in organizational and public decision making. Workers as a group exert real influence in shaping the decisions that affect their organizational activities. In Finland, public decision-making process is open, such that all members of the parliament feel confident enough to make input into an issue without fear of retribution if their views are at odds with the prime minister’s or other members of the parliament. Such a process is seen as democratic and inclusive. The final decision in this circumstance will almost certainly be what the majority of the cabinet and the people feel is required (Simon 1997:94).

The first requirement for any decision making in Finland is of course, information. The major source of such information is the reports of some committees or bodies. Most of these committees are ad hoc or special committees, usually consisting of full time administrators and others engaged on part-time bases. All proposals for change in Finland, no matter where they originate from are thoroughly discussed by a variety of levels of government and stake holders. It is only when an issue has been thoroughly analyzed and approval obtained from a majority of stake holders that such matter can be embodied in a bill for deliberation in parliament (Kingdom 1990:185).

2.3.2. Decision-making in Nigeria

In pseudo democracies as can be found in developing and underdeveloped nations, influences on public decisions do not necessarily come from the people as they are not actually given a say. The elites are rather influenced by ideas and pressures from elsewhere (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004), such as their colonial mentors, donor nations, international creditors and reformers' own individual instincts. Nigeria can be found in this category of nations that have continued to serve as an appendage of their former colonial governments. Administrative decisions in Nigeria are greatly influenced by the need to implement a pro-world bank and International monetary fund (IMF) reform programs. These donor-institutions exact great influences on policies and programs in Nigeria. For example, a national newspaper in Nigeria reported recently that the World Bank has advised the country to accept a loan, to finance the buying of mosquito nets for families in the country. The paper wondered the rationale in taking a loan well over \$2 billion for the buying of mosquito nets instead of cleaning the dirty environment and gutters that breed mosquitoes (The Guardian 2009).

Again, there is no true devolution of powers in Nigeria. Although Nigeria is a federal state with three levels of government - the federal government, the state and the local government, political and economic decision making powers do not still devolve to the lower levels of government. Too much power is concentrated on the central government led by an executive president, who has the power to veto the decisions of the legislators. Some argue that decentralization of decision making in Nigeria is 'realizable' only on paper. The decision making structure of government is the type consisting of a predominant leader with a subordinate and pliable staff (Inamete 1994:17).

Ogunna 1989:52) attributes poor decision making in Nigeria to the hierarchal authority tendencies of the Nigerian bureaucracy. In bureaucratic organizations there exists center of power, lines of command and communication which follows order level. Before the institution of the current democratic experiment in Nigeria in 1999, Nigeria was under successive military dictatorship which ruled the country for more than thirty-five years. Decision making under military governments was strictly the preserve of the most

powerful clique in the army - *the armed forces ruling council*. There was no consultation of any sort to civil society groups or the people as a whole. All decisions of government were encoded into decrees. This culture of garrison decision-making was bequeathed to the succeeding civilian government. However, with the relinquishing of power to a “democratically” elected civilian government the powers of public decision making is now reposed in the President and the National Assembly, comprising the Senate and House of Representatives. Each of these two chambers of the legislature has constitutional powers to make decisions as does the President. During plenary sessions of the National Assembly, presentations are made by Senators and/or House members, and vote is by simple majority of the chamber which initiates the bill, and then, by the other chamber. The bill passes the two chambers until agreement has been obtained. Thereafter, the President receives the bill and has 30 days to accept or reject it. If he rejects it, the bill is submitted to a further consideration by parliament. A new vote by a 2/3 majority of both chambers carries it into law on the president’s signature.

Policy makers in Nigeria tend to pursue reform schemes that they desire, notwithstanding the feasibility or otherwise of such policy decisions. This has led to the implementation of programs that have had very negative effects on the economy and the people at large. (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:26). Decision makers in Nigeria are not guided by the desire and aspirations of the people but instead, they have often made decisions to favor some select individuals and groups rather than the entire public. The idea of participative management is not common in the Nigerian public administration. Participative management is the process by which people contribute ideas toward the solution of problems affecting their organizations and jobs (Beach 1975:554). It is a process in which people exercise significant influence in the decision-making process of the organization in which they belong (Ogunna 1999:437). Participative management increases the tempo of communication flow in the organization and ensures workers’ loyalty. Without worker’s participation, the workers may misunderstand new policy measures and new systems introduced by management or government. Consequently, workers might device means to sabotage any change being introduced. However, when civil servants participate in organizational decision-making process which leads to new policies and changes, the workers would understand the problems of government, the

rational for such changes, and therefore accept them without reluctance (Dubin 1974:47).

Other salient points made about the centrality of the elite decision making on management reform are the facts that (a) reform schemes are seldom provided in one single comprehensive package and (b) it is easy to exaggerate the degree of intentionality in many reforms (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). Due to the large and complex nature of public sector organizations, reformers try to implement changes in a piecemeal manner, i.e. affecting a particular institution, program or sector at a particular point in time. “Typically, there is no single design or designer. There are just lots of localized attempts at partial design cutting across one another, and any sensible scheme for institutional design has to take account of that fact” (Goodin 1996:28; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004).

Again, there are no hard and fast rules as to how, where and when a reform program may begin; rather, what is common knowledge is that reformers generally wish to improve the condition of their organizations. However, the final results of implemented reform programs (see box N) may not be in tandem with the original intentions of the reformers. Reformers are not God-sent. They are human beings and are limited by so many variable factors. This is why they are bound to making mistakes that often times necessitate further reforms (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). For instance, a reform implemented in Nigeria in 1988 to restructure the civil service by the then military government ended up without realizing the original intentions of the reformers. Some civil service reforms in Nigeria are listed by Dike (1995:58) to include:

- “Sir Walter Harragin Salary Review Commission 1946;
- The Gorsuch Commission of 1954
- The Newn Commission of 1959
- The Mbanefo Commission of 1959
- The Morgan Commission of 1963
- The Elwood Grading Team of 1964
- The Adebo Commission of 1970-71
- The Udoji Commission of 1972-74

- The Babangida Civil Service Reform of 1988; and
- The Abacha Civil Service Reform of 1997.”

The latest attempt at introducing change in the Nigerian civil service was the Steve Oronsaye’s implementation of tenure system for Permanent Secretaries and Directors in the federal civil service. It was discovered that some Permanent Secretaries and Directors in Nigeria civil service have spent up to twenty years in the same position. This ugly scenario makes it difficult for junior officers to get promoted and even new people to come into the service (Thisday 2009). The reform however, prescribes a maximum two terms of 4 years each for the offices of Permanent Secretaries and Directors in the civil service.

2.4. Socio-economic Forces and Management Reform

At the top left of the elite decision making box, there is the socio-economic forces comprising global economic factors, socio-demographic change and socio economic policies (box A. including B, C, D). These are principal elements, and from the interplay of these elements management changes occur. Nation-States are under intense pressure to implement reform programs due to an increasing tasks, reduced financial latitude, economic crises and what König (1996:13) refers to as internationalization of public matters that have befallen modern governments (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:27).

2.5. Global Economic Forces

Globalization of capital markets and the activities of multinational corporations actually exert a tremendous pressure on the ability of sovereign nation to make independent economic policies (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:27). Globalization is defined as the process by which businesses and other organizations develop international influence and start operating on an international scale, widely considered to be at the expense of national identity (Oxford online dictionary). The term is sometimes used to refer

specifically to economic globalization: the integration of national economies into the world capitalist economy, through trade, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), capital flows, migration, and the spread of technology. In other words, globalization is recognized as being driven by the combination of economic, technological, socio-cultural, political, and biological factors. It could also mean the transnational circulation of ideas, languages, or popular culture through acculturation (wikipedia.org).

Fredrickson & Ghere, writing on globalization and surplus population, are of the view that the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 ushered in a new world order in which the relatively stable and predictable (at least for most industrialized nations) system of cold war, has given way to a new global system (Fredrickson & Ghere 2005:225-226). According to them, where once two super powers, America and Soviet Union defined many of the parameters of the world's political and economic systems, we now have a constantly shifting balance of power in the relationships between nation-states and super-markets (such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the European Union), and between states, super-markets and super empowered individuals (Fredrickson & Ghere 2005:225-226).

Movements are no longer restricted as the world moves toward greater integration of markets, nations and technology. To Friedman, these developments have created both prosperity and opportunities for wealth creation but at the same time, are not without some tradeoffs- "they have opened doors to new conflicts and deepening poverty among those who lack access to these new opportunities" Friedman (1999: 23). The global money market is directly or indirectly placing restrictions on the public expenditure of national governments. Governments which are considered as being corrupt and extravagant are now, made to face some kinds of sanctions by global market regulators, as the World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank, and International Monetary Fund (IMF), among others. Whenever a nation-state signs the charter of a supra-national body or organization to become its member, that nation would by that action have cut a chunk of its sovereignty and surrendered it to the supra-national body. This fact limits the control national governments are able to exert over their economic policies.

2.5.1. Global Economic Forces on Finland

Finland is a member of supra-national organizations as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Paris Club of Creditors, European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Economic Zone, Schengen group of nations, and the United Nations Organization (UNO). Public spending by the Finnish government must for instance, conform to the limits set by the EU government. Government budget on education, defense, social security and internal security for instance, cannot be made in Finland or other nations in the EU without due reference to the European Union government stipulations on such matters. This is so because the EU government regulates the economies of its members and has the powers to sanction erring members.

Again, the single currency which all members of the European Economic Zone adopted might imply that, even in the face of capital crunch the central bank of Finland cannot by its own authority, print more Euros to cushion the effect of any shortage of liquidity in the Finnish banking sector, without passing through the European Central Bank. Similarly, as a consequence of increased movement of capital, tax competition and price war, the government's powers to tax capital assets and incomes has continually been at the receiving end. The Finnish monetary policy may not be able to reduce interest rates below the benchmark of the international system in order to stimulate productive investment (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:27).

Furthermore, the government has had to grapple with how to increase the competitiveness of Finnish firms in the international market, resulting in tax reduction among others. No government would want its firms to be edged out in the international market. Those countries which maintain a high tax regime witnessed high rate of windings up of their local firms, especially with the recent global economic meltdown. Finland may be under pressure to reduce tax payable by local firms. Some Finnish firms were forced by the global recession to close shops and relocate to emerging economies of China and South East Asia where cost of production is relatively lower, due to cheap labor and raw materials, and a 'reasonable' tax regime. "Indigenous firms

may not compete favorably if they are weighed down by either high tax (to finance high public spending) or by tedious and heavy bureaucracy” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:27). Many Finnish companies operate locally but have not been in the global market, and would now be seen as “new comers” if they wish to operate beyond the shores of Finland. For example, machine shops in Finland are currently experiencing low productivity in their businesses due to the facts that the companies have persistently remained at home. According to Frets Program Manager, Harri Jokinen, “the all-round machine shops do not stand a chance in the present international competitive climate. Competitors from the countries of cheap labor outmatch the Finnish shops in the price war, while the specialized shops prevail because of their superior niche products and manufacturing methods.” Jokinen advises that “the machine shops should merge with each other, expand to foreign countries, and invest in research and development. Otherwise tens of thousands of jobs will be in jeopardy” (Helsingin Sanomat, 2009). However, the Finnish government has adopted the plan to boost the nation's competitive position (Blau 2008).

Also, globalization may have affected Finland in the sense that finding brains outside Finland is another issue. To attract qualified people from abroad, the Finnish Innovative Strategy calls for lower income tax in Finland, which, like the other Nordic countries, relies on high taxes to fund its generous welfare system. Like many other EU member states, Finland has a shortage of scientists and engineers, due partly to migration of these professionally trained people to the United States (Blau 2008). However, Blau believes that the New Innovative Strategy which is imbedded in the new public management in Finland will move the nation beyond a primarily "knowledge push" environment, in which scientists and engineers come up with ideas and push them to the market, to a "demand pull" system, with private companies and users playing an active role in market-oriented innovation (Blau 2008).

The influx of immigrants from poorer EU nations, the acceptance of United Nations refugees from Somalia and other war-torn African and Asian nations have weighed down the ability of the Finnish government to avert unemployment. Unemployment in Finland is now rising very rapidly, thereby putting much pressure on the social security

system of the nation. Hence, the more social policy systems are implicitly premised on continuing full employment, the more they come under stress (OECD 1997c; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:28). However, the influence of international financial institutions might not have been so adverse on the Finnish economy because Finland has managed her economy very well and has become a lender nation rather than a borrower to the monetary bodies.

2.5.2. Global Economic Forces on Nigeria

Nigeria is also a member of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations (UN), World Trade Organization, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), African Union (AU) and other sub-regional organizations in Africa. These bodies do also have many influences on the government, politics and economy of Nigeria. For example, OPEC determines the quantity of crude oil which its members should produce. By this, Nigeria cannot push any quantity of crude oil it wishes to the international market. Again, some Multinational Corporations (MNC) operating in Nigeria, such as shell and Coca Cola to mention just a few, exert enormous powers over the Nigerian government, such that the federal government cannot afford to make policies that could negatively affect the profit motives of these companies (Ezeanyika 1997). MNC penetrate very deeply into the politics of their host nation through indirect sponsoring of politicians during elections, and or criminal financing of military revolutions in such nations. Nigeria has been badly affected by globalization through the operations of transnational corporations.

In the views of Human Rights Watch, multinational oil companies are complicit in abuses committed by the Nigerian military and police. Globalization, many believe, have done much damage to the economic landscape of Nigeria. The nation which hitherto was self sufficient in food production and a major exporter of cash crops, such as cocoa, timber, groundnut and palm products has today become a net importer of food. No thanks to the overdependence of Nigerian economy on crude oil revenue.

Dibie (2004) adds that the impact of globalization is not only felt by the economy but very much also by its education. He argues that copying the British and American patterns of teaching Public Administration in Nigeria is not healthy for the nation, and that for administrative training to be meaningful in Nigeria, it should be designed and implemented with relevance to the sustainable development mission of the nation. In his paper on “*Distributional Impact of Globalization-induced Migration: Evidence from a Nigerian Village*”, Onyeiwu (2008) opines that contrary to conventional wisdom, globalization has not succeeded in alleviating poverty amongst the poor villagers who explicitly took advantage of the process to migrate from their localities to mega cities. Be that as it may, it is important to point out that economic globalization has been a vital background factor in any consideration of administrative reform or change, though it does not determine the exact form, timing and degree of such reforms and usually affects different nations in different degrees, what I may refer to as ‘relative’ globalization.

2.6. Socio-demographic Change

Box C constitutes another important factor affecting the implementation of public management reform. Demographic change refers to the kind of change affecting the population and the pattern of life of people in a country. Increase in life expectancy rate, change in the pattern of family (high incidence of single parent-parent and single person households, infant mortality), child educational enrolment, net migration and a rise in the average level of unemployment as compared with the boom years of 1950–1973 (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:28) are some of the socio-demographic factors that have caught the attention of institution reformers. In developing countries, issues as poverty, over-population, and homelessness also influence change. The implication of these social changes is that the state is made to bear greater burden of having to spend more money on social services (health care, education, social care, pension and social security safety net), among others. Finland has a free education policy at all levels of education, as well as a social welfare system that supports mothers and families financially, and these factors creates political opportunities for women much more than in many parts of

the world. It is said that Finland is one of the best examples of the merits of social democracy. The challenge today, however, is to maintain and develop these merits (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:28).

With a Population of 5,304,840 people, Life expectancy at birth: male: 75.8 years female: 82.8 years, there is additional burden on the Finnish government to spend more on retirement benefits and maintenance of old peoples' homes through "Kela." Studies have shown that the average amount of health care facilities consumed by people above the age of 75 years in developed nations is more than five times the amount consumed by middle-aged persons. That is to say that, the more aging a nation's population becomes the higher the welfare expenditure of that country. Finland is among countries with the highest aging population in Europe. It has a high proportion of people above the age of 60 years. The effect of this scenario on public management reform is not that the high expenditure resulting from the payment of pension, social security and stuffs like that, would produce any type of organizational change, but it provides the motivation for politicians and administrators to finding ways of maintaining equilibrium in the system (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). This could be by way of narrowing the categories of people who are qualified for such benefits "(so as to concentrate on the most needy) or by increasing charges and co-payments by the beneficiaries, or by minimizing the rate of increase in benefits" (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:29). These inconspicuous pressures reflect themselves in the more vivid socio-economic policies.

Nigeria is more or less a 'capitalist' oriented nation where every individual must pay for every social service enjoyed from the government. Though some services are subsidized by government, the impacts are not always felt by the people. The nation's population is estimated at one hundred and fifty million people (The Guardian 2009). It is unfortunate that there is no exact figure generally acceptable as the nation's population figure. Different figures are quoted based on estimation and this has made national planning absolutely impossible. The 2007 national census figure was rejected by many stake holders: most states opposed the figures allotted them by the National Population Commission. For example, whereas the federal government put the figure of Lagos

State at 9 million, the Lagos State government after its parallel census said 15 million people live in Lagos.

Life expectancy of Nigeria has been put at 47 years on the average. Life expectancy is the expected number of years at birth according to a particular mortality experience (Koontz 2009). The pressure resulting from high birth rate and dwindling infant mortality that is swelling up the population, poverty and youth unemployment continues to pose a big nightmare to reformers in Nigeria. The government does not have accurate records and statistics, making it practically impossible for efficient allocation of resources. The basic consequence of such a scenario is that state-financed services as health care and education suffer in the grip of opportunistic politicians and bureaucrats, presenting a major challenge to management reformers.

In developed countries such as Finland and Norway, social security (pensions, unemployment benefits, and other benefits in cash and kind) forms the largest single item in the state budget (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:29). In Nigeria however, and in most other underdeveloped countries, social security is absolutely lacking. Government does not take care of the elderly people. Unemployment benefits are not administered. Even at that, public expenditure has continued to rise, raising questions as to where funds allocated for social services actually go to. In Nigeria, citizens pay electric bills without enjoying round the clock supply of electricity. The few who go to school pay exorbitantly to acquire education. How does all this affect public management reform? As with globalization of capital the impacts may not be direct. What this scenario does do is provide a veritable argument for politicians and civil servants to look for a way of changing these ugly trends either by changing the structures, the process or those who perform the functions (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:29).

2.7. Socio-economic Policies

Socio-economic policies are those policies that are concerned with the interaction of social and economic factors (Oxford English Dictionary). This variable exacts an

enormous pressure on the minds of politico-administrative reformers in every nation. Socio-economic policies reflect issues such as increment and or reduction of tax to an optimal level, increment in the gross domestic product (GDP), policies aimed at strengthening the national currency and the banking sector among others (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). Finland is planning to increase energy taxation for industries in 2011. The Finnish ministry of finance stresses that “the energy tax will be introduced to compensate for social insurance payments” (Hesingin Sanomat 2010). However, the Finnish forest industry is believed to be the most hit if Finland realizes this plan of tightening its energy tax. According to Stora Enso’s Chief Executive Officer, Jouko Karvinen, “the Finnish forest companies already pay significantly more for their electricity than their Swedish counterparts. Each year the Finnish industries are burdened with a EUR 65 million energy tax bill for the use of electricity that they have produced in their own facilities” (Hesingin Sanomat 2010).

Furthermore, “in pursuit of social security savings, some European governments have raised the minimum entitlement for a state pension. During the formative stage of the European Union in the 1990s, EU member-states struggled to meet the Maastricht ‘convergence criteria’, which would qualify them to join the European single currency” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:29). Based on that, member states had to cut their public expenditures and debt profiles.

Similarly, in 2009, the federal government of Nigeria thought it wise to remove subsidy on petroleum products consumed locally by the citizens, in its bid to deregulate the downstream sector of the petroleum industry. This measure, government believed would make the products available in the country at all times, and enable government save more money that could be invested in other vital sectors. That single policy change gravely affected the economic landscape of Nigeria, as the pump price of petrol that formally sold for 75 Naira (55 cent) raised to about 100 Naira (80 cent), leading to hoarding of the products, artificial scarcity and black marketing which caused much pain on motorists. Unfortunately, Nigeria is a country where a hike in petroleum product prices leads to a disproportionate rise in the prices of all other goods and services. The foregoing policy instances could exert much pressure on public spending, and public

debts, and could as well, increase unemployment levels in the country (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004: 29).

3. POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND MANAGEMENT REFORMS

Box E on the top right of the model (see p.24) comprises f, g and h, and which has to do with the political system and its features. The political system can be defined as a “complete set of institutions, interest groups (such as political parties, trade unions, lobby groups), the relationships between these institutions, and the political norms and rules that govern their functions (constitution, election law)” (Wikipedia free encyclopedia). A political system strives to maintain law and order within its environment. Such political variables could also make or mare public management reform. According to Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004:29), Laws and constitutions of nations are very important elements that cannot be discountenanced in any attempt at administrative reform. This is because, in most countries the constitution is supreme and any change in the administrative apparatus must be done within the ambit of the subsisting laws and constitution of the country implementing such change. In certain cases, especially, in countries that operate written constitution, law or constitution can make it difficult for major restructuring to take place. Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004) cited Germany as an example.

Nigeria operates the American system of government with a written constitution which is usually rigid in terms of amendment, and a two-chamber parliament. Passage of administrative bills in the two chambers of parliament usually delays implementation of good management reforms programs. And more often than not, popular bills do not see light of day as one chamber might withhold the passage of such bills. A pitiable example in Nigeria is the Freedom of Information (FOI) bill, which due to the selfishness of the ruling People’s Democratic Party (PDP) was rejected and thrown out by parliament at two different occasions, on the argument that the Nigerian press would abuse the right if it is allowed by law.

United Kingdom as another example is notable for the flexibility of its constitution which is said to be unwritten. The UK constitution makes the process of changing the machinery of government easy, involving the passage of secondary legislation by the executive, through the legislature (Pollitt 1984; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:29)

Finland operates a political system based on consensus through a coalition government. Although, there is a strict adherence to the Finnish constitution, the process of administrative reform is usually less combative than in countries, such as Australia, New Zealand or the UK, where political systems are much more factionalized (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:30). In Finland, the constitution protects the regional, local and municipal councils, yet, the central government, through dialogue and consensus could extend reform programs to the lower levels of government without necessarily going against the constitution (Stoker 1998; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:30).

In essence, law plays an important role in facilitating or restraining public management reform. These variations in the characteristic features of different political systems can be accounted for, by the structures – as in the system of law (common law, Nordic law, and customary law), the type of constitution (written and unwritten, rigid and flexible), the electoral system and the types of political parties. There is also the cultural element, “as with the emphasis on relatively ‘polite’ collective discussion and agreement which characterize political systems such as those of Netherlands and Sweden” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:30).

The issues of religion and ethnic mobilization dominate discussions in Nigeria, of major changes in government. This reason informs the inclusion of a federal character clause in the 1999 constitution of Nigeria. By federal character, it means that the federal government and the component states shall make government appointments to reflect a true representation of the geo-political zones and ethnic groups in the country or state. Federal character principle most of the time, runs at cross roads with the principle of merit in appointments, and allocation of developmental projects. The federal character clause is a controversial clause in the 1999 constitution and has served more as a bureaucratic mechanism adopted by top politicians and civil servants in Nigeria to shortchange the minority groups in the country.

3.1. New Management Ideas

Management ideas consist of the creative ideas and initiatives of managers aimed at increasing productivity or creating bottom-line cost saving. For the past twenty years, there has been an influx of ideas in management. A lot of people, ranging from the academia, politicians and administrators, generic managers and scholars have been introducing new ideas about how to manage virtually everything, from small scale businesses to large corporations, and to local and national governments. “These ideas have echoed around business schools, corporate boardrooms, government seminars and even airport newsstands” (Pollitt 2003a; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:30)

Nation-states borrow management ideas from one another through the help of international bodies, such as the World Bank, OECD, IMF, and PUMA among others. There are instances of international borrowing among the conservative governments of Margret Thatcher in the UK (1979 – 90), Roland Regan in the USA (1980 – 88, and Mulroney in Canada (1984 – 93) (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:30). Publications and presentations of administrative technocrats, politicians and managers also influence reform minded individuals and organizations, though these ideas may not be translated into specific reforms, they can flow into a pool of ideas drawn from many sources, which are made use of by political and administrative elites (box J) (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004).

Generic or private sector management ideas and techniques such as Management by objective (MBO), Total Quality Management (TQM), benchmarking, outsourcing and Business Process Re-engineering (BPR) have been widely adopted within the public sector (Pollitt & Bouckaert 1995; Lane 2000; Bouckaert 2003a; see also Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:30). It is noteworthy to say that the dissemination of ideas and information about management reforms is not peculiar to the Western world as these ‘Western’ ideas have gradually penetrated the developing nations of Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America who now apply the new model of public administration, though without much success (Pollitt & Talbot 2004).

3.2. Pressure from Citizens

Most people in society are quite indifferent or less concerned about what public management reform is all about. The concept does not have a direct bearing on the daily life of the average man on the street. However, despite the fact that common people are not seen coming up with concrete proposals for reforms, they can also exert pressure on the elite decision makers and thereby influence change. “If for instance, citizens become used to very rapid and customer friendly transactions in banks, building societies and shops, they may become progressively more and more discontented with post office or benefit payment agencies that are slow, inflexible, and inhospitable. Such discontent with low standard of service in state owned institutions may then be expressed to political representatives, or the media, who communicate them onward to the elite (box J)” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:31).

However, public agencies in Finland have integrated customer relation into the business of government, such that services in public agencies are delivered at the same level of speed and customer friendliness as could be found in private organizations. It is difficult if not impossible to determine which offices belong to the public sector and which is private by their mode of customer relation and service delivery. In another instance, civil servants in many countries, especially developing nations are often accused of being corrupt. When this happens, people could voice out and public opinion may mobilize to create pressure for reform. Finland is not noted for high incidence of corruption in its public service. This might account for the enviable position the country enjoys on the Amnesty International corruption index.

Nigeria on the other hand has a high incidence of corruption in its public service. It is a practice in the Nigerian civil service especially during the second republic (1979 – 1983) Ogunna (1999), that most contracts are awarded to contractors with the understanding that the awarding officials get a percentage of the contract sum. Sometimes public officials award contracts to themselves at inflated prices, using their relations or friends as cover (Ogunna 1999:79).

Although the views of the citizens do not seem to constitute a driving force for public management reform, there are occasions in which they appear to influence change. In some countries as USA, United Kingdom and in Nigeria too, civil society groups play a leading role in motivating and sensitizing members of the public to demand for changes in government policies and programs.

3.3. Party Political Ideas

Political ideas also exert much influence on public management reform. Political parties in their manifestoes express ideas about how they will rule when elected into power. For instance, a party may decide that it wants to reduce ‘bureaucracy’ or ‘decentralize and put power close to the people’. “Or it may adopt a specific proposal such as creating a special ministry or agency for say, the environment, the regions, or the family, inland security or any other topic which happens to be prominent or fashionable” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:31). The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) led government in Nigeria in 2008, created the ministry of Niger Delta to facilitate the development of the oil rich but highly restive and volatile Niger Delta region of the country, as a measure to address many years of youth restiveness, militancy, criminality and oil bunkering caused by decades of neglect of that region by the federal government of Nigeria and the oil companies operating in that region.

Party manifestoes are often ideological in outlook. In many cases they are premised on the principles of the dominant ideologies of capitalism and communism. Privatization is one doctrine of the capitalist ideology that gained very wide acceptance in the 1980s and 90s. Nations such as Australia, New Zealand, and the UK, all embraced privatization program, and the doctrine has also been applied to the letter, by Canada, France, the Netherlands, and USA (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:31). But privatization is facing serious criticisms, especially with the recent global economic meltdown which compelled national governments to embark on bail-out exercise to rescue some of their corporations severely hit by the economic crash. Political leaders have seen the need for more ‘joined-up’ government, with greater integration between policies and business

which were hitherto separated (OECD 2001; Pollitt 2003b; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). From the model, it can be observed that party political ideas can be generated from within the political party agenda as well as from pressure groups and popular movements among the electorate or from the market and business, and the academia. “The ideas of the 1980s conservative governments in the UK, and the 1984 – 90 labor governments in New Zealand were extensively influenced by the theories of public-choice school of economists” (Pollitt 1993; see Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:32). In Finland too, the activities of the National Coalition Party, the ruling Party in that country is often pressured by both the electorates, the University student union and other interest groups in the country.

More so, the mass media (news papers and television) constitute tremendous influence on the activities of political parties and on public management reforms in general, though no box is dedicated to mass media in the model being analyzed. If a reform program is repeatedly publicized and amplified, chances are that such a program can gain the acceptance of a majority of the people. The masses may not be interested in the detailed technicalities of a reform program (such as accruals accounting versus cash-based accounting, capital expenditure and gross domestic product (GDP)), but want to know for instance, why there is incessant power outage, why the taps are not running, why the railways are not working, or that many people are stealing from the social welfare system (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004).

3.4. Socio-cultural Factors

Public organizations operate within and are shaped by many environmental forces of which culture is one. I observed in this research that bureaucrats or public servants in Finland share a totally different value system from their Nigerian counterparts. For instance, the syndrome of “get-rich-quick” philosophy of most civil servants in Nigeria is never found in the culture of the Finnish bureaucracy and as such, incidences of corruption and mismanagement do not occur frequently in Finland. A majority of the Finnish People seem contented with whatever they have. Also, welfare system of the

Nordic countries is not just a political ideology; it has become a *culture* of the government and the people. It is true that some social values as self-discipline, politeness, avoidance of public embarrassment, courtesy, and child-moral-upbringing have positively impacted on the Finnish administrative system. In the educational sector, there are no recorded cases of exam malpractice, sexual harassment of female students by male lecturers, money-for-grade and unlawful sale of reading materials by lecturers, as could be found in the Nigerian system. All these can have effect on a nation's bureaucracy and on public management reform as reformers are guided by prevalent cultural norms in public decision making. Even management literature has popularized the claim that the "excellence of an organization is contained in the common ways by which its members have learnt to think, feel and act" (Hofstede 1991:18).

Bureaucratic sub-cultures usually emanate from the popular culture of a society. The success of the Finnish public service to a large extent is a product of the larger Finnish culture and society. Looking at it from certain dimensions of culture (Hofstede 1991:14) as power distance, collectivism versus individualism, femininity versus masculinity and uncertainty avoidance one is bound to appreciate the dominance of culture in the public life of a nation.

3.5. Power Distance

Power distance (box P) according to Hofstede (1991:28) is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. 'Institutions' are the basic elements of society like the family, school, and the community; 'organizations' are those places where people work, for instance, ministries, and agencies of government, and privately managed businesses. Based on Hofstede's IBM study, Finland represents a clear example of a small power distance nation. As such, in the Finnish public administration or bureaucracy, there is limited dependence of subordinates on bosses, and a preference for consultation or interdependence between manager and subordinate (Hofstede 1991:27).

In Finland employees are not seen to be very afraid of bosses. A manager usually consults with his subordinates before reaching a decision. Also, the idea of giving unnecessary respect (eye service) is frowned at. No subordinate answers 'Sir' or 'Ma' to the boss. Even by the decoration of the offices: one would hardly differentiate the manager's office from that of the subordinate. The same facilities are found in almost all offices irrespective of what classes of employees occupy which. In other words, there is little or no difference between the furniture in the manager's office and that found in the office of the front desk officer (Hofstede 1991).

In school also, teachers and students treat one another as basic equals. The educational system is student-centered with a premium on student initiative. Students are expected to find their own intellectual paths, and can make uninvited interventions in class. They can argue with teachers and show no special respect to them outside school. What the teacher imparts is knowledge of truth and facts which exist independently of the teacher. He does not claim ownership of such truths and facts (Hofstede 1991:34).

The low power distance nature of the Finnish society or what I may call 'pro-equilibrium' culture has contributed to the positive public life of the nation. The ideas of social equality helps reduce crave for superiority and unnecessary squabble for power and positions among bureaucrats. Consultation enables free flow of both downward and upward communications in organization. When there is no bickering among workers, the job is always smoother, as there will be no saboteur and the result is a higher productivity that could translate to development.

Nigeria is on the other extreme according to Hofstede's classification, a high power distance nation. Here in organizations, there is high dependence of subordinates on their bosses. In such corporate culture, the boss is the 'king'. Subordinates don't easily approach their bosses. It is unthinkable for a subordinate to oppose his/her boss directly without risking his/her job (Hofstede 1991:28). Even right from the family in a large power distance society there is perceived stratification based on seniority. Children owe a duty of absolute obedience to their parents and must of necessity respect their senior

brothers and sisters. Independent behavior of the child is not encouraged, while respect for parents and other elders are seen as a basic virtue. In this kind of culture, most children continue to live with their parents even when they are above 40 years (Hofstede 1991:34).

At school, the parent-child inequality is further perpetuated by a teacher-student inequality which establishes the need for dependence in the mind of the child. The educational process in Nigeria is teacher-centered. The teacher outlines or determines the intellectual paths to be followed by the student. The teacher might as of right, punish the student. In the classroom, the teacher expects a high level of decorum and order with him/her initiating all communications. No student is expected to contradict the teacher (Hofstede 1991:34). Such dependence syndrome is naturally leveraged to the organization when that child goes into the work environment. Now he/she would want to consolidate power if he/she can have his/her way. This individual now believes he/she is calling the shot at the work place, and therefore, every subordinate must obey him since they are at his mercy. The job relationship in such a scenario becomes a master-slave type. This trend of affairs is the bane of the Nigerian bureaucracy. It has retarded rather than furthered the interests of socio-economic development in Nigeria.

The mental programs which public managers acquire as a result of their membership of a small or large power distance societies usually influence their judgments regarding what is desirable and/or feasible when they are in a position to make public and organizational decisions.

3.6. Collectivism versus Individualism

Collectivism is used to refer to a society in which the interest of the group overrides the interest of the individual while individualism refers to the society in which the interest of the individual prevails over that of the group. Hofstede observed the correlation between high power distance and collectivism. Mostly, collectivist societies have large power distance. Again, most individualist societies are low power distance societies.

Nigeria is a collectivist society. In such a society, the family is of paramount significance and is understood to include not just the parents and children, but also grandparents, uncles, aunts, servants and other housemates. People tend to think of themselves as members of an in-group or 'we' group, a relationship which is involuntary or natural (Hofstede 1991:50).

The collectivist nature of the society has more or less affected the civil service in very negative ways. There is a high tendency among Nigerian public servant to bend administrative rules and regulations in a bid to favor their kit and kin. Social pressure to support the family set is very much on the bureaucrats. A worker cannot ignore his/her primary family obligation in the name of a public that does not matter to him/her. The kinship type of social organization existing in Africa, which causes a public officer to consider the interest of his/her family members and close friends far above that of the public office he/she is occupying has dealt a 'heavy blow' on Nigeria's public administration. This has often caused administrative weakness, inefficiency, nepotism, favouritism, deliberate destruction of government files and records, and at times, burning of public office complexes. It is a major reason for official corruption in Nigeria. Added to this is the multiplicity of ethnic nationalities in the country with different languages and cultures (Hofstede 1991:50).

Finland is an individualist, and if I may put it, a 'mono-culture' society. The predominance of a nuclear family setup, in which there is the father, mother and children may or may not have dire consequences on the bureaucracy. About 50 percent of families in Finland are single-parent families. Also, the percentage of single-person family is on the rise. Individuals from these families grow up and learn to think of themselves as 'I'. The Nordic education serves to equip the individual to be able to stand on his/her feet. Once a child attains the age of 18 years, he/she can as of right decide to leave his/her parents. And when that happens, the relationship with the parents dwindles (Hofstede 1991:50).

People tend to be more concentrated on their jobs when they are not saddled with too many problems associated with family life. I could remember what a 36-year-old

Finnish lady told me some time ago in Helsinki when I asked her why she had not gotten married. She quickly answered, "Family and career do not complement each other. Between marriage and career, I have chosen my career". Individualism I must say has added value to the Finnish public service though there might be some tradeoffs. There is a tendency of a long term demographic problem which would not only affect the civil service but also the entire economy.

We can infer also that the kind of family system prevalent in a country affects the overall attitude of citizens of that country and also those of the elites, and can influence how they react to pressure from the citizens for change, or the kind of demographic and economic policies such reformers are likely to introduce in their nations.

3.7. Femininity versus Masculinity

Femininity and masculinity are issues relating to gender and the roles performed by men and women in society. Hofstede divides societies on the bases of gender roles and describes masculine societies as those in which social gender roles are conspicuously differentiated (Hofstede 1991:82). That is those societies in which men are assertive, tough, and focused on material success while women are more modest, tender, and concerned with quality of life. Femininity however, pertains to societies in which social gender roles overlap. Here, both men and women are seen as modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life (Hofstede 1991:82-83). Going by this classification, Nigeria qualifies as a masculine society whereas Finland is notable for its feministic culture. In Finland, both men and women share equal rights both in the family and at the society level. Women can do any jobs which men can do including the job of presidency of the country, and of course, the incumbent President of Finland, Tarja Halonen, is a woman. The public service and even businesses in a feminine society are usually better for it. Studies have shown that women are less prone to official corruption and embezzlement. Having more women in public service and positions of trust reduces the risk of theft in government.

The Nigerian society attaches more importance to the male child than the female. By implication, so many jobs are meant for men. Nigerian cultures see women as the weaker sex and therefore should be concerned mainly with routine home work. Very few women are top bureaucrats in Nigeria. Many do not have access to the economy nor can they participate actively in politics. The masculine culture of the nation impacts on the administrative system and has turned it into a form of bureaucratic warfare that involves muscle flexing and physical strength of the men. The question of gender also plays a considerable role on the minds of reformers in every nation. Women in many countries unite together to form pressure groups in the political system (box E) in order to demand their rights from the elite decision makers (box J). The determination of the appropriate role of women in politics often dominates the thinking of public sector reformers in developing nations (Hofstede 1991).

3.8. Uncertainty Avoidance

The term uncertainty is defined by the Oxford English dictionary as the state of not being definitely known or perfectly clear; doubtfulness or vagueness. Uncertainty avoidance is the way in which people try to handle or resolve the unknown. Uncertainty avoidance emanated from American organization sociology basically from the idea that as human beings, we do not know what will happen tomorrow. Extreme uncertainty leads to intolerable anxiety (Hofstede 1991:110). Every human society has in one way or another, developed ways of alleviating its anxiety. Three known ways according to Hofstede (1991:110) include: technology, law and religion.

Technology helps to avoid uncertainties caused by nature. Law prevents uncertainties in the behavior of people while religion helps in the acceptance of the uncertainties one may not defend oneself against. The Finnish culture as well as most other cultures in Europe believes very much in the use of science and technology and the rule of law rather than religion, to prevent uncertainty. There is a general idea that the answers to questions of nature could be found in the advancement of science and technology, and that laws should be made to guide the behaviors of people. This idea reasonably

explains the innovative culture of the Finnish nation. Finland has ensured the integration of technology and application of research into its administrative system. Today, there is no office in Finland and in other Nordic countries that has no computer and the internet. With updated technology, certain natural events could be determined with the highest amount of precision or certainty. The bureaucracy is faster and more time is saved, workers exert less energy (physically and mentally) and the output per head is more than doubled.

In developing countries people more or less tend to hinge their faith on religion as a way of preventing or avoiding uncertainty. Some religions give ultimate assurance of life after death. Most people prefer to pray for some divine intervention when they are gripped by the fear of uncertainties. In some ministries in Nigeria, it is not strange to find religious groups conducting prayer sessions during office hours. Mosques have been built in most government secretariats and public institutions as schools and hospitals. Workers visit these prayer houses even during working hours. A religious sect might even proclaim a fast to appease the gods of energy, Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) to release light for a few hours to cool drinking water in the fridges.

Unfortunately, prayers rather than finding a pragmatic solution through research and development cannot lead poor nations anywhere. Again, it is trite to say that the failure of decision makers to make the right choices regarding what is feasible and desirable on the global capital market plunged the world economy into the nagging economic recession in 2008. Uncertainty avoidance therefore influences management change.

3.9. Corruption

Justice Bairamian, in the case of *Biokaku vs. the Nigerian police*, defined corruption as; “the receiving or offering of some benefits as a reward or inducement to sway or deflect the receiver from honest or impartial discharge of his duty” (Ogunna 2003:206).

Corruption is the diversion of resources from the betterment of the community or organization to the gain of the individual at the expense of the community or organization. Although, Bruce (2001) believes that corruption exists in every nation and society, it has been observed in this study that corruption is very inconspicuous in the Finnish administrative system. Contrarily, the Nigerian civil service has suffered a big setback due to official corruption. Official corruption in Nigeria takes very many forms, ranging from bribery, extortion, forgery, and falsification of official documents, stealing and illegal possession of public property, aiding and abetting, and deliberate underestimation of taxes payable by individuals and corporate bodies, in the quest for private gain.

Nigerian civil servants have always been implicated in many of the corrupt practices stated above. There is no official record of the number of corruption cases involving public servants in Nigeria. Ogunna (1999) draws attention to the fact that most professionals in the civil service engage in private practices which consume most of their official hours. In many cases such officials only visit their duty posts and then go back to their private enterprises. Some medical doctors who run private hospitals together with their employments in public hospitals are a good case in point. Such doctors spend most of their official hours in their private hospitals while abandoning or neglecting their public responsibilities for which they collect salaries from government. The more annoying aspect of this adaptive kind of behaviour is that those officials who engage in these practices often divert or steal official equipment and materials for their private practices/businesses.

Furthermore, many officials receive monetary and material gratifications in order to perform their official duties. One can hardly get appointment into the public service without being made to part with huge amount of money, sometimes referred to as 'processing fees', to some unscrupulous officials. In some cases, contracts are awarded only after the officer awarding it has received some monetary or material rewards from the recipients of such contracts, or on the hope of getting a kick-back. In Nigeria, more than 10 per cent of a contract price is spent on 'settlement' and 'road clearance' as some people would term it (Ogunna 1999:456).

Apart from “kickbacks” and inflation of contract prices, there is yet a fraudulent practice of paying for contracts that were never executed at all. A point of reference is the white paper published in 2008, by the Federal House of Representative Committee on Energy and Power, headed by Hon. Ndudi Elumelu, on the power sector in Nigeria. Findings by the legislative panel revealed that former President Olusegun Obasanjo’s administration spent between 1999 and 2007, the sum of U.S \$16.billion on energy. Ironically, as at the close of 2008, Nigeria could only generate 2,500 mega watts of energy, which is barely enough to serve the energy need of just one state of the country. The House committee report uncovered gross abuse of office and official corruption by both elected officials and some top civil servants in that investigation. The panel discovered that Obasanjo’s administration paid in full for some contracted jobs that had never begun. Cases also abound, of serious incidences of examination malpractice involving some university lectures and students. Some teachers request money and sex to award unmerited grades to students. This is wrong and purely against the ethics of the teaching profession.

How to eliminate graft or official corruption from the fabrics of society is a major headache to reform minded elites in developing nations. Most, if not all management reform programs in Nigeria revolve around corruption. The topic is often at centre stage during elites’ consideration of what reforms are desirable and what are feasible (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). Unfortunately however, more often than not, these elites are ensnared by the same corruption web which they purport to eliminate.

4. ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

According to Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004:34) administrative systems can accept change but at very slow pace. They are very difficult to change. This is often because of the kind of professionals dominating the civil service. For example, a civil service dominated by officers trained in law as could be found in countries as France and Germany, would always be different from countries whose civil services are made up of people drawn from different educational backgrounds. In other words, the professional training of these bureaucrats would always reflect in their approaches to different kinds of issues. “Structural difference is also remarkable: in Sweden and Finland, central government is made up of a group of modest-sized ministries surrounded by a circle of relatively independent administrative agencies which had responsibilities for most operational issues” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:34). That is to say that there is palpable decentralization of power in the Nordic countries and a change here would require new legislation, taking into account relationship between the center and the municipalities.

Another example is the personnel regulations. Rules are necessary to ensure that public servants behave in appropriate way. But their personal mannerisms and interests must also be recognized. In many cases, workers tend to oppose reforms. If for instance a government wants to reform the social benefit system by say, introducing computerized technology, in theory, the system will be quicker, less staff intensive, and more efficient, but in practice, there may be complications. Many staffs are going to be trained to use the new computerized technology; some will even be retrenched as part of the gains of efficiency, educational qualifications needed to get the job might change and public service unions might attempt to resist such change (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:34).

However, in spite of these potential obstacles to management reforms, it has inevitably been launched and in many cases has made positive impacts especially in the developed nations of Europe and North America.

4.1. The Content of Reform Package

This is the outcome of the interaction between the desirable and the feasible as earlier discoursed, the desirable being the lofty change going on in the minds of the elite decision makers, and the feasible, the realistically achievable and obtainable programs of change, given the available amount of inputs. Reform contents try to establish, or reinforce arguments that support the particular institutional change under consideration. A good example is what the minister of finance in a new right-wing Danish government said in the autumn of 2002: “The public sector must learn to think, act and be managed on the same terms as the private sector. The old bureaucrats must be smoked out!” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:35).

Reform announcements are blueprints or master plans for administrative action. They are like political manifestoes and therefore needs to be checked to ascertain how far the initial promises have been realized in the medium term. March & Olsen put it thus, “most democracies undertake comprehensive reforms of administration from time to time. They create special commissions or parliamentary initiatives to overhaul the administrative machinery of government. Those efforts regularly have their beginning hailed, their aspirations praised, but their recommendations ignored” (March & Olsen 1995:195). That is to say, it is one thing to announce a reform agenda and make recommendations to that effect, and another thing to follow it through to a realizable end. There are many cases of political rhetoric of reform programs without tangible achievements. Examples abound in the developing countries of Africa and Asia.

Reformers in Finland try to match word with action in most of their public management reform programs and therefore realize the goals of such programs. This is so because the government has always prioritized the interest of the generality of the citizens in any change initiative or agenda. Again, the nation has maintained a culture of transparency and accountability.

4.2. The Process of Implementation

Implementation is an important stage in the process of public management reform. Because the science of administration is in a state of flux, there are no exact answers to administrative questions. Therefore, “much is learned during the attempt to put an idea into practice, and some of that learning frequently translate into departures from the original design” (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:36). Some writers are pessimistic about the chances of reform packages actually unfolding according to plan. I think, the problem of poor implementation might not be blamed on the elite decision makers (box J) or on the quality of the reform blueprint, but should be rather blamed on the low level of expertise of the implementers, whose duty is to see to a proper translation of these programs into concrete actions. Implementation process is always a complex thing. Most programs are delivered through networks of organizations rather than by a single implementor. These networks might include, different levels of government, independent public corporations, public/private hybrid bodies, commercial firms and voluntary nonprofit associations” (Kickert 1997; Osborne 2000; Rosenau 2000; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:36).

One problem associated with implementation is that, though they may make good sense on paper, reforms are capable of contradicting or detracting from other reforms that are being carried out at the same time (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:36). For instance, the federal government of Nigeria implemented two different reform programs in 2009: one, in the banking sector and the other, in the federal civil service. The bank reform led to the sacking of the managing directors and executive directors of eight of the twenty-four banks in the country. In the course of the reform exercise which included compulsory “special” examination of the books of all banks in the country, the Central Bank of Nigeria discovered that the eight affected banks had huge exposure to bad or toxic loans, totaling more than seven hundred billion Naira, about US \$4.billion. In the civil service reform, the Head of Service of the Federation (HSF), Steven Oronsaye implemented a reform program which was intended to limit the tenure of service of permanent secretaries and directors in the civil service to a maximum two terms of four years each.

It was also discovered that some permanent secretaries and directors in the federal civil service have served in same positions for more than fifteen years. Although both reforms appear very sweet on paper, it was not certain if the goals for which they were implemented would be realized at the end of the day, and/or whether the implementation of both reforms at the same time would not affect each other. Implementation is also a very important stage because of its capacity to send feed back to the elite decision- makers, ideas about what to do next – whether to continue with such reform program or make a U-turn (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:37).

4.3. Results Achieved

These are the gains of reform. These gains may or may not bear a true resemblance of the wishes and aspirations of the elite decision makers. Whatever happens, the result sends feedback into the earlier stage of the process – particularly to elite perception of what types of change are desirable and feasible (box J) (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:37). A reform result is not always felt in the short run and might even elicit divided opinions as to whether such result meets the expectations of the citizens. The proof of a reform program is on the very impact of such reform on the lives of the average citizens of the country.

4.4. Chance Events

This represents the impact of harmful occurrences such as scandals, natural or man-made disasters, accidents and unpredictable tragedies such as earth quakes, hurricanes, shootings and epidemics. Such events may precipitate a need for change. For example, repeated plane crashes might have been caused by poor maintenance culture of some airlines or government's failure to properly regulate the aviation industry (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:37). Similarly, a crazy gunman might bear grudge against the government, such as was witnessed in 2008 in Finland, where a man believed to have

been under the influence of alcohol shot a policeman (Metro 2009). The effect of these unpredictable tragedies is so great that they attract a wide coverage by the press and often cause media investigation into issues of public probity and accountability.

Also, the September 11, 2001 attack on the world trade centre and the pentagon, and the failed suicide bomb attack on Christmas 2009, by a 23-year-old Nigerian Islamic fundamentalist, Farouk AbdulMutallab, on a Detroit Michigan bound plane, led the United States of America back to its security drawing board to design more stringent internal security measures. Again, “failures in the UK NHS breast cancer screening programs were interpreted by the new labor government of 1997 as evidence that the market-type mechanisms (MTMs) the previous (conservative) government had introduced were inappropriate and required reform” (Laurence 1997:5; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:37).

Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004) attributes the high demand for reform in the last two decades to mainly global economic factors, socio-economic change and the supply of new management ideas. This study includes the socio-cultural changes. These pressures are often resisted by countervailing forces such as those from groups and powerful individuals with a vested interest in the status quo ante. That is, those who do not want change. Also, there can be cases where the existing ways of doing things and the cultural norms and values of the people are enshrined in their laws which can take time or even a political majority to change.

In most cases, some particular kinds of management change may require constitutional amendment, or in the case of supra national governments as the EU, the charter or founding treaty. In Nigeria, a component state house of assemble may have the power to create more local government areas in a state, to take government closer to the people, but because the 1999 federal constitution of Nigeria only provides for the existing 774 local governments areas in the country, it becomes difficult for any state to increase or reduce its number of local government areas.

Even where the majority agrees that the existing administrative structures and processes are inadequate and need change, the question might still be what to do and how to do it. This especially happens when reform in one area or department raises a risk in another. Or it may be that the desired 'new and better' policy program may require a reasonable investment in new information technology, new accounting systems, and or new training programs for the staff concerned, before it can be put into use (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004:33). These are the *prices* for change. More often than not public managers downplay these factors until they begin to appear in the implementation stage- (box M). Such mistakes are more common with reformers in developing countries who most of the time, want to score cheap political points and for that, dabble into reform projects that they may not be able to see to a logical end. In Nigeria many administrative reform programs are abandoned midway into the implementation stage for reasons of shortsightedness, lack of adequate records and research, corruption and ethnic politics.

5. BUREAUCRACY: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Bureaucracy derives from the French word “bureau”, meaning office or desk, and the Greek word “Kratein”, meaning “to rule” (Montague 2002). Bureaucracy was first used by a French economist, Vincent de Gournay after his visit to Hamburg in 1745. He conceived bureaucracy as the rule of officials (Albrow, 1970:12). It is believed that many cultures had bureaucracies of sorts in place even before the term entered into common parlance. Confucianism which originated in ancient China contains philosophic elements that in effect are preconditions for a bureaucratic regimen, notable, two of the four guiding principles (dragons) – respect for education and compliance with authority. By 165 B.C. China had established a system of administration in which public officials were selected through competitive examinations and promoted on merit. The American social scientist, C. Wright Mills once argued that private bureaucratic development came before government. However, in medieval Europe the monarchical and religious structures could be said to be bureaucratic, though much less complex than contemporary bureaucracies (Ogunna 1999).

The advent of industrial revolution accelerated the development of bureaucracy. Labor became increasingly specialized and compartmentalized in the 19th century following the expansion of industries in Europe and the division of labor and specialization encouraged the growth of hierarchy in organizations. Therefore, the idea which bureaucracy denotes had existed long before de Gournay’s formulation the concept. However, de Gournay’s conceptual innovation should be regarded as significant in any study or discussion of bureaucracy (Ogunna 1999).

5.1. The Finnish Civil Service

The Finnish administrative system owes a lot to the Swedish system and has also historically borrowed from the Russian system. Finland was separated from Sweden and annexed by Russian Empire in 1809 (Selovuori 1999:10). This was following an agreement in the summer of 1807 and 1809 between Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte of

France and Emperor Alexander I of Russia. The transfer of power with its attendant change in administrative pattern was dictated by the great powers, and Finland's own elites were not given the opportunity to participate in the reorganization of government in their territory. They had no choice but to accept the decision of Napoleon and Alexander I to end 600 years of Swedish rule over Finland (Selovuori 1999:10).

Under the Swedish administration, Finland was governed as an integral part of Sweden and a substantial part of it was administered by crown governors and their officials from Sweden. The constitutional laws of Sweden were applied in Finland. The implication of this was that the civil service of Finland was an integral part of the Swedish civil service and hence, its members could not form independent union, and also were under the imposition of Swedish administrators. The Swedish government collected heavy taxes from the Finns and these taxes would have been passed on to Stockholm to be used as the king saw fit; and the men of the villages would have been sent off to wars wherever it pleased the king to send them (Selovuori 1999:13).

When Russia took over the administration of Finland in 1809, the Emperor, Alexander I indicated his intention to raise Finland to the status of a nation in the committee of nations. He adopted a friendly policy of pacification as an approach to governing his new territory. Notably, despite its conservative features, the system of government developed by the Emperor in Finland was a combination of the old Swedish administrative tradition and the new liberal ideas of that time. (Selovuori 1999:13). The Emperor retained absolute monarchy and promised to govern within the framework of the Gustavus III's constitutional legislation (the Act of 1772) which placed no restriction on the powers of the sovereign (Selovuori 1999:12). The Emperor established a civil service manned by Finnish officials and organized in accordance with the collegiate principles developed in Sweden in the 17th century. "The business of governing Finland was led from Turku by a new governing council, whose name was changed to the Imperial Finnish Senate in 1816. In St. Petersburg, he appointed a Finnish official, the minister state secretary within his own office for the presentation of Finnish business. The minister state secretary adapted the policy initiatives of the Russian ministries to the Finnish legislative framework and passed on the necessary

instruction to Finland (Selovuori 1999:12). The principle of the system was the collegiate senate with its numerous administrative departments, while the main responsibility for the day-to-day administration was vested in the various government offices subordinated to the departments (Selovuori 1999:12)

5.2. Contemporary Finnish Civil Service

Considerable changes have taken place in the Finnish bureaucracy since independence in 1917. The role of the state prior to this time was minimal as it was still under the control of the Grand Duchy, mainly concerned with the provision of defense, postal services, law and order, and certain public works. Accordingly, the skills of the public servants were also limited, amounting to little more than basic literacy and numeracy, and many appointments were made on the basis of patronage exercised by politicians in power (Kingdom 1990:41).

However, the successful gaining of political and economic independence from Russia restored the sovereignty of Finland as a republican nation-state. By this token, Finland had the right of full control of its territory, politics, economy and bureaucracy, and its people. The Finnish public service consists of ministries, which were formed from the administrative department of the Senate in 1918, central agencies, universities, regional and local agencies and municipalities (Salovaara 2008:49). During the early years of Independence, the ministries acquired Independent decision-making powers and new responsibilities for managing their respective administrative sectors. This trend of ministerial model of administration has continued ever since then (Selovuori 1999:73).

Another important property of the early ministries is that they were not compartmentalized into departments and bureau. Again, there was no fixed hierarchy of superiors and subordinates. The council of state for a long time retained a system of spheres of assignment in which specific categories of business were allocated to be handled by designated officials. As the range of government responsibilities increase with the passing years, each new category of business required a separate assessment of

which officials need to devote more time to it. This could be the *raison d'état* of the division of ministries into departments and bureau that began in 1920 (Selovuori 1999:73).

The first of such division occurred in the ministry of foreign affairs which as a new Ministry then was so not bound by tradition as the other ministries. Its divisions were then called sections. The ministry of war (later the ministry of defense) which was established at about the same time also introduced a system of departments and bureau. Departmental divisions were also introduced in the ministry of social affairs in 1922 and the ministry of justice in 1923. The ministry of interior was divided into two departments in 1926, while a division into departments occurred in ministry of Agriculture in 1930 and ministry of finance in 1931. A similar reform was instituted in the ministry of education later, in 1966. Until this time, its staff size was relatively small (Selovuori 1999:73).

It is important to note that the period 1960 – 1975 is the most rapid period of division of ministries into departments and bureau and this may not have been unconnected with the assumption of more responsibilities by the State, in the area of social welfare. It is believed that reorganization of ministries has primarily resulted from changes of emphasis which were taken place in social policy. Naturally, the main reason for the establishment of smaller units is the need for greater efficiency and organizational differentiation into more easily managed and specialized areas of responsibility (Selovuori 1999:73).

Each ministry has between three and six departments, though in some cases the number of separate units has risen to eight. The primary sphere of responsibility of a ministry determines what departments and bureau it can create. Thus, the reorganization of the ministry of education in 1966 saw the establishment of a schools department and a University and science department in addition to the existing administrative department. In 1974, an art department later renamed cultural department, and a sports and youth department, later physical education and youth department were created from same ministry of education.

Every ministry has its own administrative department, whose role is to manage financial planning, preparation of the ministry's budget and personnel affairs. The administrative department also attends to matters which do not directly fall within the purview of any of the other specialized departments (Selovuori 1999:74).

Through a careful examination of the Finnish ministries it is observed that the division of the ministries into departments and bureau has made it possible for distinct ministerial or departmental cultures to emerge not just at the level of the ministry as a whole, but even in individual departments within a single ministry. Considerable differences in approach have been developed. Departmental boundaries hamper to some extent, flexible cooperation between different parts of the civil service, and there has been little movement of staff between offices in the different ministries (Selovuori 1999:75).

However, top Finnish bureaucrats have sought to solve this problem by firstly, reclassifying departmental posts as ministerial appointments, allowing the ministries themselves to decide on internal transfer of civil servants from one department to another within the same ministry. Attempts have also been made in recent years to achieve the same end by combining and regrouping the different divisions within the ministries. In the ministry of education in the 1990s, the schools department and the University and science department were combined to form a new department of Education and Science Policy. Also, the cultural department and the physical education and youth department were also brought together to constitute a new department of cultural policy (Selovuori 1999:75).

5.3. The Growth in Staff Number

The Finnish civil service has continued to increase in its number of staff. The imperial Finnish senate had been served by a tiny body of civil servants. It had a staff of 30 officials in 1810 when it began work as the governing council. The number of staff increased to 51 by 1850, and to 74 by 1911 (Selovuori 1999:75). By 1959, the number

of civil servants in the council of state was estimated at approximately 1,700. In 1971, the number was put at 2,140 by the State Employment Office. In 1983, the figure was 4,107 and increased to 5,276 in 1994 (Selovuori 1999:76).

Similarly, Finland's ministry of education presented another example of the growth in the number of personnel. In 1961, the Ministry employed 22 civil servants. As a result of reorganization in 1966 staff number rose to 123 by 1971, reaching a total of 247 by 1983. Towards the close of the 1990s staff strength of most of the ministries varied between 150 and 350 officials, though the figure for the ministry of foreign affairs was considerably higher, about 2,300, including diplomatic staff at embassies and missions around the world (Selovuori 1999:76). In totality, by 2008 the number of public servants in the Finnish public service was put at 123,000. This comprises 5000 civil servants working in the ministries, 24,000 in the offices and institutions of the central government, 55,000 in the State's regional and local governments and 31000 in Universities and other Institutions of higher learning (Salovaara 2008:48). Table 1 represents the number of civil servants in various Finnish ministries between 1925 and 1944. It illustrates the rate of increase in the number of civil servants in Finnish ministries.

Table 1. Number of civil servants in various Finnish Ministries 1925–1994

Source: (Selovuori 1999:76).

	1925	1939	1946	1956	1966	1977	1988	1991	1994
PM's Office	4	18	19	24	25	150	163	124	134
Foreign Affairs	73	70	88	159	162	574	1393	1847	1763
Justice	53	60	55	94	113	233	406	442	462
Interior	22	51	32	57	100	299	246	316	335
Defense	141	258	30	71	150	180	235	235	172
Finance	24	21	50	273	118	333	330	299	289
Education	15	16	16	18	22	213	281	292	289
Agriculture & Forestry	18	60	101	206	48	95	262	269	274
Transport & Comm.	8	23	25	171	169	94	130	146	157
Trade & Industry	41	48	36	96	126	230	266	287	318
Social Affairs & Health	80	103	110	185	308	208	300	255	357
Labor	–	–	–	–	–	225	277	304	386
Environment	–	–	–	–	–	–	254	259	300
Total	479	728	562	1354	1341	2834	4543	5075	5236

5.4. Structure

Structure is the composition of parts of an organic whole. When used in relation to government, it means the way a government is organized (Ogunna 1999:95). The structure and composition of the Finnish civil service historically owe much to the Swedish and Russian administrative systems due to the many centuries of cultural and socio-economic contact between Finland and the two nations. Following some reorganization, the civil service has applied some horizontal sub-divisions which cut

across the vertical division of central bureaucracy into departments and sub-departments or bureau. This gives rise to the difficulties of nomenclature, and any prospect of achieving a straightforward organization chart on a single sheet of paper for the Finnish civil service, onto which all groups and grades of personnel could be fitted, remains a dream (Drewry & Butcher 1993:63).

Finland's public administration consists of: state administration, local government, independent judiciary, other self-government and indirect state administration. "State administration covers central, regional and state administration. Indirect state administration complements the official duties of the nation's public administration. Local government is made up of municipal self-government, regional municipal administration, and cooperation between municipalities at the regional level of government (Drewry & Butcher 1993:63). Indirect state administration includes organizations which are not authorities, but which carry out public tasks or exercise public powers. Indirect state administration functions under the supervision of the government and ministries. The judicial powers are exercised by independent courts of law.

Independent State administration can be categorized accordingly, as: "independent institutions under public law which have their budget e.g. the central pension security institutes, associations under public law, to which legislation gives authority to carry out public tasks, such as forestry associations and fishery societies, limited companies, associations and foundations, etc, executing public duties e.g. the lottery organization (Veikkaus) and companies carrying out motor vehicle inspection" (Drewry & Butcher 1993:63).

The importance of indirect state administration increased in the 1990s, as the functions of the state were corporatized and privatized. Indirect administration has played a significant role as the production of public services has been dispersed and reformed to meet the requirements of customers in an improved capacity (Drewry & Butcher 1993:63).

Finland runs a parliamentary system of government and a multi party democracy. This means that the government must enjoy the confidence of the parliament or that the parliament is supreme. The highest organs of government are the parliament, the President of the republic and the government. Legislative powers rest with the Parliament which shall also decide on state Finance (Husa 2002:115); though the President and the government may carry out tasks involving the use of legislative powers. The executive powers are shared between the president and the government, though, by the constitutional reform of 2000, the role of the government has become stronger in both national administration and in European Union matters. Article 3 of the new basic law makes clear the doctrine of separation of powers as can be applied at least in principle (Husa 2002).

The government exercises executive powers and conducts Finland's foreign policy in collaboration with the President of the republic. It also drafts legislative bills and prepares state budget. The government consists of the Prime minister and cabinet ministers who are heads of the various ministries. A single ministry may have one or more ministers and in any such event, the mandate of that ministry is divided between the ministers (Husa 2002). Local administration is taken care of by the municipalities which provide services in the area of education and health care delivery.

The Finnish civil service is classified as a Nordic civil service in the sense that, like the civil services of other Nordic nations, Norway and Sweden, it is characterized by relatively high integration, homogeneity and equity. This might be the result of cultural and structural processes working together (Christensen & Peters 1999; cf. Bekke & Van der Meer 2000:95). Nordic countries borrowed much of their administrative traditions from the British system of administration and in some cases, from continental Europe. After the world wars the Scandinavians created own pattern of administration which was intended to expedite development of the welfare states (Salovaara 2008:50).

Major influences on the Nordic administrative tradition of which Finland also benefitted from, include but not limited to the reformation and ethics of Protestantism that was spearheaded by Martin Luther, the industrial revolution that started in Britain in 1750,

the French revolution, the American war of independence, and the development of the German administration during Emperor Bismarck's era, and much recently, the formation of the European Union. One notable feature of the reformation is pragmatism and which helps in the development of the entire Western Europe. The danger of pragmatism according to Salovaara (2008) is that it "short-sighted" the Nordic countries, thereby making them incapable of seeing the whole picture.

The conduct of all public servants in Finland is subject to the law of the land. Civil servants must abide by the ordinary civil and criminal laws that apply to all citizens. The Basic law "specifies that civil service is an employment subject to public law in which the state is the employer and the civil servant is the employee" (salovaara 2008: 51). The lawful age for nomination into the service is 18 years of age. The law also specifies those positions which can be applied for by only Finnish citizens. There is also emphasis on impartiality and impairment or disability.

Major public sector reforms were carried out in Finland between 1987 and 1997, introducing substantial changes in financial management, personnel management and the structure of the state. The most significant parts of the reform programs were:

1. The adaptation of the result-oriented budgeting and performance management system;
2. The devolution of the decision-making authority on personnel management to the agency level;
3. The reform of the state grants to municipalities;
4. The corporatization of a large number of state bodies converting them into state enterprises;
5. Structural reforms such as mergers and the restructuring of state agencies and reorganization of the provincial level of government (Uusikylä & Virtanen, 1999:3).

Since 1995, performance management has been applied to the whole central government. The idea behind the reform was to emphasize outputs and results instead of inputs and rules and to improve target-setting and follow-up. In this process, performance contracts have played an important role. The contractual model has

replaced the old hierarchical, compliance-based guidance and control system. Result negotiations and performance contracts represent decentralized and flexible ways of making government agencies more cost-conscious, responsible and accountable. Performance management has also been considered as one of the main instruments for enhancing strategic thinking and prioritization among the ministries. Despite its official objectives, contract management does not always produce expected results, and some cases might even have unexpected consequences or negative externalities (Uusikylä & Virtanen 1999:3).

The official goal of the ministry of finance is that every central government agency is in the sphere of a new pay system from 2002. In the new system the wages and salaries are graded on the basis of job requirement. It is also dependent on worker's performance and professional skill which can thus be influenced by the individual civil servants (OECD).

5.5. Functions

5.5.1. Policy-making

One of the main functions of the Finnish civil service is the making of public policy for the government. Many of the policies and decisions made in the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta) emanate from the bureaucracy and passed on to the ministers who articulate and present it to the parliament in the form of executive bills for deliberation. There is little doubt that the bureaucracy takes part in public decision making process, and that it is difficult to make a clear-cut dichotomy between administration and policy-making, especially at the senior civil service levels (Kingdom 1990:114).

The Finnish civil service has the responsibility of managing government information and keeping custody of official documents. It is often involved in high-power negotiations to provide technical and professional guidance in public policy making. "As Finland became more closely involved in European Economic Cooperation in the

1980s, international affairs became increasingly intertwined with domestic policy. In this situation, it became a normal part of the official responsibilities of civil servants in the Council of State to handle international contacts in addition to the preparation of domestic matters” (Selovuori 1999:76).

In the Finnish model, the ministers are regarded as the initiators of policy and are responsible for all that goes on in their ministries. The civil service is very much relied upon, and the influence of senior civil servants has grown in recent years as a result of several factors, amongst which are the increasing complexity of the legislative process, the relative stability of the job of civil servants vis-à-vis ministers, the increasing workload of ministers and the persuasion of senior civil servants by successive governments to become more involved in development of policies, especially with respect to increased national economic growth.

We can see from the foregoing analysis that the work of the civil service is so versed that it covers large areas which might be said to be political as well as administrative, and that by the very nature of the tasks they carry out, civil servants are inevitably involved in policy making in governance.

5.5.2. General Administration

As in other republics, the basic function of the Finnish civil service is general administration - carrying out the day-to-day duty of running the government, maintenance of public law and order, and the provision of welfare services such as health care services, education and social services. The government administers the social security safety-net through the Social Insurance Institution of Finland (KELA). Employment offices provide job seekers and employers with wide range of services. There are over 200 employment office outlets in Finland. The civil service through the various government ministries and agencies direct and supervise the collection of government taxes and revenue.

Ministries manage public institutions as schools, hospitals and old peoples' homes. Also, social services as licensing of motor vehicles, fishing and hunting activities, maintenance of roads and public utilities mainly through outsourcing are carried out by civil servants in Finland.

5.5.3. Financial Control

Tax collection is another vital function of the civil service. The level of taxation in Finland is high in comparison with many other European countries, although, tax revenue is used to pay for social services, including health care, education and security as well as care for children and the elderly.

Within the structure of the Finnish civil service, the ministry of finance has tended to develop into an elitist corps and has exerted considerable influence over the activities of the whole bureaucracy. This it does by entering into negotiations with each of the ministries over their budgets and thereby controlling the nature and direction of income and expenditure of the government. However, financial management in the Finnish bureaucracy has to a very large extent been transparent and free from pilfering, looting and misappropriations (Kingdom 1990:110).

5.6. Challenges facing the Finnish Bureaucracy

It is reasonable to say that the Finnish public administration has successfully implemented the new public management by adopting some market principles. Finland has taken a step in privatizing most of its hitherto publicly owned companies and commercializing its agencies to make them efficient and profitable and this development has transformed the nation from an agrarian and rural society to an urban, industrial and national society. That notwithstanding, there are still some challenges facing the administrative system.

The most important challenge to Finland's new public management reform model arising in the world of practice is the notion that public organizations should be more customer-driven and more service oriented. A recurring aspiration of the public managers is to solve operational problems by transforming their organizations into responsive, user-friendly, dynamic and competitive providers of valuable services to customers (Shafritz & Hyde 2007:530).

The next challenge is the question of continued maintenance of social and economic equality of both the capitalist minded business class and farm laborers who lack political and economic resources. Furthermore, like the Finnish society, the Finnish civil service is an aging civil service. It has a high population of personnel who are nearing the retirement age of 60 years. The implication of this is that the government, in the near future may run short of experienced technical and professional men and women to run the affairs of government. The possible result could be the hiring of expatriates to fill in the impending vacant positions.

5.7. The Nigerian Civil Service

The Nigerian civil service is a large-scale organization of permanently paid officials who are recruited in a civil capacity by the civil service commission. This body is charged with the responsibility of exercising the executive authority of government and whose activities are guided by certain rules of procedure and operating in a systematically inter-related pattern to achieve the complex objective of the government. "The strategic position of the civil service in the configuration of state powers has made it inevitable for its occasional conflicts and regular competition with other centers of power within the state" (Ogunna 1999:57).

5.7.1. The Colonial Civil Service

British colonial administration in Nigeria could be said to have begun in 1900, following a charter signed between a British trading company, the Royal Niger Company and the British government for the establishment of the southern coast protectorate and the northern protectorate, and later in 1906, the colony of Lagos. In January 1914, the southern and northern protectorates and the colony of Lagos were amalgamated under the governorship of Lord Fredrick Lugard, the first governor of Nigeria to form the colony and protectorate of Nigeria (Ogunna 1999:41). Lord Lugard did not favor a uniform administrative pattern for both the north and south at that time probably because of the cultural differences that existed among the ethnic nationalities that make up Nigeria. The governor rather appointed two lieutenant governors, one for the north and the other for the south and charged them to adopt and integrate the traditional models already existing in the regions.

In the eastern part of Nigeria for instance, indirect rule system of administration was adopted in which the colonial government appointed warrant chiefs to implement colonial policies, while in the north; the existing traditional emirate councils were used. The Lagos Colony was headed by an administrator. The colony of Nigeria was divided into provinces, namely: Ilorin, Owerri, Plateau, Kano, Calabar Niger, Warri, Benue, Kebbi and Borno. Each province was further sub-divided into divisions each of which was headed by a Divisional Officer (D.O). Divisional Officers were responsible for the administration of their various areas of jurisdiction (Ogunna 1999:41).

At the central level, the governor worked with the executive council which he presided over. The composition of the executive council as at 1922 included principal officers of the government- the chief secretary, lieutenant governors of the protectorates, the administrator of the Lagos colony, the Attorney-General of Nigeria, the commandant of the Nigerian regiment, the director of medical and sanitary services, the treasurer, director of the marine, the comptroller of customs, and the secretary for native affairs (Ogunna 1999:41).

The principal function of the executive council was to make policies, direct the execution of policies, and co-ordinate the work of various departments of government. The central departments (ministries) as they were called at the time, included the office of the Attorney-General, department of finance, headed by the treasurer, Office of the commandant, department of medical service, headed by a director, department of education, headed by a director, department of marine, headed by a director, department of customs and excise, headed by a comptroller, department of public works, headed by a director, department of agriculture, headed by a director, department of lands, headed by a commissioner, department of railways, headed by a general manager. The professionals that headed these departments combined the functions of administrative and political heads of department. In other words, there was a fusion of politics and administration at that time. As time went on, the departments grew both in number, size and function. By 1952, the departments were changed to ministries, each headed by a political head called minister while the professional remained the administrative head of the department and still wielded great powers (Ogunna 1999:41).

The colonial civil service was the pillar on which the entire colonial administration rested. Structurally, it was patterned into what may be called European/African services. This type of structure resulted in racial segregation and two sets of conditions of service in the colonial civil service. Racial segregation or civil service apartheid, after years of its operation, caused discontent and dissatisfaction among the Africans within the service. The dissatisfaction and frustration generated resulted in tensions conflicts and low productivity.

The civil service was unitary in form and operation. It was controlled and directed from Lagos until 1954 following the Oliver Lyttleton Constitution which established the Federal system of government in the country (Ogunna 1999:48). The civil service was not guided by the principles of merit in the appointment, promotion and discipline of staff. Racism and the superiority of whites was the major factor that guided appointment and promotion of civil servants. In criticizing this state of affairs, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe argued that “any system that discredits and placed premium on racial origin as a criterion for recruitment, was bound to be inefficient” (Awa 1964:163).

The structure of the civil service was the old “model T” administrative machinery rather than a pyramidal structure. There was acute shortage of trained personnel which would handle the expanding political, economic and social need of the country (Nicolson 1996).

5.7.2. Structure of the Civil Service

The need to appoint adequate number of qualified Nigerians in key government positions hitherto held by British officials led to the initiation of the policy of Nigerianization of the Nigerian public service. The policy commenced in 1948 when Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe protested against the domination of the civil service by whites (Awa 1964:163). In this process of planned ‘Nigerianization’ the first initiative was taken by appointing a commission in 1948, headed by Sir Hugh Foot, “to make recommendation as to the steps to be taken for the execution of the declared policy of the government, to appoint Nigerians to senior service posts as soon as suitable candidates come forward with reference to scholarship and training schemes” (Nicolson 1969:255).

However, the Nigerianization policy did not yield the desired result. Hence, between 1949 and 1952, only 121 Nigerians were appointed or promoted to senior service posts. To worsen the situation, the government in northern Nigeria implemented a different policy called ‘Northernization’ in the place Nigerianization, meaning that “where a qualified northerner was not found, a white man was left in his post in preference to a southerner” (Ogunna 1999:50). This trend further generated much controversy to the bureaucracy.

Following the granting of political Independence to Nigeria in 1960 and its gaining of a Republican status in 1963, the colonial civil service gradually gave way for a full Nigerian service in terms of the personnel, but technically, the civil service was still patterned after the British tradition. Since then, several reform programs had been introduced into the Nigerian bureaucracy aimed at making it a viable and efficient machinery of government and a powerful instrument for national development (Ogunna

1999:85). Major reforms include the Elwood grading team of 1946, Adebo commission of 1970–1971, Udoji commission of 1972–1974, Babangida civil service reform of 1988, the Abacha civil service reform of 1997 and the Steve Oronsaye reform of 1999.

The Nigerian civil service consists of the federal civil service, the thirty-six autonomous state civil services and the civil service of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja, the unified local government service, and several federal and state government agencies, including parastatals and corporations. The federal and state civil services are organized into ministries, departments and extra ministerial departments headed by ministers (federal) and commissioners (state), who are appointed by the president and governors, respectively. The ministers or commissioners (political heads) are responsible for policy matters. The administrative heads of the ministries are the permanent secretaries. The "chief" permanent secretary is the head of civil service commission who is appointed by the President on the advice of the federal civil service commission, or in the case of the state, by the governor. As the chief adviser to the government, the secretary to the government liaises between the government and the civil service (Ogunna 1999:65).

Until the 1988 reforms, the civil service was organized strictly according to British traditions: it was apolitical, civil servants were expected to serve every government in a nonpartisan way, and the norms of impersonality and hierarchical authority were well entrenched. As the needs of the society became more complex and the public sector expands, there arose a need also to reform the civil service. The Adebo commission (1970) and the Udoji commission (1972) reviewed the structure and orientations of the civil service to make it more efficient. Although these commissions recommended ways of rationalizing the civil service, the greatest problems of the service remained inefficiency and red tape. Again in 1985, a study group headed by Dotun Phillips looked into the problems. It was believed that the 1988 reforms, the most current measures aimed at dealing with the problems of the service as of 1990, were based on this report. The civil service is a career because an officer on confirmation after two years has assurance of a life-long employment which can be terminated only by mental

or physical incapacity or the commission of a criminal offence (Udoji Report 1974; Ogunna 1999:95).

5.7.3. Functions of the Nigerian Civil Service

The Nigerian civil service is indispensable machinery in the operation of the Nigerian government – civil and military. Its role is very crucial and decisive in the performance of government. The primary function of the civil service is the implementation of government policies and programs as approved by the national Assembly – the Senate and the House of representatives. Brief detail of these functions can be discussed under the headings below:

5.7.4. Initiation of Policies and Programs

It is the theory of democratic governance that elected representatives of the people should make laws and policies. These laws and policies are then left to the civil service for implementation. Because of the complex nature of the government, the civil service at all levels of the federation has a lot of input to make in law and policy making. Unfortunately, the Nigerian civil service has not been blessed with men and women who are professionally and technically grounded and experienced in the running of government. That is why implementation of policies has become the bane of Nigerian government. The civil service is the reservoir of government information which are recorded in files, and documents, until recently that a few computers have been introduced in a few offices (Nicolson 1969).

5.7.5. Advisers to the Political Masters

Another function of the Nigerian civil service is that the top civil servants act as advisers to the political class. It is the responsibility of the professionally and technically qualified government Permanent Secretaries and Directors-General to provide political leaders with regular advice on complex and technical issues of government. However, these advices most of the time emanate from selfish and biased

interest of the bureaucrats. Because of the notion that the blame for failure of these policies would not be directed at them due to the principles of political anonymity, Nigerian bureaucrats have not lived to the billing of providing objective and bias-free advices to the political class. Worse still, the political masters are not under any obligation to accept even the “good advice”. This has given rise to dislocations of policy formulations and implementations (Owunwa 1998).

Policies and programs are mere “intentions and proposals” of politicians (Ogunna 1999:69). The civil service owes the duty of putting them into practical realities. That is to say that policies and programs are mere paper work if not carried out by the civil service. It is the civil service that shapes and interprets approved policies and programs of government. The Nigerian civil service determine to a large extent, the pace and faith of the government. That the nation has not recorded a tremendous socio-economic development till date is to a high degree, blamable on the nation’s civil service.

5.7.6. Financial Management

Another function of the Nigerian civil service is the collection of all approved public revenue, preparation of budget, and auditing of public accounts. By the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, it is the responsibility of the national assembly to determine the amount of tax to be imposed on individuals, companies and corporations. When the tax is fixed, civil servants embark on its collection and safekeeping. The collection should be done in the way and manner the legislature requires, but corruption has always infiltrated the process. In Nigeria, it is common to hear about funds amounting to millions of dollars missing from public coughers. The most annoying thing is that there are no accurate records of revenues generated by the three tiers of government. The federal ministry of petroleum for instance, cannot give an accurate account of the quantity of crude oil mined per day by the oil companies nor can the ministry of finance accurately present the figure realized per annum from income tax.

In an interview with newsmen in Lagos, the speaker of the Federal House of Representative, Hon. Dimeji Bankole blamed the lingering problem of poor budget

implementation in Nigeria on the civil service. He accused federal ministries, departments and agencies of government, of sabotaging the collective efforts of the executive and legislature to ensure delivery of dividend of democracy.

“Less than eight weeks to the end of the 2009 fiscal year, about 500 billion Naira (US\$3.5billion) provided for in the 2009 Appropriation Act had been left idle in the vault of the Central Bank, while the projects for which the money was meant remained unexecuted” (Thisday 2009).

It will be improper to talk about financial management in Nigeria when what we have is “financial mismanagement.” As a remedy to this, government must insist on record keeping by both civil servants and politicians.

5.7.7. Policy Research and Information

A good government policy is a product of research. This means that civil servants are expected to embark on functional research to enable them formulate sound government policies. Through research, the alternative policy options would be identified, problems and prospect of each alternative strategy would be determined and strategies of the best options would be evolved. Regrettably, civil servants in Nigeria in most cases evolve policies without much research. What they normally do is look at relevant files and memos and then come out with policies which they recommend to their political masters. It is therefore suggested that the government should establish think-tanks and research bureau for formulation of government policies. Experts in public Administration and policy studies, especially those who have studied overseas and have understood the nitty-gritty of policy formulation and implementation should be employed in such policy research bureau.

5.8. Problems and Criticisms

The Nigerian civil service, otherwise, Nigerian public administration has been bedeviled by a lot of problems and has also attracted numerous criticisms which are responsible for its ineffectiveness and low productivity. These challenges include “poor organization, lack of planning and over-staffing, indiscipline, red-tape and secrecy, insensitivity, rigidity and over-centralization, conservatism and lack of imagination, apathy, incompetence and lousiness; corruption, favoritism, rudeness and high-handedness; laziness, lateness, truancy and malingering” (Dike 1985:39). These problems have resulted in poor image of the civil service.

In an attempt to remedy these weaknesses, various governments in Nigeria have at different occasions appointed panels of inquiry to examine the problems of the civil service with a view to transforming the service in to an instrument for national development. These panels include the Adebo commission on the review of the salary structure of civil service (1971), the public service review commission otherwise known as the Udoji Commission (1974), the Dotun Philips’ study group on the civil service (1995), the Babangida civil service reform of 1988, and Abaca civil service reform of (1997) and currently, the Steven Oronsaye’s reform (2009). However, despite recommendations by these commissions and government actions on them, these problems still persist in Nigeria public administration. The most critical factor responsible for the low performance of the civil service is the phenomenal growth in its size and the rapid expansion of the service’s responsibilities in socio-economic and political development which greatly outsized its managerial and technological capacity (Ogunna 1999:74).

Between 1970 and 1997 the rate of growth of the civil service managerial and technological capacity was by far below the rate of expansion in socio-economic development programs of the government in spite of the increase in the number of civil servants. By 2008 the number had been over blotted informing the decision by the federal government in 2008 to retrench 3000 workers from the federal civil service. For instance, at the federal level, in 1960, there were only twelve ministries with a total of

60,000 Civil Servants which rose to a staff strength of 187,00 in 1978 and then jumped to a total of 302,000 civil servants in 1984, and in 1997, the federal ministries rose to 45 with a total of 520,000 civil servants. By 2009, there were 26 federal ministries with an unspecified number of civil servants due to the ghost-worker syndrome. It has been confirmed that the number of workers on the pay roll of government is at variance with the number that report to their duty posts (Ogunna 1999:76).

Another problem of the Nigerian civil service is the problem of corruption and wide spread indiscipline among staffs. Most civil servants in Nigeria have been found using their positions to amass wealth. It is a common practice in Nigeria especially during the era of military dictatorship that most contracts are awarded to contractors with the understanding that the awarding officials get a percentage of the cost of the contract. In some cases, public officials award contracts to themselves at inflated prices using their friends and relatives as covers. At times, contracts are awarded to non-existing names and fictitious companies and are paid for with tax payers' funds without such contracts being executed. Most civil servants are not interested in giving their best skills and talents but rather, are more concerned with the amount of wealth they can amass from government. The Nigerian police have been rated as one of the most corrupt police in Africa. The police collects bribe openly and has had many of its officers and men implicated in several kinds of corrupt practices, ranging from illegal hiring of fire arms and ammunition to men of the underworld to extra-judicial killings of innocent citizens and forceful extortion of money from road users.

Nigerian civil servants also manifest negative attitude to work in the form of truancy, lateness to work, malingering and loitering, negligence of duty and insubordination. Also, very rife among the service are embezzlement of public funds, misappropriation, diversion of funds and public property, cheating, fraud and misuse of public materials. Many civil servants utilize public materials and equipment in the conduct of their private businesses. Such indiscipline and adaptive behaviors are counter-productive to the civil service and to national development as a whole (Ogunna 1999:79).

One major area of concern is the current inability of the federal civil service to renew itself as a result of chronic lack of vacancies, particularly at the top directorate level. Additionally, subordinate officers are retiring ahead of their superior officers, creating a grave succession crisis in the service.

Worthy of note also is the problem of ineffective coordination. A survey conducted by Ogunna with a sample of civil servants in Imo and Anambra states shows that 66.4 percent of a sample of 330 civil servants indicates that there was lack of coordination in the state administration and enumerated the various factors that are responsible for this lack of coordination. Some ministries and departments lacked proper organization. There were conflicts and infighting among officials, and rivalries among ministries resulting from “empire building” among top officials. Heads of ministries and departments were struggling for power and there was no cordial relationship among them as well as between bosses and their subordinates. Poor communication network existed in the state civil service. Top officials of ministries were acting as if they were in the world of their own. There were also manifest apathy, frustration, lack of commitment and unprecedented height of corruption. Even still, we cannot be sure the situation is changing for any better (Ogunna 1997).

Nevertheless, the Nigerian public administration may have recorded one or more achievements at least, in the area of provision of administrative machinery for the continuity of government. The civil service is one Institution that patiently bore the brunt of protracted military dictatorship in Nigeria by being made to suffer unprecedented difficulties due to non-payment of many months arrears of salaries and other benefits, (a condition Nigerians call “suffering and smiling”) on the hands of successive military tyrants.

Furthermore, we cannot lose sight of the efforts of the Nigerian civil service in carrying out some meaningful developmental projects. A good example is the role played by the service in the construction of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and the movement of the Administrative capital and the seat of power, from Lagos to Abuja in 1989.

6. TRANSFORMING BUREAUCRACY FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

6.1. Reducing Red Tape

In this chapter it is pertinent to attempt to find answers to the questions posed by the research in the first chapter. On how bureaucracy could be strengthened and made responsible to support sustainable development, a number of possible ways have been observed in this study. We have earlier in chapter 2 discussed management reforms. This is believed to be a sine qua non for making socio-political and economic gains in modern nation-states. Joel Fleishman might have been correct when he argued that in an imperfect world with imperfect men and women, government ethics would be found in a selfless public service (Fleishman 1981:82-83). The prospects for ethical public management are greatest when there are selfless public officials. Prospect for ethical government is also greater when there is rule, regulation and a system of oversight that limits officials and carefully manages points of transaction (Frederickson & Ghere 2005:167).

The effort at transforming the bureaucracy has included a sharp reduction of government regulations – red tape. Finland is a clear example. In many ways, this is good for public administration. It conveys the much appreciated trust to bureaucrats, an indication that they should have the discretion to use their expertise, professionalism, and common sense to be good managers and to be ethical. In the words of the popular book *“The death of Common Sense,”* “Decision making must be transferred from words on a page to people on the spot” (Haward 1994:186). Some people have however, argued that red tape is there for the reason of providing due process and fairness. Simply put the logic of due process and fairness “obliges officials to give people affected by government action a fair chance to get their views on official decisions so that their interests are not overlooked or arbitrarily overridden by those in power” (Kaufman 1977:43). But due process is time consuming, clustered with paperwork and often expensive. So what is optimal and which has been recommended is to try and strike a balance between reducing procedural due process regulations and the quality of governmental fairness.

6.2. Increased Privatization and Contracting-out

In the course of this research, it has been discovered that privatization and contracting-out or outsourcing has been used as a formulae by Finland and some other developed nations to increase the efficiency of their bureaucracies. In the United States also, privatization is almost always achieved by contracting-out, traditionally for capital projects such as buildings and roads or for goods such as defense machinery and weaponry. With the New Public Management Reform there is an assurance of quality and a guarantee against kickbacks, skimming and fraud. This has been made possible by a tightly drawn contracts and careful, close oversight by experienced government contract managers (Kettl 1993). This is the *smart buyer* idea. When the government is not a smart buyer, it will either get a shoddy product or it will be open to corruption (Frederickson & Ghere 2005:170).

6.3 Downsizing

We turn now to the most politically popular characteristic of the new public management project – downsizing. In this paper, I prefer the word “rightsizing”. Like deregulation and privatization, rightsizing the bureaucracy is almost universally understood to be desirable. For instance, in the U.S. federal government reinvention program, the directly employed civilian civil service has been reduced from more than 3 million to 2.7 million, or more than 10 percent in less than six years (Frederickson & Ghere 2005:173).

Finland has maintained a relatively small number of civil servants. This is in response to the demand to move in the direction of smaller government. I should add also that the advancement in telecommunication and information technology has helped in shaping the Finnish bureaucracy to its optimum size. Nigeria is operating a system that is making it difficult to determine the size of its bureaucracy. However, the 3000 jobs cut in 2008 might have been intended to improve the efficiency of the federal civil service and thereby reducing cost. Some have suggested cutting government programs. But the

question of which programs to cut makes it even more difficult. By comparison, downsizing the bureaucracy appears to be much easier, and the result could be clearer. More so, cuts can be made across the bureaucracy, leaving programs in place but with smaller staff (Frederickson & Ghere 2005:173). So the ideal thing is to have smaller government and at the same time, retain all the programs that the people cherish.

6.4. Training of Employees for Competent Management

There is clear evidence that training of civil servants is an effective way of enhancing bureaucratic responsibility and by extension, engendering sustainable development. Above 80 percent of civil servants in Finland have higher education certificates and or University degrees. Those who have less qualification received special training from vocational schools. This is the main reason for the high performance of the civil service. The surest way to turn around the bureaucracy of Nigeria is to emphasize the development of the Nigerian educational system. Few University degree programs include coursework on ethics of administration, not even Master's degree programs in public administration or public policy, the degrees most closely associated with government administration. Periodic training and retraining of bureaucrats especially to acquire new skills of Information Technology cannot be overemphasized.

6.5. Government and Markets

It has been suggested also that government agencies would achieve the highest level of efficiency if they are run in businesslike manner with efficiency as their objective. I also share the belief in the supremacy of markets and competition over bureaucratic hierarchies as a way to manage efficiently. Naturally, businesses are better managed than government because business must compete in the marketplace whereas government is like a straight jacket thing. This also is the view of the public-choice theory in public policy and administration. What I am saying in essence is that many government functions, such as schools and hospitals would be more effective if they

were in fact actual businesses (Frederickson & Ghere 2005:177). That is however not to suggest that every government service must have a “price tag”. Efficiency could be achieved without the motive of profit maximization that often stretches to exploitation of customers. As we can see in Finland for example, though there is a high level of ‘marketization’ of government, it has not resulted in exploitation of customers. People still get qualitative education, health care at little or no cost. In that connection, I must add that a responsible government is a precondition for a responsible bureaucracy.

6.6. Comparison of Finland and Nigeria’s Civil Services

6.6.1 Similarities

The relationship between the public administration of Finland and Nigeria can be discussed from both structural and cultural stand points. Similarities certainly exist between the two systems, though they may not easily be identified except by a thorough and critical examination of the structures and functions of the two cases.

A careful analysis of the two systems shows that both civil services have elements of the classical ‘Weberian’ model, though Finland has a far more professional and responsible civil service: ‘Weberian’ in the sense that civil servants are supposed to closely attend to laws and rules of a universal character, the central administrative apparatus is dominated by a hierarchical structure and civil servants are recruited on the basis of higher professional education and knowledge, though the degree of insistence on this criteria varies between nations. While Finland is moving towards the horizontal authority structure, Nigeria is retaining the strict pyramidal structure of authority.

The political loyalty which civil servants show to each and every new political leadership coming into office is relatively strong and converging to both bureaucracies. This shows and that political signal and decisions are important. Both civil services operate as career organizations and civil servants remain in their jobs even when there are changes in government.

Another similarity might be on the notion of reform. Both bureaucracies have undergone various kinds of changes which at times, are encompassing and constitutionally induced. At some other times, these changes are internally generated but must be done within the framework of the laws of that very state since the civil services are subject to the laws of their respective states. Administrative reformers everywhere do have a common purpose – to make government perform better. However, the methods adopted by these two nations to implement management reforms might vary to any length. Again not all reform programs achieve the aims for which they are implemented. Some reforms are positive, many have produced negative outcomes while others can produce outcomes which are serendipitous – outcomes which though may not be bad, but are not intended (Mintzberg, Ahlstrand & Lampel 2009).

We may find further similarities in the two cases in the problems confronting the civil service. Although, the problem of inadequate funding is relative and not absolute in view of the fact that both civil services arguable might not require the same amount of funds to actualize development, inadequate funding generally affect the two cases. The difference should probably be on how the two civil services separately perceive and manage a problem. I drew the idea of comparing the seemingly un-identical and incomparable systems from my fervent belief that there is always something which one of the cases, the Nigerian public administration could learn from the other.

More so, one could say that the two institutions under study are not isolated or exempted from the culture of “material insatiability” which is a common denominator of human organizations. Public servants of both nations make demands for more pay and better conditions of service through their respective Workers Unions. Both use dialogue and could apply Industrial action or strike where dialogue fails as a way of pressing the government for improved conditions of service.

Both civil services perform their functions through government ministries and Agencies which are politically headed by ministers. However, administrative heads of ministries and in both systems are permanent secretaries. Each ministry is subdivided into

departments and units headed by Directors and their deputies respectively. Permanent Secretaries are appointed in both cases and have a fixed term of office.

The public administration of both Finland and Nigeria are separately influenced by external forces of colonialism, although the nations which colonized these countries are different. The experiences and general impact of colonialism on the local people and their governments is still perceived in both administrative systems. Colonialism is the administrative policy of subjugation and exploitation of a backward people by a larger power. The two nations under study have copied some aspects of their colonial administrative cultures. That means none of them would boast of a purely indigenous administrative system.

Civil servants in both countries are absorbed from partisan politics. They are not legally allowed to contest elections or join political parties except upon due resignation from the public service. The retirement age for civil servants in both countries is 60 years of age and or 35 years of service.

6.6.2. Differences

This research has observed a good deal of differences between the civil services of Finland and Nigeria. Culturally, Finland and Nigeria are diversely separated. Nigeria is a multicultural nation having over 150 native languages which are mutually unintelligible. There are also very many dialects in these languages. The national language, English language is spoken by less than 25 percent of the population. The adoption of a foreign language as the national language makes service delivery very slow as not many citizens can understand the language. The average civil servant is in dilemma as to which language is appropriate for communication at work. If he/she communicates in English, the people he is supposed to serve might not understand him. Where he/she uses a native language, he is looked upon as an illiterate, and could be violating the codes of conduct of the public service. It is not even certain that a majority of the civil servants in Nigeria can speak and write the English language fluently due to high rate of illiteracy in the service. More so, the heterogeneity of the Nigerian nation is

a telling comment on the government and its bureaucracy. The civil service is populated by all manners of people with different cultural backgrounds and 'primitive mental software' which often run at cross-purpose with conventional bureaucratic cultures.

Finland is best described as a homogenous nation. Unlike Nigeria, Finland has two national languages – Finnish and Swedish, the former being an indigenous language and which is spoken by 93 percent of the population, while the later is the language of Finland's former colonial power, Sweden, and which is spoken by just 7 percent of the population. The values of nationalizing an indigenous language of a nation cannot be quantified. Finland has developed its language to the extent that the computer understands the language spoken by less than 5 million people. Not only that, classical test books on science, law, mathematics and all disciplines have been written in Finnish, and the language is used to teach every course at all levels of education in Finland. Policy implementation and service delivery are much easier where there is effective communication through a standard and properly developed language.

Finland is a literate society where almost 100 percent of the population has received formal education. In such a society, the bureaucratic process is usually easier and smoother. An average citizen has been educated to understand for instance, the reason why he/she should obey traffic, why he/she should be in queue to buy a postage stamp, and why he/she must pay tax. Every citizen knows their rights as well as obligations to the state.

Another distinguishing element may be found in the attitudes of a larger number of these bureaucrats to their jobs. While it is safe to say, there is high moral standard and commitment to duty on the part of the Finnish civil servants, Nigerian civil servants on the other hand have a poor moral standard and a nonchalant attitude to work. The attitude of "not my father's job" is still very common among Nigerian workers. Workers consider their interests as superseding those of their organizations. The framework of reward and punish exist only in principle. It is not strange to find a worker slumbering in a public office in Nigeria while the Boss pretends not to have noticed that.

Official corruption has been discussed in chapter two and four above. Corruption is a negative characteristic that has been found rooted so deep into the Nigerian civil service. This could be the social consequence of poor condition of service or the over bloated greed of most civil servants or both. At the same time, we are not trying to imply that official corruption is completely non-existent in the Finnish system. What is important is that the system has provided an institutionalized mechanism for dealing with the scam, a condition that is very lacking in the Nigerian contest. The Finnish society has been educated and oriented to understand the danger of corruption. Corruption is no more treated as an everyday problem in Finland.

Furthermore, there is a marked difference between the kinds of family system prevalent in the two nations under study. The type(s) of family system practiced by a nation must have some implications on the public administration of that nation. Hofstede (1991) classifies societies into “Individualist and Collectivist”. A collectivist society is a society in which the interest of the group prevails over the interest of the individual while an Individualist society is one in which the interest of the individual prevails over the interest of the group. Finland and Nigeria are on opposite sides of the divide going by the classification of Hofstede. Nigeria is no doubt a collectivist society and Finland an Individualist society. Collectivist societies have extended family system.

In Nigeria the family consists of a number of people living closely together; not only the parents and children but sometimes, grandparents, uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters or other housemates. The family has been a major source of influence on public managers in Nigeria. Most civil servants violate the codes of ethics of their profession in order to satisfy the whims and caprices of their family members. An average public manager in Nigeria will readily break for instance, the rule of merit in employment of civil servants for the sole reason that his nephew who applied for the job did not get a pass mark to qualify him for the job. This is not so in Finland which has a nuclear family society. Public servants in Finland are not influenced by family ties, though there are exceptional cases in which some civil servant have been tempted to give undue preference to people they know very well (Hofstede 1991).

The size of the politico-administrative systems of Finland and Nigeria vary to a great extent. While Finland is rated as a small country in terms of population, Nigeria is a big nation; big in population, land mass and mineral resources. With a population of 140 million people, Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa. More people means more mouths to feed, more pressure on social infrastructure, more troubles to security agencies and apparatuses, higher tendencies for corrupt and criminal activities, more public expenditure on social security scheme, and more environmental degradation. These problems have more or less dislocated the structure of the Nigerian bureaucracy. Finland has a very manageable population. Finnish public managers are not losing sleep over how to tackle “rising” infant mortality rate, nor does the government regularly increase police allocation in order to fight surging crime rate.

The Finnish civil service in a nutshell has a determined and predictable structure. Each ministry, or department or agency can be clearly distinguished from the others both by their staff structure and the roles they perform. The same does not hold true for Nigeria. There is too much overlap of administrative functions. The structures and functions of the ministries and agencies of government are not clearly defined.

The public administration of Nigeria is still based on formalistic and strict hierarchical system, whereas that of Finland is a transformed system moving towards the new public management model, adopting a flexible hierarchical or what is known as the horizontal authority structure. The Nigerian civil service is structured to further the interest of the more powerful and dominant members of the Nigerian society. The bureaucracy is Marxist in nature. That of Finland is welfare in nature.

The method of employment, training, promotion, reward and punishment of public managers in Finland is strictly guided by law which cannot be manipulated by the whims and caprices of any single individuals. The law in Finland must take its course. In Nigeria the rule of law only applies in principle; some powerful individuals are “above” the law. It is commonplace to see senior civil servants flout the laws and not get punished. Nigeria maintains the record of producing the longest serving civil servants. For example, one Omezi Clinton Oluwama, in the Office of the Head of

Service, served as deputy director for 21 years. He has been cited as the longest serving deputy director in the world (The Guardian 2009).

Finland uses modern administrative tools as computer and the internet, spacious and neat office environment and highly skilled managerial technocrats. Nigerian public administration is still depending on filed documents that can be misplaced, stolen or destroyed to fetter corrupt practices. Nigeria uses out-dated office tools as type-writers. Public institutions as ministries, law courts, schools and hospitals in Nigeria are still run without computers and internet.

Finland operates a parliamentary democracy and a multi party coalition government, meaning that the head of state is different from the head of government. The government is controlled by the prime minister who must get the support of the parliament. The constitution of Finland has considerably weakened the powers of the president in recent times. There is fusion of powers between the parliament and the executive. Nigeria on the other hand operates a multi-party presidential system of government wherein the president is the head of state and also the head of government. The constitution created a powerful president due to the veto power which the president enjoys. The (1999) federal constitution clearly separates the Nigerian legislature from the executive though this separation has not fully been harnessed by the polity.

6.7. Lessons for Nigeria

There are many lessons Nigeria can learn from the Finnish example of public management if the country must transform its bureaucracy by repositioning the civil service. To start with, it is recommended that Nigeria should first of all remove all the bureaucratic stumbling blocks that have hindered our civil service from advancing the cause of socio-economic and political development before embracing the market model of management. As a way of removing these bureaucratic hindrances, the government should institute a genuine and honest fight against corruption. There is an urgent need to fight corruption from the top to the bottom of the social strata of the Nigerian nation.

Nigeria needs stringent anticorruption laws and the political will to implement such laws. To eradicate corruption in Nigeria, government should open up more prisons. I am suggesting that a minimum of 3 million Nigerians need to serve various prison terms because a lot of corrupt practices are going on in our government and society. New York, a state in U.S.A with a population of about 22 million people houses more than one million prison inmates. Vaasa in Finland with 60 thousand people has a prison whereas Lagos, the largest city in Nigeria with a population of about 15 million people has only two prisons, kirikiri and Ikoyi prisons, containing less than 2000 inmates. There is need for the Nigerian government to strengthen the legal system and build more prisons in the country. This will help the nation flush out the bad eggs in government and society and put them where they belong, so that our nation could move forward, and in the right direction.

This shows that the Nigerian laws have created room for corruption and criminality to thrive in that country. The civil service needs a fundamental change. The civil service needs to be disaggregated so that the traditional model of career, integrated personnel system would be eliminated. The reword system of the service, with all individuals in the same rank receiving equal pay would give way for a more personalized regimen of payment according to one's performance. Then, the closed personnel system would be opened up and encourage movement between the private and public sector (Peters 1991:191).

Nigeria must learn from Finland how to create public confidence in social Institutions, good administration and self-control of civil servants. "For several years, the Transparency International ranked Finland as the least corrupt country in the world. This high rating in international surveys indicates certain peculiarities in the Finnish society and culture - honesty, hard work and selflessness (Salminen, Viinamaki & Ikola-Norrbacka 1997:12).

There is an urgent need for the Nigerian government to commence on the training and retraining of its bureaucracy and emphasize on merit in the appointment of civil servants. This would help in producing administrative technocrats and managers who

could implement managerialism. More so, participatory management which does not place the whole powers on the upper echelon of organizations would be enhanced in Nigeria. Much closer attention would be paid to the lower cadre employees as well as to the clients of the organization (Peters 1991:51).

Government must ensure bureaucratic accountability – a fundamental dimension of the public interest in any democratic system. In this model, rather than accountability being defined as progressing upward through ministers to parliament and then to the people, it is defined in terms of the financial bottom line. In this line of argument, citizens are supposed to be customers as well as taxpayers (Day & Klein 1997).

Developed democracies as the Nordic and Western European countries have long realized the importance of social infrastructure to the growth and well being of their nations. They have provided these infrastructures which have eased management processes. There is need for Nigeria to learn and adapt to its local conditions the way and manner in which income redistribution has been institutionalized in Finland through a welfare system and maintained with tax revenue and directed to all citizens (Salminen et al 1997). This would go a long way towards reducing corruption among public servants and citizen and help change the value system of the Nigerian society.

On the part of Finland, it is recommended that the government looks outward and strengthens its bilateral relations with Nigeria so that it can help in providing tertiary education for more Nigerian while exploring profitable areas of investment such as the energy, oil and gas, forestry and agriculture in Nigeria. Furthermore, there is need for Finland to incorporate and integrate some of its International students who have studied in Finland and who have shown interest to remain and work in Finland and encourage them to do career jobs so as to contribute back to the system that has given them quality education.

7. CONCLUSION

One can state that the bureaucratic system of administration is no longer fashionable or has outlived its usefulness and therefore requires transformation in whichever society or nation that the traditional model is still being operated. One important value of a public organization is efficiency. Efficiency aims at reducing input in relation to output or increasing output in relation to input, and this is the main trust of the New Public Management reform that has been developed to merge some of the generic features of the market with certain features of the traditional bureaucracy.

A number of effects have been shown to have been the consequences of the inefficiency of the bureaucratic system of public administration and include official corruption, maladministration, and abuse of office, strict adherence to rules and regulations, hierarchy and red tapes, bureaucratic bottlenecks and other socio-economic problems as poverty, hunger, and disease. These problems are much more pronounced in countries that are fully operating the old traditional model of administration such as Nigeria.

The comparison of Finland and Nigerian Civil Services has provided an insight into how Finland has been able to actualize sustainable development by instituting a virile and responsible public service system, through a transformation of its bureaucratic institutions and elimination of corruption. Finland has also adapted its civil service to the changing era of information technology and has privatized its publicly owned companies while retaining a welfare system. Implementation of management reforms is influenced by certain environmental forces such the decisions of the elite class, socio-economic forces, the political system and chance events among others. The effects these forces produce on management reforms however varies with nations.

The research has subjected to a theoretical analysis, some basic principles and features of bureaucracy in order to find out if the model of administration has contributed to an improved and efficient management or is responsible for the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of administration as have been the views of scholars advocating the market model of management.

Bureaucracy as an institution of the state is made up of human beings who have acquired certain basic culture (mental software) from family, school and other social organizations (Hofstede 1991). These people come into organizations with these cultures which are modified by the organizations and which also impact on the organizations. The paper has been able to establish that the success and failure of a nation's civil service determines the extent of development that nation is bound to achieve and also the extent of sustainability of such development. Therefore, the earlier a nation modifies her bureaucracy and acquaints it with cultures that meet international best practice, the higher the tendency of that nation to actualize sustainable development.

Furthermore, efficiency could be attained if it is operated in an environment of modern Information and Communication Technology. There cannot be efficient and effective service delivery where there is no information and Communication Technology. Such reason can account for why the NPM model has not fitted into the public administrations of many developing and underdeveloped nations who have tried to implement the model.

It is important that Nigeria and other developing nations do not join the band wagon of NPM by privatizing and commercializing their public organizations in a hurry, without first strengthening their bureaucracies through the advancement of Information and Communication Technology, institutionalization of sound education system, and good remuneration packages, and of course, waging a genuine war against the cankerworm – corruption, through an independent judiciary and proactive police. Once the traditional administrative system is strengthened and institutionalized, it may make sense to consider how best to move from that system toward a more “modern” system of public administration (Peters 1996:176).

Some classical research questions have been asked in the course of the review and critiquing of literatures on public administration and management which provides the basis for the historical explanation and interpretation of the study and involves the

collection of secondary data such as Library and Internet materials, and relevant documents from a number of public organizations.

Culture has been found to play a dominant role on the behavior of bureaucrats in both Finland and Nigeria and such dimensions of culture as used by Hofstede (1991) such as power distance, collectivism vs. individualism, masculinity vs. femininity, and uncertainty avoidance have impacted on the civil services of the two case-nations. Corruption is present in every system and nation. However, it has been revealed that official corruption is very insignificant and could be said not to exist in Finland as there are very rare cases of the scam in the politico-administrative system of the country, compared to Nigeria where corruption has almost become the dominant culture of most people in and outside of government.

Although some similarities have been identified, a lot of differences exist between the two cases in terms of structure, culture and functions. The research has been able to establish that the traditional system of public administration has a lot of defects but could still be made very responsible and responsive if it is adapted to the new public management. Lastly, Nigeria has many ideas to borrow from Finland's administrative system in order to reposition its civil service to be able to meet up the nation's goal of achieving sustainable socio-economic development.

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