

THE CHARACTERISTICS REQUIRED FOR TOMORROW'S GREEK PUBLIC SERVANTS

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INTRODUCTION

In this paper I would like to discuss the specific problems of Greek Civil tomorrow's Servants in view of the new managerial problems they will have to face in the coming years. As any management profile, the profile of the civil servant refers to a descriptive statement of the knowledge, skills, experience and personal traits required for management positions at a specific level and location in the administrative hierarchy now and in the foreseeable future. What is needed is a number of «management profiles» which set out the educational, empirical and personal qualifications required of those who now hold or will hold management positions at various levels of the administrative pyramid and at all levels of the Greek government.

The «profiles» must provide a picture of existing as well as projected management positions and are therefore difficult to formulate in precise terms. «Profiles» are a valuable tool in that they guide manpower planners to the types of people to be recruited, trained and educated in order to fill these positions¹. There is no research concerning the job dimensions of middle and senior management positions in Greek public service. The «profile» method, as it is described in the management literature², combining the points rating system, the factor comparison, and the ranking methods, has not been applied in Greece, not even in private business. Other simple ranking methods will be described later.

Another important issue is professionalism in public services. In Greece we hold long great discussions about the profession of management in the business world³ but very few about the profession of public management⁴. We like to talk about service or function or duty of public servants not about profession; we prefer to say «public servants» and not «public managers» or «public executives» understanding that this kind of managers are motivated by their mis-

sionary zeal ; even though in their daily work, most of the public servants, at the senior levels, view the practice of management as a profession and consider themselves to be professionals.

They follow some collective bargaining system, they consider themselves as a body with specialized knowledge, they are looking for a gradual promotion up the service ladder for a life career and permanent membership, they are setting up their own standards and ethical conduct.

In order to understand what is happening now in the Greek Public Services and what is expected to happen in the near future, we will see the subject of these discussions from the following perspectives.

1. Selection, promotion and operations in the Greek Civil Service
2. Criticism against the Greek Civil Service
3. New roles to be undertaken by the Greek Civil Service and the extent to which Civil Servants are prepared to comply.

Some proposals will be presented at the end.

1. THE GREEK CIVIL SERVICE TODAY : AN EVALUATION

1.1. The Efforts towards a New Organization¹

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Greek civil service has been to serve many different regimes, which did not succeed in creating a dynamic organization. The present day structure of the civil service is a result of post-war developments. The first characteristic of the service is its sense of duty, which means that it may not take responsibility for any government policy but simply for its implementation. The second characteristic is that the Greek civil service has not been a pole of attraction for the most brilliant individuals in society, who look for jobs in the private sector. But, despite the fact that the service was not so attractive in view of the comparatively low level of pay and the relatively poor career prospects, it was highly competitive (there was a great number of candidates but no brilliant candidates amongst them).

The particular characteristics of Greek society, the mediocrity of the economic policy that successive governments pursued, were some of the factors conducive to the country's stage of development until the early 1950's. Political instability, frequent constitutional changes, the disastrous results of the World Wars and the subsequent civil war were other factors militating against development.

Institutions based on foreign models contributed little in creating a favourable climate and conditions which might have facilitated improvement. The efficiency and economy movement of the 1920s and 1930s as well as the merit princi-

pie, characterizing most of the western countries' organization of public administration were not adopted despite the efforts made by the EEC and other experts². The main reason was that the institutions were introduced without any change and adjustment to the Greek environment. Furthermore, the spirit of the imported institutions and the attempts made to strengthen the administration's efforts encouraged legalism. Adherence to the legalistic spirit proved to be un conducive to efficient and effective administration.

It also fostered the development of bureaucratic procedures. This in turn made the operation of the administration sluggish, unable to improve the relationships between citizen and state agencies, unable to meet the expectation of a developing society, albeit the roots of the evil are to be found elsewhere, i.e. in the legislation *per se*.

All the above factors had a direct effect on the field of public administration for the following reasons : firstly, because public administration was considered as a matter of secondary importance ; secondly, because of the economic situation, which did not permit radical changes ; and thirdly it was not realized that good administration is a vital factor for the foundation and smooth operation of any governmental system.

Although, during the post—war period, when the State became more interventionist and the economic situation improved, one would have expected more radical actions for the improvement of the administration, however, it did not receive the necessary attention. In spite of warnings about the administration's inadequacies, which various observers made early in the 1950's, the attempts made and the measures taken did not solve the problem and proved to be less fruitful than expected. This was due to the fact that successive governments did not face public administration as a whole, but tried to solve its problems on a piece—meal basis.

By isolating the problem of administration from other general problems like the economic, social and political ones that had to be solved, it was ensured that the solutions would be partial. The evidence for the piece—meal solutions to the problems of administration is provided by the fact that there was no long—term plan. There was no central agency with decisive competences responsible for the administration, and there was no relation between the economic and social changes and the government's development goals. Hence, the main concern, how to get efficient and by what means to beat the monster of bureaucracy, remained unsolved. Furthermore Greek public administration did not respond in time to the universal movement for development, undertaken by the United Nations Organization, through which technical assistance was provided to developing countries³.

The Civil Service Code, which was put into operation in 1951, the setting up

of a consultative body (A.S.D.Y.), responsible for offering an opinion on all matters of public administration and the creation of the Third Directorate— General of Administrative Organization (D.G.A.O., later D.G. of Public Administration within the Prime Minister's Ministry) inside the active administration, responsible for reforms on public administration, can be seen as the first positive steps which raised hopes for development. These Bodies finally proved unsuccessful for many reasons : firstly, they were by—passed by the governments themselves, which through the legislative process ignored the competences of these bodies, thus permitting each ministry to follow its own policy ; secondly, these bodies, operating as consultative without decisive functions, proved too weak to bring about radical changes : thirdly, the Third D.G.A.O., placed under the Ministry of Co-ordination and staffed with a handful of officials, could not formulate and impose radical changes (it could not, for example, receive the necessary attention from the political leadership). This was due to the fact that successive heads of the Ministry were devoted to other vital problems, i.e. economic development, etc. This is a good example of the ineffectiveness of an organizational unit when put in the wrong place and time in the government machine. If such a unit is to achieve its goals it must be provided with the appropriate powers and functions and must also be staffed with the appropriate personnel.

1.2. Structure and Composition of the Bod

All provisions concerning civil servants have been codified under the Civil Service Code (presidential decree 611/1977), providing the following categories of civil servants :

- a) Special posts of a primarily political nature (General Secretaries of Ministries, Prefects etc.).
- b) Category A.' («AT») including in principle graduates of Universities and corresponding to the British administrative class.
- c) Category °B' («AP») including graduates of higher education establishments and corresponding to the British executive class.
- d) Category °C («ME») consisting of those who have completed secondary school courses and corresponding to the British clerical class.
- e) Category 'D' («SE») consisting of those who have completed primary school and working as porters, messengers etc.

The personnel of all the semi government organizations is ruled in principle by the same code and the personnel of public enterprises by private law.

The total administrative personnel, in its strict sense* is (1978) 77.932. Of these 63.370 are permanent servants and 14.569 are on contract.

The permanent servants are by category as follows :

Category 'A' (AT)	18.082	28%
Category 'B' (AP)	3.103	5%
Category 'C' (ME)	31.066	49%
Category D (SE)	11.179	18%

The high percentage of civil servants with academic degree is due to the fact that the Civil Service Code, in its search for objectivity and in order to eliminate any kind of backstage influence**, places formal proof of previous education in the front rank of factors determining admission to the civil service.

1.3. Personnel Selection and Promotion

Competitive entrance examinations were first introduced in 1951 under the statute of the Old Civil Service Code, but exceptions became the rule and examination the exception.

For this reason the system was criticized. It was also criticized because it was based mainly on written examinations. According to a commentator⁴, successful candidates in written examinations were later proved unsuitable for the task of civil service. But, this was not the only reason ; other reasons should be considered as well, i.e. the environment of the particular organization ; conditions of work ; personnel relationships ; managerial capability, to the extent that the manager can be held responsible for providing training to new entrants, and so forth.

The new C.S.C. makes provision for both written and oral examinations. Besides, requirements for entry have increased, examination in a foreign language, typewriting or shorthand being some of the additional requirements. Procedures have become uniform. Common competitive examinations are arranged according to the posts available in all ministries. This facilitates co-operation between personnel services and the Directorate General of Public Administration (D.G.P.A.) which is in charge of recruitment for the civil service as a whole. Common competitive examinations are arranged throughout the country at a departmental level.

In spite of the definite regulations of the C.S.C, various categories of civil servants can be recruited without examination as in the case of

* Except special posts, ministry of foreign affairs, education, judicial functionaries (judges, assessors, court secretaries etc) and army.

** Art. 10f of the Code : «The aim of this Code . . . based on the principles of equality and equity, and assuring the suitable selection of personnel . . .»

- category D
- special circumstances
- holders of a Ph. D. degree
- civil servants employed on contract, either on a permanent basis or temporary within specified time—limits (but a contracted employee, after temporary service for a number of years, acquires the right to a permanent post. Past experience provides evidence for this practice.

There is a promotion system described by the C.S.C. This system provides fifteen grades broken down as follows :

- Category 'A' ('AT') includes grades 8-1
- Category B ('AP') includes grades 9-2
- Category C ('ME') includes grades 10-4
- Category D ('SE') includes grades 12-7

For all Categories the maximum time—limit to reach the top grade and to remain in service in order to get a full pension, is thirty five years of service. This top grade can be reached in fourteen or sixteen years of service for Category 'A' (grade 1), and in twenty years for Category 'B' (grade 2) and C (grade 4).

As a result of the above time limits, top civil servants will have to serve for a period of fifteen years at the apex of their category, just a little less than half of the total years they may stay in service. Provided that mobility from one ministry to another is not attainable at present, and very often neither from one unit to another within the same ministry, then it is more or less certain that the interest and effectiveness of these civil servants will be eliminated if not disappeared.

1.4. Training Policy

Lack of trained personnel was one of the main inadequacies of the Greek public administration. Entry to the civil service of graduates of various educational establishments, without any kind of specialized training, increased this inadequacy. The Ministry of Coordination was assigned task of reforming and reorganizing of public administration and established training procedures. From 1963 the organization of several interministerial advanced training seminars and the provision of scholarships of nearly eight months duration to attend special courses abroad were adopted as regular programs.

Public servants were sent to London and Manchester Universities for special studies in O and M, the Royal Institute of Public Administration in London (specialization in administration), the Leeds University (personnel management), the

'Ecole Nationale d' Administration, Paris (regional development), the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague.

A special Civil Service Training Centre (C.S.T.C.) and Training Units (T.U.) in all ministries were established by the law 340/1968, the first for interministerial training and foreign language courses and the second for the training of all new entrants (Induction Courses). The whole picture changed by the law 232/1975 creating the Civil Service Training School (C.S.T.S.) and a range of vocational school branches, and making provision for various incentives (i.e. scholarships, the necessity of attending the C.S.T.S. to be promoted to grade³). The law emphasizes training in subjects closely related to the organization and functions of public administration in general and in subjects of particular concern to the service in relation to the duties performed by civil servants.

1.5. Political Role of the Civil Service

The Greek civil servant has the right to stand for Parliament, but he must resign from his civil service post prior to his nomination. There is no distinction between political and non-political posts; there is no distinction in categories upon which restrictions are imposed, as is the case in Britain⁵ and other European countries⁶. Restrictions have indiscriminately been imposed upon all civil servants. University and independent College Professors are exempted from these restrictions. Their duties are suspended for the duration of the Parliamentary period if they are elected.

The individual right of all citizens to develop and express their thoughts openly and freely is dictated and protected constitutionally. The constitutional guarantee covers the intellectual freedom, in general, within which the right to express political beliefs is included. However, those entering the civil service have to accept some degree of restriction upon their right to express political belief.

Above all stands the reputation of the integrity of civil service. Political neutrality and impartiality have been connected with tenure of office and the anonymity of civil servants. The explanation is that ministers belong to different political parties, which alternately come to power, while civil servants, as permanent, remain in office. It is of great significance that civil servants should be politically neutral and impartial. So, a mutual confidence between civil servants and ministers, whatever party is in power, is developed. This is the justification for the fact that civil servants have no right to express publicly political beliefs⁷.

Restrictions on the right of civil servants, employees of local government agencies or other public corporate bodies of public enterprises to form professional associations may be imposed by law. According to this constitutional provision, the law 643/1977 was passed by Parliament, concerning the establishment

of professional associations and the right to strike. So, civil servants have the right to establish their own professional associations in which they may be members. Under the provisions of the same law the right to strike is recognized, when it is decided by the legally formed professional associations, but strikes of any nature whatsoever are prohibited in the case of judicial functionaries, those serving in the security corps, the information service and the agrarian police.

From the above picture concerning political activities of the Greek civil servants and the excessive restrictions which have been put into force by law, it is very clear that their political role is highly restricted, even non-existent in a formal sense. In practice, however, civil servants have some kind of affiliation with the political parties, as any ordinary citizen, but this remains unofficial.

Furthermore, civil servants come in contact with Parliament through the legislative process. The origins of a bill are frequently to be found in the day-to-day work of administration. The responsible official may seek his Superior's approval in principle for a change in the law in order to cover gaps which have been discovered in the existing legislation. In other cases the minister himself may request his officials to prepare a bill on a subject which he or his party consider important. Once the principle of a bill has been accepted, it is prepared to a large extent by the officials concerned. The final draft of the bill is agreed upon, by senior officials and the minister, before it is presented to Parliament. In addition to that, during the debate of the bill in Parliament, civil servants may handle proposals to the M. P.'s' either of the party in power or of parties in opposition, who are always willing to support proposals handled to them by individuals or groups of civil servants, hoping that in so doing they will gain supporters in the next election⁸.

Generally speaking the political role of Greek civil servants is highly restricted. The effect of this is that very few decide to engage in politics, and when they decide to enter into political life it comes long after they have retired.

The total percentage of the Greek M. P.'s who served in the civil service was 8.7% in 1974, while in West Germany «nearly 40% of Bundestag members have some experience as officials»⁹.

1.6. Remarks and Criticism

It is not surprising that under the five-year plans the reform of public administration is repeated as the same unchangeable goal. This repetition provides a clear indication that the reforms made and the measures taken succeeded in solving specific problems, but not the problem as a whole. Such problems already solved are e.g. the setting up of units, like the Organization and Methods (O and

M) and Training Units in all ministries, the creation of the Civil Service Training School (C.S.T.S.), the new ministerial regulations based on the basic principles of organization theory. All these seem to be conducive for the integration and uniformity of Greek civil service, but not enough to build up a modern organization capable to help Greek public administration meet the requirements of a modern state.

Recent political and constitutional developments brought changes to public administration as well. The constitutional provisions which determine the relationships between the President of the Republic and the administration, provided a framework according to which the administration became flexible, in the sense that it became more responsible for regulation and self—organization of its own affairs.

The executive branch of authority has, generally speaking, been reinforced considerably. The Prime Minister's position has been strengthened. The introduction of the government committees can be seen as a further development whereby it is hoped that the complexity and multiplicity of government activities will become more manageable. Its influence on administration is obvious. The organization of public authorities on the basis of organizational principles helped very much to create a uniform civil service and erased the phenomenon of 'separate fortresses' ¹⁰.

In practice, however, one may be right in saying that the great number of committees inside the active administration create more problems than they solve. The striking characteristic of centralism, which is one of the main weak points of Greek public administration will continue so far as the constitutional provisions on decentralization and local self—government remain a dead letter. As long as the central authorities are required to make decisions on all local matters the citizen will continue to suffer and his attitudes will be hostile toward public agencies.

The measures taken for the improvement of civil service during the last years appear to be of great significance. The sanction of selection methods based on written and oral examinations, the arrangement of common competitive examinations throughout the country, contributed towards the strengthening of confidence, impartiality, objectivity, and one may say that relatively speaking, they facilitated the selection of the most suitable candidates. Provision of training for all civil servants at various levels was one of the essential measures, which certainly facilitated the progress and improvement of civil service.

Although the results of the above measures cannot be evaluated in the short—run, it is hoped that they will be fruitful in the long—run. Certainly, there is much room for improvement ; at the minimum for instance, admission without any

kind of examination in the system of competitive entrance examination can be eliminated.

There is more to be done, and it should be carefully considered, at the level of the grading system. Particularly, the time required to be spent in each grade may be changed in order to achieve a greater degree of mobility than is at present possible.

In search of the reasons for the low productivity of the public services public servants insist that the principal cause is that capable people do not consider the existing economic and social incentives enough to attract their attention. Other causes are the evaluation system and the concentration of the main criteria of promotion around legalism instead of efficiency. The more bureaucratic and formalistic public servants have more chances to be promoted. As the future belongs to more efficient and flexible systems, it seems that the time has come when Greeks should seriously consider whether they need an administration operation not only at the national level but also in a wider international environment. This is especially so if we take into account the fact that Greece is entering the European Communities, as an equal member. One may say *a priori* that the time has come for reform. The evidence for this is provided by the political commitment toward the reform of administration. By no exception, all political parties are talking and promising the modernization of public administration.

Z CRITICISM AGAINST THE GREEK CIVIL SERVICE

2.1. The Scope of a Research

During the Second Panhellenic Symposium on the Public Relations of Public Administration (Athens 6-10 March 1978) I presented the results of my research concerning the public image of Public Administration. This research was mainly based on open questions and discussions with 800 persons 20 to 60 years old in Athens and Thessaloniki.

The first problem faced was to ensure that everybody understood the term 'public administration' and the distinction between administration and politics. We found out that most of the Greeks could not separate the administration from the parasitic role of their representatives (Members of Parliament), showing readiness and being zealous in helping them to find e.g. a new telephone line. Perhaps it is necessary to accept as of now the point of view that it is not possible to detach the study of politics from the study of administration, or administra-

tion from politics, because it would be «like trying to separate a man from his shadow, or to snap your fingers with one finger»².

The second problem was to define the concrete form of the existing relationship between the interviewed person and public administration i.e. the occasions in which this person was obliged to face the organization of public services, as an individual, as member of a social group or as a manager of another formal organization unit. Most of the findings of my research, are incomprehensible by those who do not know the social, political and cultural characteristics of the Greek society, such as³.

- the lack of trust in political authority,⁴
- the family role, as the basic economic unit,
- the religion and the moral values and traditions,
- the favouritism in politics,
- the role of language,
- the role of the Greek Orthodox Church, acting as the only repository of Greek language and culture from 1453 till 1821,
- etc.,

Some of the findings of this research are presented in the present paper.

2.2. What Public Administration Means and Why Greek Citizens are Talking about it

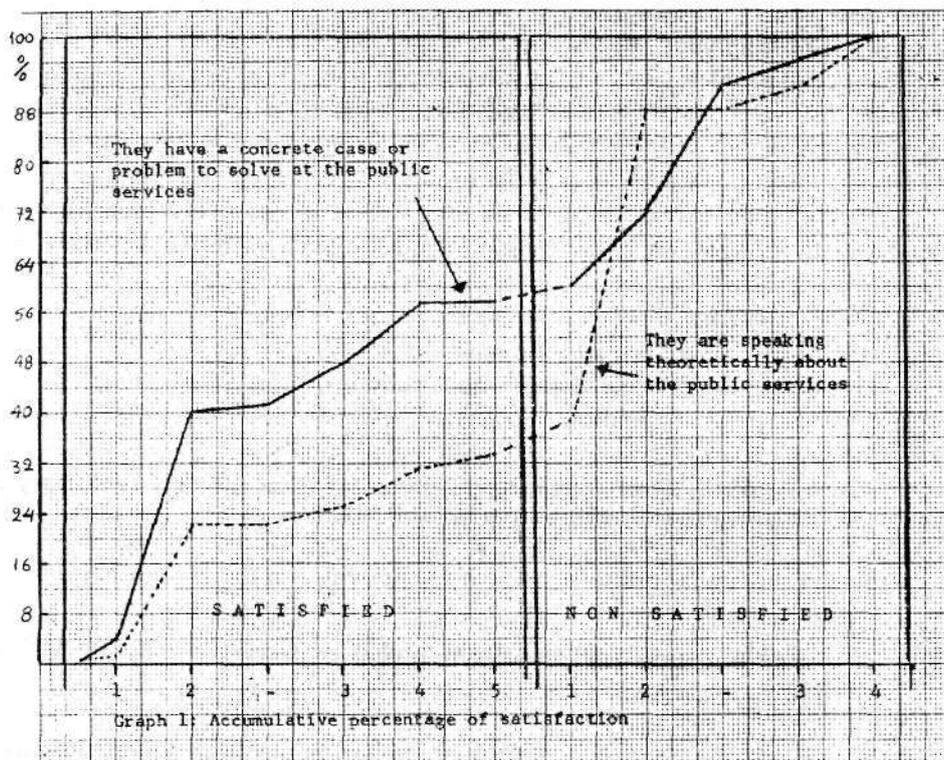
97% of the people interviewed had some opportunities to have relations with public administration and most of them recall instinctively, that this administration is responsible for the

- Telecommunications Organization (51 %)
- Public Electric Power Company (50%)
- Post Organization (13 %)
- Olympic Airways (12 %)
- The Pensions Funds (20 %)
- etc.

Two thirds of the citizens have 'reasons' to contact these public enterprises and only one third to contact *stricto sensu* public services. Such 'reasons' were mainly

- giving money (about 30 %)
- taking a document (about 30% in the case of visiting public enterprises)
- asking for various services (20%)
- declaration of personal income (10%) (a temporary phenomenon because it was the period of income declaration).

Talking about public services



— 54% of the citizens were satisfied (62% in the case of the tax—collectors' office, 60% in the case of the prefect's office and 32%, in the case of the ministries)

— 46 % were not satisfied (38 %, 40 % 68 % respectively).

A deeper analysis of the result gave the following picture : The persons who had the opportunity to have a concrete case or problem to solve with the collaboration of the public services were more satisfied (52% in general) that the others (only 1/3) who spoke theoretically about the public services and about the 'monster of bureaucracy' (see graph 1). Another important point was that in all occasions 97% of the citizens were obliged to visit the 'service', 2% telephoned and 1 % communicated by post.

2.3. The Public Image of Greek Public Services

The people interviewed were asked to pick out the most suitable of six cards bsaring sorns characteristics of the public services: three of them were pros (fair,

protecting, well organized) and three others cons (apathetic, plethoric, incapable). For all terms used on these cards there was a written explanation on the same card.

Three quarters of those interviewed were in a position to undertake the game and pick out some of the cards giving to them a comparative, serial value. The consciousness of their act was checked by specific questions. Considering the first choices as the most realized by the interviewed I discovered that

- (a) the negative characteristics are considered as the most important (ranking 1st apathetic, 2nd plethoric, and 3rd incapable),
- (b) the most important positive characteristic was the 'protection' offered by public services,
- (c) men more than women, young more than old people described public services with their negative characteristics.

Even not asked for that, a large number of the interviewed (30%) considered that public servants are not working enough, or are too many (17%) or are doing nothing (10%) etc., but 12% could not explain why they chose the negative characteristics. It was, finally, found that the public image of public services was strongly influenced by.

- (a) the nature of the service asked
- (b) the socio — economic class of the interviewed
- (c) the delays⁵
- (d) the style of contact with the services⁶

Asked to find the origins of the problems, the interviewed were talking about the irremovability of public servants, the absence of any cost/benefit analysis system, the lack of any efficiency control system and the lack of the spirit of friendly servicing.

2.4. Bureaucracy and the Expectations of Greek Citizens

The 'Monster of Bureaucracy' is one of the most traditional myths by which people in Greece try to explain all their difficulties when in contact with public services. I have excluded this word from the cards of characteristics of the public services (§ 2.3.), because every body in the pilot research chose this word first. Using indirectly the word 'bureaucracy' and asking about its meaning I found that

- 77 % of the interviewed have something (negative or positive) to say about bureaucracy
- 22 % were carefully neutral
- 1 % were indignant to be asked for.

Finally 74% of the interviewed were against bureaucracy and only 3% knew something good about the bureaucratic system of administration. The negative aspects of bureaucracy covered the following points

- (a) Useless papers and procedures (18%)
- (b) Lots of people and offices (8%)
- (c) Apathy (lack of interest) and laziness of public servants (they send you
i » from one office to another without reason) (58 %)
- (d) Lack of organization (7 %)

Three quarters of the interviewed were ready to propose some treatment or remedy for the 'radical' cure of the public services from the 'monster of bureaucracy'. The most important remedies were :

- (a) covering sentimental and social aspects such as :
 - to help public servants understand their social role (12%)
 - to hire new and young servants (6 %)
 - to repeal favouritism (6%)
 - to train public servants (6 %)
- (b) talking about organization (27%), control (8%) and personnel management (9%), or
- (c) referring to some general ideas (16 %).

2.5. Remarks and Conclusions

The above findings are not far from what is happening in other countries. We can find in the international littérature the profile of public servants painted the same way by Guy de Maupassant, by Dostoevski, by Alphonse Daudet, in 'Le sous-préfet aux champs' or in the roman 'Les employés ou la femme supérieure', written in 1837 by Balzac.

The public opinion investigation of Alain Girard and Henri Bastide (published in 'Population'), for which 214 interviewers were working between 12 November and 5 December 1956, demonstrated that 42% out of 2.535 persons in France against 21 % (i.e. two out of three) consider as a pity that the number of public servants is becoming larger the paradox being that the number of teachers is considered small (64%).

What is happening in the relationship between public servants and citizens? As the citizens can not always distinguish the difference between civil services and government or between civil services and local authorities or other independent state controlled organizations, they must retain control over their government/civil services through their elected representatives and, where appropriate, through the courts : the first way is not working very well because elections are frequently based on personalities or other criteria and the second way is too expensive and time — consuming. Civil servants do not feel that they have direct obligations on citizens, as they have towards their superiors, and towards citizens can not participate in the formation of government programs and as a result do not feel responsible to ensure the realization of these programs,

It is not time to analyse the government—citizen relationships, the need to determine public desires and reactions and to improve the services to the citizen⁷. If a public servant or a governor could say as president Wilson said (June, 30, 1916)⁸ *I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States'* then the relationship between citizens and public servants would not be based on the influence of hierarchical and legalistic pathology.

3. PUBLIC SERVANTS ARE ALREADY PLAYING NEW ROLES DRESSED IN OLD FASHIONED SUITS

I will now examine the new roles already played by the public servants who have not understood the meaning of the New Welfare State⁴. Talking about the present we have to emphasize the expanding role of the Government, the increasing intervention of public services into fields of private interest, the increasing complexity of economic and social problems faced by the public administration, the day to-day confusion in policy - making and policy implementation, the professionalism of public servants and the declining importance of the orthodox organization theory. Some of these topics will be analysed in the following paragraphs (3.1), followed by a brief description of the incapacity (3.2) of the present public services to meet this formidable challenge.

3.1 New Roles

3.1.1. The Expanded Role of the Public Administration

Public organizations are growing in numbers and size. The sphere of organizational activities is also expanding to reach every aspect of human existence. From the public administrator's point of view, the striking thing about the process called «development» is the rapid expansion in the number and variety of public—interest decisions to be made from day to day². Even the nature of development as seen in the 1970's differs considerably from that seen early in the 1960's or early in the 1950's. Most development plans in the 1950's and 1960's had as their main objective economic growth in terms of gross national product per capita. In the 1970's, economic growth in the sense of an increase in GNP per capita is no longer accepted as the only development objective. Increasingly,

- (a) equitable distribution of wealth and income,
- (b) full utilization of manpower,
- (c) better utilization of natural resources, and
- (d) protection of the human environment

are included as major development objectives. Furthermore, social development is now recognized as an integral part of development.³ Social development refers to the improvement in the «well—being of the people», measured by

- (a) the level of welfare (including not only the reduction of disease, poverty and other social illness, but also the state of physical, mental and social health), and
- (b) the standard of living (i.e. the level of satisfaction of the material needs of the population in terms of *p e r c a p i t a* foods and services available at a given period and equitably distributed).

One of the consequences of the above changes has been the expansion in the functions of government and its administrative organization, and because of this expansion the percentage of the GNP which is attributable to the public sector and the percentage of persons employed in the public sector have continued to increase in the course of the past three decades. In Greece, the expenditure of the public sector was increased by 204% in the last four years (1974 - 1978) and 90.2% of this expenditure was inelastic (45 % salaries and pensions, 14,3 % national defense, 11.3% public debt, 19,9 various supports). The new roles of the public administration are increasing, the functions of the government have to grow in size and importance because many activities relating to development can only be handled by the government or with its support, such as :

- economic planning
- technological innovations
- institutional changes
- capital for economic development and funds for social development
- training and education of skilled manpower
- control over natural resources
- entrepreneurship and risk— taking in economic undertakings
- regulations and control in those economic and social areas in which the government does not operate directly.

In order to produce the output of the above system it is necessary for the public administrator to have a high degree of knowledge and to differentiate functions and structures, because of the complexity of the problems. As professor J.E. Hodgetts⁴ said 'the solution of problems now crowding the public agenda necessitates a combination of both technical and social intelligence'.

3.1.2. Decision - making: the Role of Administrators and Politicians

The growing size of the public organizations seems to be directly correlated with

- (a) the wider dispersion of real power inside each organization and
- (b) more sharing of responsibility with outsiders.

For any decision—making in our complex world (§ 3.1.1) it is necessary to assemble a lot of data and to have the power to allocate the scarce resources. This role is to be played only by the government being in a position to possess the data and the power to influence economic trends, social welfare and finance. As a result, the most important problem in our countries is to analyse the decision—making process of the large pyramid of authority of the public administrations controlled and directed by politicians. Of course politics and administration are two distinct and distinguishable functions in modern government and, as policy—making is the responsibility of the first, it is supposed that administrators are responsible for the implementation of public policy ; but, does it work like this ?

Decision in large organizations, as in Public administrations, are typically a committee process : «collective leadership» is not an index of democratic feelings but a technical imperative of size. The «technostructure» which Galbraith has discovered in the American business world and which as says makes all the decisions, is old stuff to students of governmental process. Even when a «decision» seems clearly within the jurisdiction of a single organization the person in whose name it is announced is expected to consult, and to be seen to consult, with all the relevant kinds of expertise and all the concerned interests. At every level government level, the complexity of the subject matter widens the circle of executives whose special knowledge is essential (Cleveland).

Commenting on the above approach we can accept the view⁶ that the decision—making authority is existing on a continuum that moves from an administrative pole at one end to a political pole at the other : At the administrative end, decision—making is automatic, mechanical, and impersonal; authority flows downward from the individual in command at the top. At the other end of the spectrum, decision—making is political. Here authority is shared and decisions are arrived at after consultation and negotiation and are based on consensus and agreement. In its purest form, the political process reflects total equality of power among all members of the organization. Decision is the collective expression of those who share a diffused authority.

Public administrators implementing the laws and carrying out the policies—made by politicians—are expected to do so in a business like and efficient

manner. Accountability, political neutrality and efficiency are among the major characteristics of a modern public administration system since the end of the nineteenth century. But the word «public», when used in the context of «public administration», means «governmental» and does not include non—governmental activities². Governmental administration differs from business administration in many aspects⁸. Business administration is subject to the market force of demand and supply, while public administration is subject to political control and politicians must administer a government but, at the same time, they must be re-elected ; they must provide services but they must also reconcile interests. Thus, a new role is becoming evident among public managers., the role of coordinating, organizing, and reading in the midst of increasing complexity.

Let us now turn to some modern activities of the public administration like⁹.

- priority problem identification
- policy and problem evaluation
- strategic planning
- implementing a planning program and a budgeting system.

How are these activities carried out within the modern governments ; What means «implementation» of the above activities ; who is identifying the goals, classifying the goal areas, specifying the statistical indicators, estimating the values of each such achievement indicator assuming no change in policies or estimating the effects of changes ? Theoretically there is a distinction between policy— making, on the one hand, and policy—execution or administration on the other, but, in practice, the two are inevitably intermingled. In practice, changes in policy are based on experience and the external impressions of politicians are complemented by the sense of continuity and inside knowledge of officials. Finally, we must not overlook the influence of economists and other outside professional advisers or the influence of the attendance of senior advisers to committee meetings¹⁰.

3.2. "Unsuitable Suit"

From the above it becomes clear that the public administration system in today's world must be able to adapt itself to rapid changes in the environment policies in government and in administrative functions, which may be anticipated or unanticipated, planned or unplanned. It is only through c o n t i n u o u s a d j u s t m e n t s that an administrative system is able to respond to changes.

In particular, it is important to treat the administrative system as an open system, but the orthodox organization system which is even now applied in most public administrations, is, generally speaking, a closed system in the sense that its operation (how the system functions, how the public administrators behave, or how they solve their problems) is very much determined by the rules which are

defined, applied in a consistent manner and controlled inside the system¹¹. Little attention, if any, is given to environmental factors.

As it was indicated¹² the trends are towards greater organization, and towards a society of yet greater complexity ; we will remain an organizational society, whose positive side is that it has improved quite remarkably the human condition in so many different ways. Its benefits include new knowledge, new skills, improved health, richness of social contacts and experiences. But, despite these successes, the orthodox or traditional organizations are not able to meet the changing needs of the public administration system. The first major area of change is that of human relations, notably the recognition of the role of informal organizations and of professionalism of public servants. Attention has to be given to motivation, human attitude and interpersonal relations. Other areas of research are the special types of economic organization, such as government departments, planning mechanisms, public enterprises, ad hoc organizations and the like.

One of the main problems is to find ways to strengthen the role of specialists. New tools, new methods and techniques, new roles of the governmental administration ask for special knowledges and skills, for new organizational typologies like the «negative—hierarchy» (from bottom to top), «ad — hococracy» (temporary organization), «polyarchy» (organization emphasizing external co — operation). The above types are forms unknown to the traditional bureaucratic organizations.

Speaking about the «unsuitable suit» that the public administration wears in trying to play «new roles», I recall the findings of my research of public opinions about the role and the bureaucratic behaviour of public services. The way citizens face public administration is critical. When we have to evaluate the existing organizations and the possibilities to adopt new forms, which are working successfully in other countries with social and economic environment, we have to be sceptical.

Any one organization which does not take into consideration the technological, human and informational resources (inputs) is an «unsuitable suit»; any internal structure or any process in which individual objectives of the personnel and objectives of the organizations are not identified is also an «unsuitable suit». Public administration in countries like Greece should not continue to reject unorthodox forms like matrix organization, project management, and task management or new working systems like PPBS or MBO.

The «new suits» to play the «new roles» are not only organizational system and procedures ; future public servants will play the role of a catalyst, particularly strong in decision — making and in communications, action—oriented, and able to make decisions, and act under conditions of uncertainty. The profile of the future public servant is the profile of a managerial minded and flexible executive, with no need to be guided by a specific paragraph of the law every single

moment, but looking for the final output of the system, for the efficiency of his actions at the level of the ultimate consumer, of the ultimate citizen.

NOTES

I. Introduction

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 10. G. Pagakis, op., cit., S. Zevgaridis, op. cit. 1977.
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