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INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS AND EFFECTIVENESS IN HOUSING POLICY ADMINISTRATION:

THE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSING DELIVERY SYSTEM IN CAMEROON

A Thesis

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by

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INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS AND EFFECTIVENESS IN HOUSING POLICY ADMINISTRATION:

The Institutional Development of the Housing Delivery System in Cameroon.

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ABSTRACT

The general issue dealt with in this study is that of institutional weaknesses in less developed countries (LDCs). The focus was specifically on the housing policy field. The problem was treated as a function of insufficient interaction amongst institutional actors in this field. Thus, a positive relationship between interorganizational relations (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE) in the housing field was posited as a central hypothesis.

Primary data generated through two standardized multiple choice questionnaires administered respectively to (29) heads of housing policy organizations (HPOs) and (113 of) their clients in four urban areas in Cameroon, the empirical referent of the study, were used. The former elicited information on IOR and the latter, on OE. The inability of extant models to deal with the concept of OE as employed in the study was noted. A more appropriate model, incorporating client satisfaction, an inherent but largely ignored indicator of the concept, was developed and employed.

The following questions were addressed: 1) what types of institutions participate in the residential development process in Cameroon? 2) what is the interorganizational structure of the housing delivery system in the country? 3) how and to what extent do

organizations within the system interact with one another in fostering the country's housing policy objectives? and 4) what is the nature of the link between IOR and OE? Uncovering answers to these questions necessitated additional data from other sources such as key housing policymakers in the country, government documents, and published and unpublished works. It also entailed the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches to social scientific enquiry. The former was used mainly to surface answers to the first three questions and the latter, to deal with the fourth. The statistical models used included, contingency tabulations, simple and multiple regression using a stepwise inclusion pattern.

A test of the central hypothesis was conducted initially using the contingency tabulation model. A further test using the analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure and F-statistic was carried out. Results of both tests supported the hypothesis. Based on these results, theory and intuition, a causal relationship between IOR and OE was inferred. It was thus concluded that, at least in the context of the study, the effectiveness of institutions such as HPOs operating in the development policy field depends to some significant degree on the extent to which they interact with one another.

An important policy implication of this finding is that planners and other change agents interested in strengthening institutional capacity in LDCs must entertain IOR as a viable alternative and seek to encourage, rather than ignore or be passive about it as has customarily been the case.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

my mum,

Diana Eni Njoh,

for teaching me how 'to get going when the going gets tough',

and

the memory of my dad,

Emmanuel Mbah Njoh,

who, unfortunately, never lived long enough to see this happen.

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1. MAJOR ISSUES OF THE STUDY.

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the issue of institutional weakness, the inability to plan and manage development, in less developed countries (LDCs). The issue is dealt with in the context of housing policy administration.

The magnitude of the housing problem -- the problem of quantitative and qualitative deficits in the housing stock -- in these countries is well established.[1] While ideas on the possible solutions to the problem have never been in short supply, the results have left much to be desired. Evidence of the problem's imperviousness to attempted solutions is seen in the growth and proliferation of spontaneous settlements[2]. As much as two-thirds of the urban populations in these countries will be living in such settlements by the end of this century, compared to 40 percent in 1981 (UN, 1986).

Traditionally, strategies designed to deal with the problem have tended to ignore, ˙or at best pay only marginal attention to, institutional capacity. In contrast, this study treats institutional capacity as a crucial determinant of housing policy outcomes. It is postulated that the success of any housing policy depends in large part on the effectiveness of institutions or organizations charged with the responsibility of translating the policy into action. Effectiveness is, in turn, treated as a function of interorganizational relations in the housing policy field.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to acquaint the reader with these concepts and other major issues, including the rationale,

main questions, and objectives of the study. To facilitate the process, a model and plan of the entire study are presented prior to concluding the chapter.

RATIONALE AND BASIS OF THE STUDY:

This section discusses the premise, central problem, aim, focus, concern and basis of the study.

General Premise:

The study's underlying premise is that the success of any housing policy or strategy designed to alleviate the housing problem depends largely on the effectiveness of the institutional framework through which it is administered.

The Research Problem:

This study therefore posits that a substantial portion of the housing problem in LDCs can be accounted for by weaknesses in the institutional channels through which housing policy is administered. These channels are embodiments of antiquated administrative structures and procedures that are incompatible with current development objectives in these countries[3]. This has been acknowledged -- if only in passing, by students of housing in developing nations. Francis J.C. Amos (1984) for instance observes that the task of urban housing in LDCs

> has changed and grown so rapidly, and the needs so urgent, that systems have not been able to keep pace with demand and performance has fallen far short of aspiration (p. 161).

In attributing the problem to institutional weaknesses Jan van der Linden (1986: 52) echoes this theme in the following words:

> Examples abound of poor administration, cumbersome procedures, lengthy channels of communication between agencies, lack of coordination and similar institutional constraints.

It is one thing to expose the limitations of extant institutional frameworks for housing policy administration in LDCs, however, and another to seek innovative alternatives. While researchers in the field have been hasty in doing the former, they have been hesitant in embarking on the latter. The need to uncover alternative institutional or organizational arrangements for the administration of housing policy in these countries thus remains largely unmet.

The Aim:

The present research effort is in response to this need. In particular, it seeks to unveil viable alternative configurations for organizations participating in the administration of housing policy in resource-scarce economies.

The Concern and Focus:

This study is concerned with the problem of institutional weakness (in housing delivery systems) in LDCs. More specifically, the issue of concern relates to the inability of housing policy organizations in LDCs to deliver housing and related services in desired quantities, quality, and at the right time and places. Housing policy organizations in this context refer to all organizations responsible for the administration of housing policy, including those which regulate and oversee the activities of private providers of housing and related services. Such organizations fall under the generic category which

Donald Schon (1979) brands 'public policy organizations' -- that is, organizations for the "delivery of public services". Attempts to deal with the problem in the past have concentrated on the internal structures and dynamics of target organizations. The present effort approaches the problem from an entirely different perspective. It focuses on the interorganizational context of (housing) policy administration. This focus explicitly recognizes the fact that the responsibility for housing policy administration does not reside under the jurisdiction of a single organization. Rather, it belongs to several organizations operating simultaneously in a common field -- the housing policy field. Thus, focusing on the interorganizational context permits the researcher to more accurately analyse general patterns in the policy environment.

This orientation also constitutes an implicit rejection of the notion adhered to by rational organization theorists that the problem of organizational weakness can be dealt with by manipulating the internal components of the organization until they correspond to "one best model"[4]. Instead the view espoused by "open systems" theorists that organizational performance is a function of the interaction between an organization and its environment is favoured.

Thus, if the organizational environment is defined as the organizations with which a given organization operates in a common policy field (as is the case in this study), it follows that that organization's performance will be related to its interaction with the other organizations. While this point is consensual, the debate over the exact nature of this relationship is an ongoing one. In other words, no certain answers are available yet to important questions regarding how organizations may deal with their external environment in order to promote organizational effectiveness. For example, in order to be

more effective should organizations interact more, less, or completely avoid contact with their external environment?

That there are yet no sure answers to such questions has not prevented planners from extolling interorganizational interaction, in particular, collaboration amongst organizations whose activities impinge upon one another as a viable means for improving institutional performance (see for instance, Van der Linden, 1986; Murray and Underwood, 1982; Alexander and Beckley, 1980; Alexander, 1979; Faludi, 1973). Thus, for reasons that are not quite clear, planners assume the existence of a positive relationship between interorganizational interaction and organizational effectiveness. Yet the question is essentially empirical in nature and needs to be investigated. Hence, the present study. One result of such inquiry will be informed strategies aimed at remedying contemporary and future problems of institutional weaknesses.

The Rationale for Empirical reference:

The setting or empirical referent of this study is Cameroon (hereafter, the country). It is the contention of the present researcher that unless efforts to develop alternative institutional configurations for development policy administration in LDCs is accompanied by efforts to understand existing frameworks, they are unlikely to succeed. This understanding is necessary in order to minimize the uncertainties involved in dealing with issues such as institutional weaknesses that currently have no clear-cut solutions.

THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF STUDY:

The issues raised so far have implications for:

1) the empirical referent of the study;

2) housing policy administration in particular, and development

policy administration in general in LDCs; and

3) research/theory building efforts in institutional development
and interorganizational relations.

The study's main objectives can therefore be spelled out as follows:

A] Study Setting-specific:

1) to promote understanding of the interorganizational context

for housing policy administration in the country.

B] Policy-related:

2) to isolate environmental variables that facilitate or inhibit

organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field of a

a typical developing economy;

3) to make recommendations on how housing policy

administration in the country and other resource-scarce

economies can be improved through "exchange" or

interorganizational relations strategies;

C] Research/Theory-related:

4) to promote understanding of the relationship between

organizations and their environment especially in the context of

developing societies;

5) to extend the concept of "exchange" as a strategy for

improving institutional performance to housing delivery systems

in LDCs;

6) to investigate interorganizational interaction in the housing

policy field in the country from both a conceptual and empirical perspective;

D] Methodological:

7) to develop a conceptual framework for analyzing interorganizational relationships in the housing policy field in LDCs; and finally

8) to make a case for, and apply 'client satisfaction' as an indicator for gauging the effectiveness of public policy organizations in LDCs.

THE MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The attempt to acomplish these objectives is guided by the following questions.

1) What types of institutions participate in the residential development process in Cameroon?

2) What is the interorganizational structure of the housing delivery system in Cameroon?

3) How, and to what extent do organizations within the system interact with one another in fostering the housing policy objectives of the country?

4) What is the link between interorganizational relationships and organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field?

THE RESEARCH MODEL:

What follows is an outline of the model employed in eliciting answers to the foregoing questions in particular, and completing this study in general. The model is presented graphically in figure I.1 below.

As implied earlier, the study resulted from an interest in 1) improving the effectiveness of housing policy organizations (HPOs) in less developed countries (LDCs); and 2) promoting understanding of the link between organization-environment relations and organizational effectiveness.

Any activity aimed at improving the institutional capacity for conceiving, formulating, and implementing development policies falls under the general rubric of institutional development (I.D.). Hence, to explore the first part of this interest (1 above), necessitated an appreciation of shifting perspectives in the field of I.D. The analytical framework of the study focuses on I.D. in the light of extant institutional arrangements that may facilitate or inhibit the effective administration of housing policy in a developing nation. The second strand of this interest (2 above) called for an exploration of contemporary, and in most cases, conflicting perspectives on the nature of the link between organization-environment relations, conceptualized in terms of interorganizational relationships (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE), defined as an organization's ability to a) satisfy its primary beneficiaries (clients) and b) adapt to its environment. These two concepts (IOR and OE) are pivotal to this study. Interorganizational relationships, the wide range of contacts

Fig. 1: THE RESEARCH MODEL

INTERESTS:
1. Improving Effectiveness of Housing Policy organizations HPOs in LDCs
2. Theoretical & Empirical link between I.O.R. & Org' Effectiveness

I.O.R. & O.E. LITERATURE: CONCEPTS

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

THEORETICAL REASONING:
1. I.O.R. very crucial to O.E. for orgs in same policy field.
2. I.O.R. increases an organization's resource base.
3. I.O.R. reduces waste, etc.
4. I.O.R. reduces org'l uncertainty.
5. THEREFORE, IOR increases org'l effectiveness.

THEORETICAL HYPOTHESES:
1. O.E. is a function of I.O.R. i.e. OE=f(IOR). as I.O.R. increases, so does O.E.

KEY CONCEPTS
1. INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS.
2. ORG'L EFFECTIVENESS

FINDINGS:
- Implications for theory building in I. O. R.
- Implications for housing planning practice in LDCs.

DATA ANALYSIS & HYPOTHESIS TEST:
- Multiple Regression,
(F. Stepwise)
- Crosstabs.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS:
1. INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS:
- Contacts among orgs. within a common policy field. Measured in terms of e.g. no. of letters written/received by an agency; no. of meetings agency is represented; etc.
2. ORG'L EFFECTIVENESS
-Ability of org. to satisfy its clients. Each HPO was rated by client.
-Ability of org to adapt to its environment.

EMPIRICAL HYPOTHESES:
1. The ability of an organization to satisfy its client is a function of the number of contacts the organization makes with other organizations in its network.
2. The ability of an organization to insist on rules/regs the people can afford depends on the no. of contacts the org. makes with others

DATA COLLECTION:
Survey Meth. (Quest'naire/ Interviews)

organizations, especially those operating within a common policy field, make with one another, are expected to be positively associated with organizational effectiveness. The contacts may be in the form of letters, telephone calls, meetings, etc. and they may be formal (e.g. when mandated by law) or informal (e.g. when not required by a higher authority). The theoretical basis for expecting such contacts, that is, interorganizational relationships, to be positively associated with an organization's ability to satisfy its clients and adapt to its environment or organizational effectiveness, is briefly outlined in Table I.1 below. The argument is fully developed in subsequent chapters.

TABLE I.1: THEORETICAL BASIS FOR CENTRAL HYPOTHESES.

Item   *Reasoning*

1. -Interorganizational relationships are crucial to the effectiveness of organizations whose activities impinge upon one another.

2. -The more often (such) organizations interact, the more likely it is for them to expand their resource bases. (Resources are essential to organizational effectiveness).

3. -The more often organizations operating in a common policy field interact, the less likely it is for them to a) operate at cross purpose with one another, b) waste resources, and c) duplicate one another's efforts.

4. -The more interaction there is among organizations operating in a common policy field, the more likely is their chance of reducing organizational uncertainties in the environment in which they operate.

5. -The more organizations interact with one another, the greater their ability to deal with indivisible problems (e.g. the delivery of a public service such as housing).

TABLE I.1 (cont'd): THEORETICAL BASIS FOR CENTRAL HYPOTHESES.

Item   *Reasoning*

6. -Therefore, the more an organization interacts with others in its policy field, the more effective it is likely to be.

7. -And by the same token, the more interaction there is among organizations within any interorganizational network, the more effective that network is likely to be.

Theory:

Based on Table I.1 above, it can be theoretized as follows. Interorganizational relationships improve organizational effectiveness in any given policy field by enabling individual organizations within that field to expand their resource bases, reduce the chances of waste, effort duplication, and interorganizational conflict, as well as by increasing their ability to deal with indivisible problems and uncertainty.

Theoretical Hypothesis:

Thus, organizational effectiveness (OE) is expected to be a function of interorganizational relationship (IOR). More specifically, OE is expected to increase as IOR increases.

Key Concepts:

The key concepts of the study are therefore, interorganizational relationships (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE).

Operationalization of Key Concepts:

For the purpose of this study, interorganizational relationships are operationalized in terms of contacts among organizations operating

within a common policy field. These contacts, as earlier stated, take the form of for instance, letters, exchange of resources, meetings, and so on. The contacts are measured in terms of the number of items (e.g. letters) received/written by each organization in the network, or the number of times each organization has been represented in a meeting or forum dealing with housing related matters during a specified period, or the number of times an organization has used the equipment or infrastructure of another organization in its network, or the number of times it (the agency) has allowed use of its own equipment/infrastructure by another agency in its policy field over a given period.

Organizational effectiveness is operationalized in the study in terms of an organization's ability to satisfy its clients and adapt to its environment. Satisfaction is defined here as a construct describing the client's subjective emotional state occuring in response to a service delivered by the organization. It is considered that factors such as the time it takes the client to obtain a desired service, the quality, and cost of the service, the amount of information made available to the client to enable him/her obtain the service, and so on are capable of affecting the client's subjective emotional response. Measurement of the OE construct therefore involved asking clients to rate housing policy organizations (HPOs) on a three-point scale depending on their level of satisfaction with each HPO taking into account factors (criteria) such as those mentioned above.

Environmental adaptability is operationalized in terms of the extent to which heads of HPOs (key housing policy implementors) insist on housing standards that 'the people' can afford. This is measured in terms of the difference between what planners (heads of HPOs) desire and what the 'planned for' (clients of HPOs) actually do.

Empirical Hypotheses:

Based on the foregoing operationalization scheme, the empirical hypotheses of this study can be stated as follows.

H$_1$: The ability of an organization to satisfy its clients depends on the extent to which it makes contacts with other organizations with which it operates within the same policy field.

H$_2$: The ability of an organization to insist on standards compatible with the socioeconomic means of its clients depends on the extent to which it makes contacts with other organizations with which it operates in the same policy field.

Data Collection Methods and Sources:

The survey method is used in eliciting information for this study. In particular, two sets of standard, multiple choice questionnaires (questionnaire '1' and '2') are employed. Questionnaire '1' has as its universe, heads of housing policy organizations, who are depended upon for information relating to interorganizational interaction. The universe of questionnaire '2' comprises HPO clients, particularly, individuals who recently carried out residential construction projects in sampled urban areas. Other major sources of data include official records of HPOs, informal interviews with key housing policy makers in the study setting, published and unpublished literature on the topical area of concern.

Statistical Methods:

The statistical procedures used in analyzing the data include contigency tables and forward stepwise multiple regression analyses.

ORGANIZATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY:

The study is organized as follows. Following this introductory chapter is Chapter Two, which reviews major theoretical and empirical perspectives in the field of instittutional development, from which the study draws its inspiration. The chapter also begins inquiring into the nature of the link between interorganizational relationships (IOR) and organizational effectivenes (OE). This inquiry is continued in Chapter Three, which develops a conceptual framework for understanding the study. The methodological issues of the study are dealt with in Chapter Four. Chapter Five presents a qualitative analysis of the interorganizational framework for housing policy administration in Cameroon. Chapter Six analyzes the empirical data and discusses

pertinent findings of the study. The research, theoretical and policy implications of the findings are discussed in Chapter Seven, which also concludes the the study.

Significance of Study:

The significance of this study can be discussed on three levels related respectively to its subject, strategy, and object; in other words, what it deals with, how it does it, and what it aims at accomplishing.

Subject. This study deals with organizations. It is difficult to overstate the importance of organizations in contemporary society. In

fact "a society takes concrete form through the organizations that carry out its major functions" (Corwin, 1987:3). A large and growing number of activities in modern society take place in organizations.

Planning for instance, is an activity that is enmeshed in organizational functioning. Efforts to ameliorate living conditions in LDCs involve not only national organizations such as government ministeries, but also international organizations such as the Overseas Development Agency (ODA), the World Bank, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), etc. Thus, it follows that planning in LDCs and any where else for that matter depends heavily on organizations. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that the success of any planning effort is contingent upon the planner's ability to organize as upon his[5] ability to function in his stereotypical role of the technocrat.

In this regard, therefore, the present study constitutes a movement in the direction of broadening the planner's view to encompass more of the reality in which he functions.

Strategy   This study attempts to make the important connection between statement (policy) and action (implementation) from an interorganizational perspective. Although this perspective has seldom been employed by policy analysts, it holds immense promise for policy studies because of the important interactions that inevitably occur among implementing organizations (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Warren et al.; 1974; Kessler, 1987). Thus, by employing the insights of interorganizational theory to examine policy implementation and outputs in the housing policy field, this study promotes understanding (amongst development planners) of a potentially fruitful approach to examining development policy administration outcomes.

Object   Central to this study is the relationship between organization-environment interaction and organizational performance; that is, whether or not organizational performance is a function of an organization's interaction with its environment (other organizations); and if so, what is the nature of the relationship?   Stated mathematically:

Is   i) OP = f(IOI)?

where, OP is organizational performance; and

IOI is interorganizational interaction (interaction between an organization and other organizations).

The nature of this relationship may be direct (more interaction resulting in improved performance), inverse (more interaction resulting in ineffectiveness), or non-existent (change in level of interaction having no effect on the performance level).

Expressed as mathematical relationships:

ii)   OP = f(1/IOI);

iii) OP is not equal to f(IOI).

These relationships have different implications for policymaking. If, for instance, empirical findings confirm equation (i) above (more interaction results in improved performance), then organizations whose activities impinge upon one another in a common policy field will be encouraged to interact more frequently.   However, if equation (ii) (more interaction resulting in ineffectiveness) is supported by empirical data, it follows that to improve effectiveness, organizations must avoid contact with one another.   Finally, if equation (iii), where no relationship exist between interorganizational interaction and organizational performance is found to be true based on empirical

findings, then whether organizations interact or not, should not concern planners.

Seen from this perspective therefore, this study has obvious implications for policymakers and practicing planners. In particular, findings from this study will provide planners, policymakers, and other change agents valuable information about what to do when confronted with problems of organizational weaknesses.

Besides its central concern, the study also seeks to provide an up-to-date analysis of the housing delivery system in Cameroon -- something that has never been done since the country became independent in 1960.[6] Flowing from such an analysis will be very valuable information for housing policymakers in Cameroon, international development agencies, students of housing in developing nations and other parties with related interests.

Furthermore, the study makes a case for, and demonstrates the applicability of, an inherent but largely ignored indicator of the concept of effectiveness[7] namely, client satisfaction, in measuring the effectiveness of public policy organizations in LDCs. This is not only an original, but also promises to be a significant, contribution to ongoing debates circumscribing the concept of organizational effectiveness.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

The purpose of this chapter has been to introduce the reader to major issues of the present inquiry into the nature of the link between interorganizational relationships and organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field in a developing nation. Cameroon is used as the empirical referent. The study is based on the premise that, for

housing policy in less developed countries (LDCs) to be successful, greater attention must be paid to the institutional channels through which the policy is administered. Thus, the roots of the housing problem in LDCs are traceable to institutional weaknesses in the housing delivery systems in these countries.

Previous attempts to deal with the problem have tended to ignore the crucial role housing agencies play in the process. And when their role has been recognized (which is seldom), the focus has been on the internal dynamics of individual agencies. The present study confronts the problem from an entirely different angle; it focuses on the interorganizational context of housing policy administration. An underlying rationale for this is the fact that the responsibility for housing policy administration resides not with a single organization but with several organizations operating simultaneously in a common policy arena-- the housing policy field.

This chapter has raised several questions. Certainly not all can be answered in a single study of this nature. The study therefore, limits itself to dealing with a few of the questions such as the nature of the association between interorganizational relationships and organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field. This question, which is at the heart of the study, has implications for theory building efforts in organization theory and related fields, as well as development planning practice. The next chapter, which reviews the shifting perspectives in the field of institutional development from which this study draws its inspiration, begins the process of inquiring into the nature of this relationship.

CHAPTER ONE NOTES

1. See for example, World Bank (1986); Journal of the American Planning Association, 53, (1987) Special Issue on "Shelter Policy and Planning in Developing Countries"

2. Such settlements may also be referred to as squatters, bidonvilles, etc. Basically, these are housing units that are quite often initially constructed of makeshift materials on illegally-occupied land.

3. Current development objectives in LDCs include, the alleviation of poverty, redistribution of the benefits accruing from development, reducing levels of unemployment and dependence (see for example, Seers, 1969; 1977).

4. Here, reference is made to the Weberian model of organization.

5. The pronoun 'he' is used here to refer to both male and female, for lack of a neutral pronoun. The use of 'he/she', it is considered, would make

the reading tedious.

6. Some small-scale work aimed at assessing the housing need of the country have however been undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations ((see reports by Mora-Rubio, R. (1971); Nerfin, M. (1965); Schecter, G., Mercado, A., and Tenant, W.S. (1963). More recently, Halcrow and Fox (consultants) have undertaken preliminary studies for two Sites & Service projects (one for Yaounde and the other for Douala) at the request of the country's Ministry of Housing and Town Planning in collaboration with the World Bank (see MINUH, 1980).

7. The concept of organizational effectiveness is discussed in chapter 2 and operationalized in chapter 3.

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2. MAJOR TRENDS IN INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter rival concepts, theories and trends in the evolution of the institutional development (ID) movement in less developed countries (LDCs) are explored. As a working definition, institutional development refers to planned, systematic and integrated activities undertaken on a continuous basis to strengthen the institutional capacity for development policy administration[1]. Although implicit in this definition is an emphasis on developing nations, the literature of relevance is by no means restricted to that on development administration--the branch of public administration concerned with administration in LDCs.[2] Rather, fragments from the diverse intellectual traditions in organization theory, management science, political science, planning, and sociology form a patchwork of competing metaphors and models constituting this burgeoning literature. That the works directly relevant to the present study originate in such diverse disciplines manifests the interdisciplinary nature of the field of ID.

The chapter has two main objectives. First, it attempts to provide the reader with information on the state-of-the-art associated with ID in LDCs. Second, it lays the foundation for the conceptual framework for understanding the present study. This framework is fully developed in the next chapter. The organization of the chapter is as follows. A brief review of the major trends that have characterized activities aimed at improving institutional capacity in LDCs follows this introductory note. Major rival theoretical perspectives in organization theory, the field from which these activities have largely drawn their

inspiration are discussed in section 3. In doing so, attention is focused on how these perspectives have influenced developments in the ID enterprise. Section 4 explores the links among ID, organization, and development policy administration. The chapter is summarized and concluded in the final section.

MAJOR TRENDS IN THE I.D. MOVEMENT:

The importance of improving the institutional capacity for development policy administration in LDCs was widely acknowledged rather early during the post-World War II era. During this period (1950s through early 1960s), there was a general world-wide retreat from colonialism and the improvement of living conditions in the emerging nations had just become an overriding international concern. Administrative systems, which were established in these countries as colonial outposts of the metropolitan civil service and assigned the less complicated tasks of maintaining law and order, and revenue collection, were thenceforth required to adapt to the more complex task of administering development policy. This created the need for the activities aimed at strengthening the capacity of administrative systems, which have since been taking place in LDCs (Graham, 1968; Hammergren, 1983; Israel, 1987). These activities are discussed below under three categories corresponding to different traditions in institutional development in LDCs chronologically-ordered as follows: 1) classical administrative reforms[3] (1950s to mid-1960s); 2) institution building (mid-1960s through early 1970s); and 3) institutional development (mid-1970s to present). For each tradition, an attempt is made to address issues related to content,

method of execution, and limitations.

Classical Administrative Reforms (1950s through early 1960s):

Early attempts on the part of more developed nations to ameliorate living conditions in LDCs took the form of technical assistance projects specifically targeted to economic development and later, the sectoral domains of health, education, and agriculture. In the process of implementing these projects, the team of experts, either direct employees of international development agencies or members of the academic staff of various universities (mostly in the United States) on contract to these agencies (Adeyemi, 1984: 34; Hammergren, 1983: 27), discovered a more serious problem-- administrative weakness. This led to the broadening of technical assistance projects to encompass the area of public administration. An important early element in all the reform projects was the introduction of a corps of foreign advisors to help in their design and implementation (Hammergren, 1983: 27). Thus, a major characteristic of the earliest attempts at improving the capacity of administrative systems in LDCs to administer development policy is the fact that they were externally induced, originating in the international development community.

In effect, the changes that were initiated in the administrative systems of the host countries reflected the administrative and organizational perspectives that were dominant in the advanced world, particularly the U.S., at the time. In this connection the works of Chester Barnard (1938), Max Weber (1947), and members of what is often alluded to in the literature as the 'classical school of organizational thought' comprising Lyndall Urwick (1943), Luther Gulick (1937), Frederick Taylor (1911) and Henri Fayol (1949) influenced the administrative reform schemes that were introduced

by international change agents[4]. A more detailed discussion of the works of the aforementioned writers and how they might have influenced the early (and to some extent, contemporary) efforts to improve the capacity for development policy administration in LDCs is deferred to a subsequent section. Suffice at this point to mention that classical reformers equated improvement in organizations within administrative systems with approximations of models that existed in their countries of origin. In essence, therefore, they concentrated on the internal components of organizations emphasizing such aspects as structure, processes, personnel administration, budgeting practices, and management training. With regard to the latter, the Ford and Rockefeller foundations contributed most significantly by establishing institutes of development administration and management (Israel, 1987). In other cases reformers organized training programmes and scholarships to improve the technical level of national bureaucracies as well as train some individuals specifically in administrative skills (Hammergren, 1983).

Despite the intellectual sophistication of the models and theories that guided these efforts, which were not only ambitious, but also optimistic and imbued with a great deal of enthusiasm, the results were generally disappointing[5]. Reasons advanced for this inability on the part of Western administrative models to succeed in LDCs have never been in short supply since the failure was widely acknowledged in the early 1960s (see for example, Eisenstadt, 1967; Esman, 1966; Riggs, 1964; Heady, 1984; Bryant and White, 1982; and Corwin, 1987). Commentators on this issue are largely uniform in arguing that the efforts failed because a) administrative systems in LDCs were a melange of traditional foundations and Western concepts/models which in most part were unable to work in the manner originally intended; b) the entire process was dominated by foreign advisors

(who knew hardly anything about the environment in which they were operating); and c) reform was seen as a one-step process with a definite beginning and end. One of the best summaries of the reasons for classical reforms' grim results is Lawrence Graham's. Graham (1968) argues that reform efforts failed because the techniques of scientific management were indiscriminately applied without taking sufficient account of the functional requirements of the administrative structures that were already in place and without sufficient attention for the human elements.

> In many respects the administrative concepts imported from abroad and the individuals identified with them have set the scene and conditioned the solutions offered to specific problems in the public personnel field (Ibid, p. 38).

The need for alternative approaches to improving the capacity for development policy administration had thus become eminent. Efforts to address this exigency gave birth to the institution building (IB) tradition which dominated the development administration scene from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s.

The Institution Building (IB) Tradition (Mid-1960s to Mid-1970s):

As implied above, the impetus for seeking alternative approaches to dealing with administrative weaknesses in LDCs resulted from widespread recognition of the fact that improving administrative capacity entailed more than the mere acquisition of skills and technology. It actually includes the establishment of standards, norms and basic values. ". . . To build or change an institution is to establish a stable set of desired behaviours in a particular place and time" (UN DTCD, 1982:5). This is the line of reasoning that guided the endeavours of the scholars and practitioners, mostly members of university faculties in the U.S. on contract to international

development agencies, who branded themselves 'institution builders' during the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s[6].

In 1964, with grants from the Ford Foundation and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Inter-University Research Program on Institution Building (IRPIB), the first major institution building activity, was established. This programme comprised four member-universities namely, Pittsburgh (Graduate School of Public and International Affairs), Michigan state, Indiana, and Syracuse. Soon after this, and under the auspices of the Committee on Institutional Co-operation of the Agency for International Development (CIC-AID), the Mid-Western University Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) was created with headquarters at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Member-universities of this latter included Wisconsin, Ohio State, Purdue, North Carolina, Missouri, and Utah State. The sectoral focus of these programmes were slightly different. While IRBIP was concerned with ameliorating the performance of public administration systems, MUCIA's target was improving the capacity of agricultural institutions (Adeyemi, 1984:35). The aims in both cases remained the same -- building competent organizations and creating effective environmental linkages. This latter, creating effective environmental linkages, is what distinguishes institution building as a strategy for improving administrative capacity from classical administrative reforms. The former thus signifies a departure from the latter in that rather than simply transfer administrative tools from the West as if they were value-neutral, it (IB) involved efforts aimed at ensuring a 'fit' between form and substance.

One of the most significant events in the history of the IB tradition was the development of the IB model by Milton Esman and

his associates at the University of Pittsburgh (see Esman, 1966; Esman and Bruhns, 1964; Eaton, 1972; Blase, 1986). Much of the work in IB and later, institutional development (ID), refers to, or utilizes the basic framework of this model[7]. The present study is no exception. In fact the model (slightly modified) constitutes the corpus of the analytic framework of this research endeavour. A more detailed discussion of the model is thus called for.

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            ┌─────────────────────┐
            │ Institutions control-│
            │ ling  vital  resources│
            └─────────────────────┘
                      ↕ 1

┌────────┐        ┌──────────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐
│ Other  │   4    │ Institution Vars.│   2    │ complementary│
│instit- │ ←────→ │                  │ ←────→ │ institutions │
│utions  │        │ -Leadership      │        │              │
│        │        │ -Doctrine        │        │              │
│        │        │ -Programme       │        │              │
│        │        │ -Resources       │        │              │
│        │        │ -Internal  Struc.│        │              │
└────────┘        └──────────────────┘        └──────────────┘
                      ↕ 3
                ┌─────────────────┐
                │     Society      │
                └─────────────────┘
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☐ Inst. under investigation

←→ Interactions & Linkages
       1=Enabling; 2=Functional; 3=Diffused; 4=Normative.
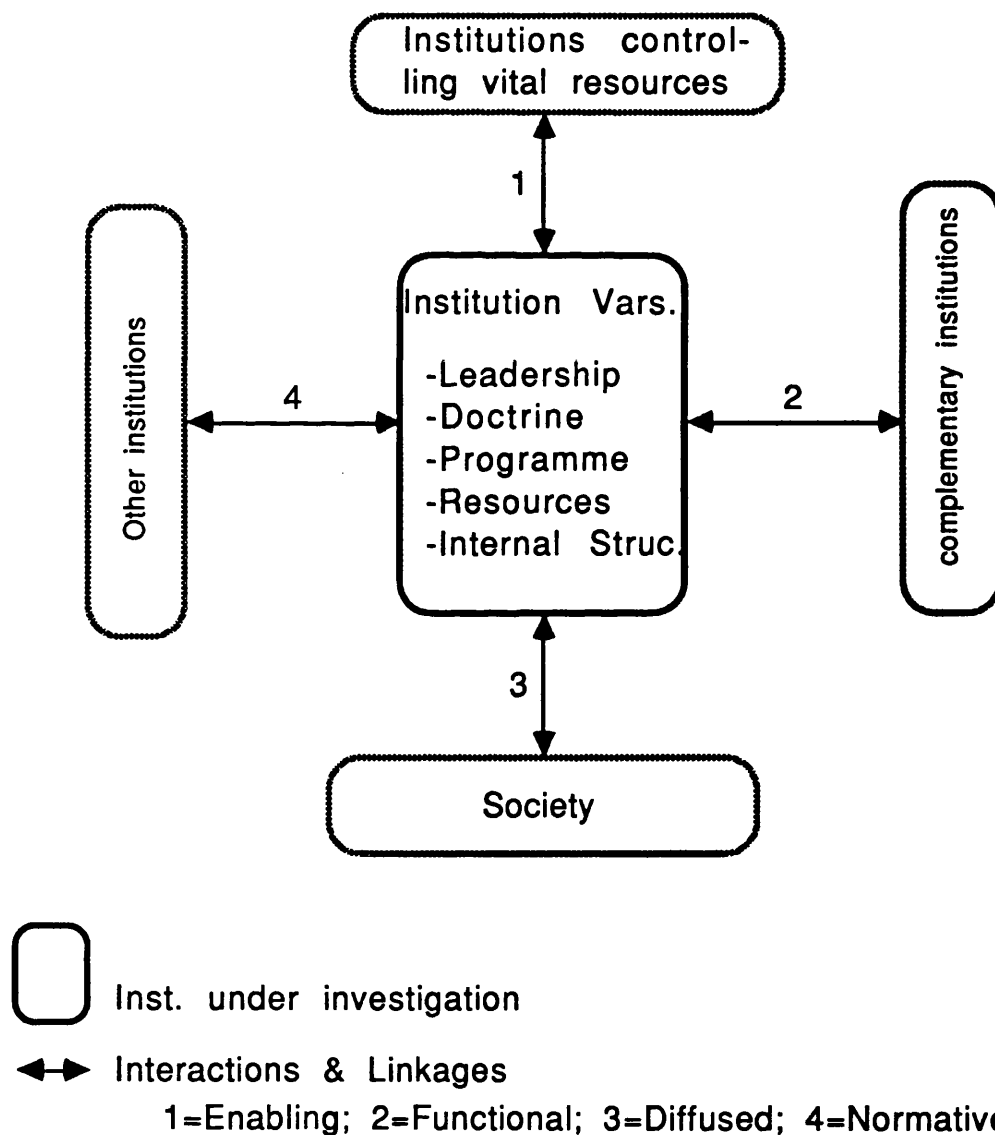
Fig. 1: The Institution Building Universe.

The institution building model is operationalized by three sets of analytic concepts categorized as "organizational", "interorganizational", and "exchange" variables (Esman and Bruhns, 1964:328). These concepts are diagramatically represented in figure 1 above.

Organizational Variables include: 1) leadership, the individuals responsible for formulating, guiding and directing the organization's activities; 2) doctrine, the specification of values, objectives and operating procedures that guide the organization's activities; 3) programme, consisting of the organization's output (e.g. the goods and/or services it produces); 4) resources, including inputs such as equipment, infrastructure, manpower, funds, etc.; 5) internal structure, comprising the procedures and practices the organization adopts in order to enhance the accomplishment of its objectives.

Interorganizational Variables comprise the linkages an organization creates between itself and other organizations in its relevant environment[8]. These linkages may be "enabling", "functional", "normative", or "diffused". Enabling linkages are relationships established by an organization with the organizations or social groups that control the resources it requires in order to function properly. Functional linkages are relationships an organization creates with other organizations undertaking activities that are complementary to its own. Normative linkages are the relationships an organization enters with other organizations in its environment in order to secure the legitimacy and values necessary for executing its functions. Diffused linkages are the contacts an organization creates with the general public in order to inform and be informed by the latter.

Exchange Variables comprise the various contacts an organization creates in order to gain support from its relevant environment by

either structuring it, incorporating its norms and values, or exchanging resources with it.

One of the conceptual refinements to the IB model necessary to make it suitable for the purpose of the present study entails collapsing its three sets of analytic concepts into a dichotomy comprising "organizational" and "environmental" variables. While the former remains unchanged, the latter is created by combining "interorganizational" and "exchange" variables -- the variables residing in the external environment of the organization. A further refinement will entail isolating for use only the "interorganizational" variables. An interorganizational perspective has been suggested as a potential direction for the development of the IB model (Ganesh, 1979). A more detailed treatment of the conceptual refinements to the model for the purpose of this study is contained in the following chapter.

It is important to call attention to the fact that the IB model is not a theory. This is because, among other things, it does not constitute a generalizable statement of some regular predictable relationship between two or more variables. Rather, it is an analytical tool that may be used to describe systematically the macro-system interaction process designed to enhance the development of innovative organizations (Eaton, 1972:140). The need remains to provide the model with the predictive and explanatory powers necessary to transform it into a theory. A useful source-book that summarizes works on and about the IB model from its

inception in the mid-1960s to 1983 by Melvin Blase (1986) reveals that efforts to address this need have been scanty[9]. The present study recognizes this need and attempts to address it. One of the major distinguishing characteristics of the IB orientation is that more than simply concerning itself with the internal components of

orgainizations, it strived to institutionalize new and existing organizations. Ganesh (1979:752) observes that "institutionality" is posited as the end state in the IB tradition. An organization is deemed as having reached this state, or become "institutionalized", when it is able to attract support and legitimacy from its environment. In IB, therefore, an institution connotes a sense of permanence in terms of an organization's bond with, and acceptance by, the environment by which it is circumcribed. An institution is thus a specific form of organization in that it includes more than simply formal structures and processes. In this study, for simplicity sake, the more general term, 'organization' is preferred.

One of the major preoccupations of the IB movement was to assist practicing institution builders in executing their functions. Making this point more succinctly, a paper that abridges and almagamates discussions on "institution-building for planned development" by a United Nations Expert Group on the subject which met in New York and Bangkok in December 1977 and June 1979, respectively, states that

> The objective of the intellectual enterprise identified with institution
> building has not been theory-building for its own sake, but the
> improvement of practice (UN DTDC, 1982: 4).

Yet proponents of IB have never been able to elaborate clearly the specific ways and means that can be employed by practitioners in order to deal with the effectiveness problems typical of a 'real' organization as well as those characteristic of the environment in which the organization is engulfed. Other criticisms that have been leveled against IB, and what it stands for, include the fact that it has an inherent "social engineering bias (Blase, 1986; Ganesh, 1979). This charge derives from the fact that the IB concept as originally

formulated incorporated not only micro- but also macro-societal change dimensions. This is evidenced by Esman's (1972) definition of the concept of IB. According to Esman,

> Institution-building may be defined as the planning, structuring and guidance of new or reconstituted organizations which a) embody changes in values, functions, physical and/or social technologies; b) establish, foster and protect new normative relationships and action patterns, and c) obtain support and complementarity in the environment (p. 2).

However, institution builders were unable to demonstrate convincingly an ability to design intervention measures whose internal norms are not only tolerated by society but also capable of generating desirable results. Thus, while the IB perspective was successful in providing a descriptive framework capable of highlighting areas in need of attention in organization, it failed to go beyond the general conceptual level to tell practitioners what they had to do so as to ameliorate the performance of organizations. These, and other shortcomings necessitated a rethinking of the model which led to the emergence of the institutional development (ID) school of development administration thought.

Institutional Development (Mid-1970s to Present):

What in development planning circles currently goes under the name, institutional development (ID) is an extension of the concept of institution building (IB). Not only is ID more comprehensive, but constitutes a vast improvement over IB. The purpose, improving the capacity for development policy administration in LDCs, however, remains unchanged.

As previously stated, ID emerged as an effort to address deficiencies in the IB approach. This effort has produced several upshots (Brinkerhoff, 1986:18; Honadle, 1981; Rondinelli, 1984). First, in ID, administrative capacity takes on a new meaning in which the concept is extended to include questions of organizational behaviour. In other words, questions with regard not only to what an organization is made of in terms of structure and resources, but also a) how these (the structure and resources) are employed to produce goods and/or services, and b) who the organization's beneficiaries are. A second departure from the IB and classical reforms traditions by ID is the fact that the latter does not restrict itself to public sector organizations as in the two former cases. In fact, lately there has been a proliferation of empirical work documenting the importance of strengthening non-public institutions such as local community development agencies, rural co-operatives, farmers' associations, rotating credit associations, etc. (the reader is referred to Korten and Alfonso, 1983; Honadle, 1981; Uphoff, 1985, 1986, for more on ID efforts directed at the non-public sector in LDCs). In incorporating this emerging orientation in the concept of of ID, Brinkerhoff (1986: 19) states that it "involves creating organizations capable of establishing and maintaining a partnership between external expertise and resources and local knowledge and problem-solving ability". Third, and dovetailing into the second, ID concerns itself with development projects and their impact on the project beneficiaries. Where necessary, ID makes an effort to alter the behaviour of these beneficiaries. In this regard, "effective ID means influencing client behavior to utilize outputs so as to generate improved production, welfare, nutritional status, and so on" (Brinkerhoff, 1986: 18). Thus, ID does not concern itself simply with organizations in the traditional sense[10] but extends to all development activities regardless of the

context in which they occur. Currently, what I.D. is all about is without bounds. This probably explains why there is currently a multitude of approaches to tackling problems of administrative weaknesses in LDCs. A recent review of the field by Derrick Brinkerhoff (1986) has uncovered three approaches to strengthening institutional capacity most commonly used by contemporary ID practitioners and researchers. These approaches are: 1) social learning process[11], 2) performance improvement, and 3) rural development capacity building.

The Social Learning Process Approach:

This approach as elaborated by David Korten (1980) concentrates on "people centered" development projects and programmes within a service delivery system[12]. The approach constitutes an implicit rejection of the "cast iron" or "master plan" or "blue print" approach to inducing or promoting change in LDCs. The distinguishing mark of the social learning approach is that unlike the "blue print" approach which emphasizes planning from the "top-down", it advocates the involvement of project or programme beneficiaries from the formulation to implementation stage. In effect, plans become the product of a "learning process" in which there is a sincere exchange of knowledge and resources between the planners and the plan beneficiaries. Creating a conducive environment for this process to occur, Korten argues, ID more readily achieves a 'fit' between "needs and capacities of the beneficiaries and those of outsiders . . . providing assistance". This argument is doubtlessly persuasive especially when development projects and programmes are seen in the light of what Denis Rondinelli has branded, "policy experiments". Rondinelli (1983) argues that LDCs are characterized by uncertainty and complexity about which planners know nothing hence theories of development

will continue to be as they have always been, nothing more than uncertain propositions. To translate these propositions into meaningful actions, organizations must be open to experimentation and prepared to accept and learn from their errors and clients, and must incorporate the lessons learnt from past experience into ongoing actions.

The Performance Improvement Approach:

This approach owes its origin to the work of the United States Department of Agriculture's Development Project Management Center (DPMC). Some of the approach's basic features are similar to those of the learning process approach discussed above. For instance, like the learning process approach, it is client-centered and rejects pre-detailed project or programme designs.

Its main objective is building in organizations changes that are capable of causing and sustaining effective performance over a long period. The underlying assumption of this objective is that effective organizations are more likely to win the trust of their constituencies[13], hence have a better chance of being institutionalized (Brinkerhoff, 1986:27). Organized activity, according to this approach , must satisfy certain basic functions such as clear and shared objectives, agreed-on and clearly defined roles and responsibilities. The task of the approach thus becomes one of taking the steps necessary to ensure that the target organization accomplishes these functions. The emphasis is on effecting sustained positive changes in the organization.

The Rural Development Capacity-Building Approach:

Resulting from applied research by a U.S.-based development consulting agency, Development Alternatives Incorporated (DAI) under the auspices of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), this approach essentially comprises features borrowed from the two previously discussed approaches. The approach has been described as "an eclectic, practitioner-oriented" analytic perspective on ID (Brinkerhoff, 1986:31). However, it is not as prescriptive as the learning approach, nor is it as operationally-specific as the performance model. One of the unique features of the rural development capacity building approach is its emphasis on some degree of autonomous control over resources by the organization's primary beneficiaries[14]. The rationale for this is that long-term returns on development projects and programmes depend largely on some degree of autonomous control over resources by user groups. Such autonomy not only acts as an incentive but is capable of expanding people's opportunities to undertake successful development by providing them the resources and services required to enhance their productivity, income, and general well-being. Brinkerhoff (1986) sees the essence of granting primary beneficiaries, the users of the goods and/or services an organization produces, some autonomy from a slightly different perspective. He contends that,

> . . . unless local people have some resource base they themselves
>
> can control and manage, the change-resistant groups in society --
>
> for example, local elites -- will eventually prevail (Ibid, p. 32).

In practice (e.g. agricultural improvement projects), this means making an effort to ensure that benefits accruing from projects and programmes are captured by intended beneficiaries. It also means ensuring that those whose conditions the development interventions profess to improve are provided the knowledge and skills necessary to

determine and manage their own projects and programmes particularly with respect to 'who gets what'.

Contemporary approaches to ID are hardly without their weaknesses. The social learning approach, for instance, has been criticized for being plagued with ideological overtones (Brinkerhoff, 1986:26). It is difficult if not impossible to isolate from its normative prescriptions which recommendations are made because of their comparative advantage in terms of costs and potential benefits and which are advanced as an expression of a moral commitment to "people-centered development". Furthermore, anyone knowlegeable about the power structure of LDCs would readily agree that the approach's focus on local community control is diametrically opposed to reality and indubitably poses a potential threat to political elites in these countries, who hesitate to share power. In essence therefore, the approach may stand to defeat one of its paramount purposes, namely, finding the 'best fit' between existing norms, incentives, practices, and development intervention strategies.

If the social learning approach goes a little too far in its attempts to confront the social realities of transitional societies, the performance improvement approach falls far short of doing so. This latter fails to confront important issues dealing with needed changes to extant conditions as they relate especially to the power structure, community control, and the distribution of benefits accruing from development. Instead, it tends to be conservative, emphasizing only incremental changes. In this respect it risks perpetuating the status quo.

The rural development capacity-building approach is plagued with a set of problems quite the opposite of those characteristic of the performance improvement approach discussed above. Rural capacity

building's eclectic, hence, synoptic or comprehensive nature is likely to render it practically in-operational. This is because, in practice at any given point, an ID intervention strategy is likely to conform to no more than a subset of its prescriptions.

These criticisms are however, not intended to detract from what are essentially dramatic improvements over previous efforts aimed at redressing institutional weaknesses in LDCs. Rather, they are meant to underscore the need for more empirical research and, hence, empirically-informed theory-building efforts in the field of institutional development. This concern is at the heart of the present endeavour, which has as its primary goal, the establishment of some empirical basis for the institution building model.

The roots of this model, which as earlier stated forms the pivot around which contemporary thinking in ID has evolved, are located in organization theory. It follows therefore that some appreciation of developments in this latter is a *sine qua non* to understanding the metamorphosis of efforts aimed at improving institutional capacity in LDCs. The focus of the discussion is thusly shifted to organization theory in the next section.

ORGANIZATION THEORY & I.D: THE INEXTRICABLE LINK:

As implied above, efforts to improve the institutional capacity for development policy administration in LDCs have traditionally drawn their inspiration from organizational theory. Below, some of the major evolutionary trends that have characterized thinking in this field of inquiry are examined. The utility of this line of investigation resides in its ability to provide some explanation to major shifts that have taken place in conceptualizing institutional development. The crux of

the argument that follows is that shifts in the perception of ID have been by no means spontaneous. Rather, they have occurred in the context of fundamental movements in organization theory.

Organization Theory: Rival Perspectives:

Three major schools, Weberian/Scientific Management, Human Relations, and Organizational Behaviour, which emerged in 1910, 1935, and 1950, respectively, (Owens, 1981), have dominated thinking in organization theory since it became a distinct field of intellectual inquiry in the early 1900s[15]. Since the mid-1970s, a new school of thought, the open systems or contingency school has emerged.

Based on the concerns of each, these schools can be regrouped to form dichotomous categories. One category comprises the traditional schools (Weberian/Scientific Management, Human Relations, and Organizational Behaviour), which concentrate on the internal components of organizations and the open systems school, which is concerned with forces in the organization's (external) environment, constitutes the other[16].

Traditional Perspectives:

Organization theory as it first developed in North America and Western Europe was essentially production-oriented and based on concepts which emphasized rigid, technologically-grounded principles of organizational management. This in essence is the basis of the Weberian/Scientific Management tradition, which was an outgrowth of the ideas of three persons, Frederick Taylor, Henri Fayol and Max Weber. Major contributions to the refinement of these ideas came from two other important figures, Luther Gullick and Lyndall Urwick.

Improving organizational performance was the main goal of the works of these individuals and others who were to emerge later. The driving force behind Frederick Taylor's (1911) inquiry was a belief in the possibility of uncovering a universally-valid, and scientifically-based "one best way" to this goal. His formula was what became known as the four principles of scientific management which emphasize more objective and scientific approaches to 1) distributing organizational tasks; 2) selecting and training workers; 3) distinguishing between official roles (especially between management and line workers); and 4) establishing discipline between the two roles, whereby management sets the objectives and the workers cooperate in their achievement. Taylor saw organizational performance in terms of cost of production per unit. Although he later contended it was universally applicable, his formula was initially intended to lower the unit cost of factory production.

A few years after Frederick Taylor's commendable efforts at improving organizational performance in the United States, a French top-management executive by the name, Henri Fayol sought to accomplish an identical task in France. In the field of administration, Fayol (1949) is credited with 1) articulating what is known as "the five functions of administration comprising, planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating and controlling, and 2) highlighting the importance of a trained group to the functioning of a formal organization.

About the same time as Fayol, a German sociologist Max Weber (1947) articulated what is possibly the most written-about model in organization theory today namely, bureaucracy. One commentator has alluded to Weber's model as "the most useful, durable, and brilliant" contribution to the field of organization theory (Owens, 1981:10).

Weber was lured by the notion that organizational performance was a technical issue soluble by manipulating the internal components and structure of the organization. Based on this assumption, he postulated four paramount principles as follows. 1) division of labour, which entails the division of organizational functions into components based on the skills required for their completion; 2) autonomy of people and position, wherein positions and assignments in the organization are tailored to the needs of the task to be completed as opposed to the needs of who has to complete the task; 3) centralized authority in which supervision ensues a carefully defined hierarchy of superiors from the 'top-down'; and 4) impersonality in the execution of official duties, a requirement that members of the organization do the "right thing" neither because they are coerced nor because of their congenial ties with clients, but simply because of what standard operating rules mandate. Another important feature of the Weberian model is the prescription that functionaries be recruited based on merit as opposed to ascriptive criteria such as caste, race, class, or place of origin. This prescription is intended to guarantee organizational efficiency by ensuring that the organization is staffed with qualified people only. According to Weber's logic such an arrangement would necessarily be the most rational and most appropriate vehicle for implementing policy mandates. In his own words:

> Experience tends universally to show that the purely bureaucratic type of
> administrative organization -- that is, from a purely technical point of
> view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this
> sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out
> imperative control over human beings. It is superior to any other form
> in precision, stability, in stringency of its discipline, and its reliability.
> It thus makes possible a particularly high degree of calculability of
> results for the heads of the organization and for those acting in relation

to it. It is finally superior both in intensive efficiency and in scope of its operations, of administrative tasks (Weber, 1947:337).

Apart from these "three giants" of the classical school of organizational thought, Luther Gullick and Lyndall Urwick (1937) also contributed significantly to the task of laying the foundation upon which contemporary organization thought is based. These latter researchers were the first to propose the structuring of organizations according to a) purpose served; b) processes employed; c) types of clients served; and d) geographical area covered, as a means of improving institutional performance. An excellent and more detailed discussion of these ideas is presented in Peters (1984:121-137). Further credit is due Gullick and Urwick (1937) for articulating the need to draw up a formal organizational chart showing the precise ways in which various offices and divisions within the organization are related.

Traditional organization theorists, those persuaded by the notion that organizations are closed systems, have historically been divided on certain major issues hence, the different schools of thought. For instance, while classical theorists stress the coordination of physical processes, human relationists, with Elton Mayo (1938) as their principal representative, emphasize that organizations be treated as organic social systems in which the human and social elements have to be coordinated into a functioning whole. Thus, the human relations school perceives human and interpersonal factors as significantly affecting organizational performance. Classical theorists tend to view workers as extensions of factory machinery, hence the appellation, "machine model" that has been employed in reference to the classical model of organization (see e.g. Graham, 1968).

Another notable departure from the classical model is exemplified by the organizational behaviour school. Concerned with deemphasizing the authority and control aspects of organizations, Chester Barnard (1938), one of the early advocates of this school, underscored the need for the executive to take into account the interaction between the exigencies and aspirations of the workers on the one hand, and the aims and objectives of the organization on the other, in making any decision. In effect, organizational behaviourists move away from emphasizing organizational structure (as do classical theorists) and away from stressing the need for adapting the individual to a given set of circumstances within the organization (as is the case with human relationists). Their concern is largely with decision-making as a crucial unit for administrative analysis. In this connection, Herbert Simon (1947, 1958) in what he called the 'concept of bounded rationality' made one of the most significant contributions to date. Simon contends that while theoretically it may be possible for 'economic man' to 'maximize' by selecting the best alternative from among a variety at his disposal, 'administrative man' seeks to 'satisfice'[17] rather than 'maximize' because it is both infeasible and unnecessary to examine all possible alternatives prior to making a decision.

The Impact of the Traditional Perspectives on ID:

Notwithstanding the nuances, the traditional schools of organization theory share a common thread, namely their focus on the internal components of the organization, hence the treatment of the latter as a closed system. This orientation, which has had an enormous effect on efforts to improve institutional capacity in LDCs, was in vogue and seldom challenged in the West through the late 1950s.

Thus, when Western change agents embarked on accomplishing the self-proclaimed mission of ameliorating the performance of administrative systems in LDCs in the 1950s, they equated improvement with the approximation of the traditional organization model.

> In their extreme development, they move toward a universal prescriptive
> model of reform, applicable to all political systems (Hammergren, 1983:6).

The fact that the structures, standard operating procedures and other major features of public administration systems in LDCs are identical from one country to another, and bear a striking resemblance to systems of the advanced nations (Riggs, 1977; Bryant and White, 1982; Heady, 1984; Clapham, 1985) is therefore not accidental. Attributes of the traditional model of organization abound in the administrative systems of LDCs. One example is the grouping of most of these systems into ministerial bodies according to function or geographic area served, or processes employed or a combination thereof, whose origins are traceable to the works of Luther Gullick and Lyndall Urwick (1937). Also tracing its roots to the works of these two important theorists of the classical school, and as a second example, is the practice in LDC administrative systems of drawing up organizational charts which spell out in detail lines of responsibility and authority. Rather early in the reform movement, the impact of the ideas of Frederick Taylor and Henri Fayol was already evident. This was externally manifested through the projects and programmes that were initiated by change agents such as the Ford and Rockefeller foundations to provide training and scholarship to functionaries from developing nations during the 1950s.

It is equivocal that the ideas of any other organization theorist had an impact of greater magnitude than Max Weber's on early efforts

to improve administrative performance in LDCs. The ideas of Weber became operational in the administrative systems of these countries through pyramidally-structured organizations, wherein decision-making took place exclusively at the top and the responsibility for implementation resided at the bottom. These ideas are further reflected in attempts that were made in these countries (especially under the auspices of classical reformers) to incorporate into public organizations Weberian features such as functional specialization, autonomy of people and position, impersonality, and the employment of functionaries based on the merit criterion (Eisenstadt, 1967; Heady, 1984).

By relying indiscriminately on theories and concepts of traditional organization theory, early change agents attempting to improve administrative performance in LDCs assumed like those who postulated these theories and concepts that the Western model of organization was 'value-neutral'. To make such an assumption is to ignore the crucial fact that organizations are fascimilles of the culture in which they are nested (Corwin, 1987:279). The Weberian model's roots for instance, are said to be located in the cultural traditions of Western society, particularly, Western rationalism (Peters, 1984: 59-60). It is therefore no surprise that the socioeconomic and cultural realities of LDCs have always been unaccommodating to this and similar models. Almost anyone in the development administration field can cite their favourite example of a feature of the Western model that, due to environmental factors, either failed to produce expected results or even worse, exacerbated the problem it was intended to remedy. Take, for example, impersonality in the execution of official duties, a structural earmark of the Weberian model. This feature is intended to ensure that the public official conducts his/her office without hatred and passion, hence without affection or

enthusiasm. The underlying rationale was that a detached approach is necessary for rational standards to govern operations without interference from personal considerations of the organization and its clients. This feature, to the dismay of classical reformers, had no place in LDCs where, contrary to the West, one's primary loyalty is reserved for members of one's family and friends. During the 1960s in a study of public organizations in Egypt, Eisenstadt (1967) concluded that:

> . . . people in the Near East are not accustomed to looking upon
>
> others impersonally in any situation. They tend to regard others
>
> as individuals with families, friends, and communities behind
>
> them; this trend is carried into realms where recent changes
>
> have established different requirements.

Another feature of the Western administrative model, division of labour, was/is inoperational in LDCs because of resource-scarcity. An underlying assumption of the concept of division of labour or specialization in organization is that there are sufficient specialists at every point in the organizational hierarchy to whom different tasks can be assigned. This has seldom been the case in LDCs. Scholars who have attempted to analyze administrative systems in LDCs report an acute shortage of talent in the upper administrative levels. Waterston (1979), for example, noted that Kuwait, with a population (at the time) of 350, 000, had a public bureaucracy of 53,000; yet there was still a shortage of skilled personnel. He also observed that in Africa, where there have been conscious efforts aimed at filling spots in the bureaucracy with Africans or "Africanizing the bureaucracy", there has been a problem of finding nationals with the education and experience necessary for the higher echelons of public organizations. A decade after Waterston's account, "The Economist" (1989: 15) notes that "Africa's . . . great handicap is its shortage of skills". This problem has its roots in the fact that LDCs almost by definition, are resource-scarce

economies thus making the training of functionaries for each slot in the bureaucracy virtually impossible. Furthermore, evidence emerging from LDCs suggest that their dwindling economies have made it difficult for them to attract and retain qualified personnel in public organizations. In this connection, low pay for public officials is a reason why the public bureaucracy is unable to secure badly needed professionals in Thailand,Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Turkey, most countries in Africa, and Latin America (Waterston, 1979).

Autonomy of people and position, a prescription of the Western organizational model intended to guarantee the functioning of an organization in the absence of any given member of the organization, was/is incompatible with conditions prevalent in LDCs. This prescription which recommends that positions and assignments in the organization be tailored to suit the needs of the job to be done, not the needs of those who would do it, implies that human labour is an interchangeable commodity. Again, this prescription ignored the fundamental reality of resource-scarcity in LDCs. For 'autonomy of people and position' to work, there must be enough resources available to enable the training of specialists according to the way organizational tasks are divided. For reasons already alluded to, this is not possible in LDCs.

Finally, centralization of authority, a conspicuous feature of the Western model, is intended to ensure supervision and coordination through a carefully defined hierarchy of superiors. In hierarchical organizations, decisions are viewed as commands that must be obeyed with limited friction. In practice, and particularly so in LDCs, because of too many uncertainties,[18] implementation of decisions or coordination is at best difficult, and at worst impossible to attain (Rondinelli, 1983; Bryant and White, 1982). The requirement for

organizational centralization, it would appear, stems from a need to keep the organization alive rather than from one to be effective from a societal point of view. Waldo (1984:134) provides support for this speculation when he writes that,

> In the field of management . . . centralization of general business
> operations, reduces conflicts and overlapping jurisdictions and services.
> Integration of authorities and activities in a given area produces proved
> benefits of large-scale enterprises.

Waldo further contends, the belief that all administrative services are better executed when placed under the responsibility of a single inidividual, the chief executive, is neither substantiated by reason nor experience. In the context of LDCs centralization has been linked to the creation of small coteries of public officials at or near the top level who are far removed from the people they are supposed to be serving (Huque, 1985; Heady, 1984; Rondinelli, 1981).

These are but a few of the points of disillusionment with institutions based on traditional principles of organization that accentuated the need for students of development administration to embark on uncovering more innovative approaches to improving administrative capacity in LDCs during the 1960s. The roots of the analytical frameworks (e.g. IB model) and approaches (e.g. social learning) to improving institutions in LDCs that have since been advanced as alternatives to the classical reforms are traceable to contingency or open systems theory.

Contingency Perspectives:

The concept of contingent or open systems has its roots in the physical and biological science, where it was developed as a conceptual apparatus to help scientists explore the interdependence and

interconnectedness among living and non-living organisms. Although the spillover of these developments into the social science occurred as far back as the late 1940s (see for example, Dimock, 1947), their incorporation into theoretical and conceptual schemes by social scientists is of recent vintage. In this latter instance, and particularly in relation to formal organizations, open systems theory is

> concerned with system boundaries, differentiation and integration of the subsystems that are "parts" of the focal system, input-transformation-output processes, boundary transactions, and system maintenance processes (Seashore, 1983:57).

The trend to perceive organizations from this perspective started gaining momentum among analysts during the last two or so decades. Anant Negandhi (1980) speculates that the need among social scientists to develop an understanding of the relationships between organizations and their environment appears to have been stimulated by two different but interrelated concerns. First, there has been an increasing awareness that social units constitute an integral part of the social system, hence can only be properly understood in the context of the other units comprising the whole system. Second, besides the internal components and structure of individual organizations, social scientists have come to grips with the fact that knowledge about a variety of resource transfers between organizations and their environment is necessary in explaining organizational performance. In a similar vein, Corwin (1987: 276) argues that knowledge of the degree to which organizations are interdependent is a precondition to understanding their functioning. Organizational interdependence refers to a situation in which the fulfillment of an organization's desires is contingent upon conditions controlled by one or more other organizations. In jargon-free language, two organizations are

interdependent if they need each other in order to achieve their respective objectives.

There have been some attempts in the literature to draw a clear line of demarcation between intraorganizational[19] and inter-organizational analyses (see for example, Litwak and Hylton, 1962; Negandhi, 1980). It is possible for instance to distinguish these two approaches to investigating organizations based on how each deals with the issues of conflict and authority in organization, both of which are crucial to organizational functioning. While the interorganizational perspective takes conflict between organizations as given, its opposite, the intraorganizational approach perceives it (conflict) as a very likely source of breakdown in the organizational structures. An implied and perhaps more basic distinction between the two is the fact that while intraorganizational analysts rely exclusively on variations in the internal components and structure of organizations to explain organizational performance, interorganizational analysts hold that organizational performance is a function of conditions residing within the organizational environment. This is the common denominator of studies that fall under the general rubric of open systems or contingency theory. However, what constitutes the organizational environment has been a subject of heated debate amongst organization-environment relations[20] students.

Defining the Organizational Environment:

Definitions of the term 'organizational environment' range from general ones that encompass anything else in the universe except the organization under consideration (Katz and Kahn, 1978: 122) to more specific ones that consider only organizations with which the organization in question must interact in order to acquire resources and power (Benson, 1958: 239). More precise definitions of the

concept attempt to make distinctions among the different types of environments an organization often comes in contact with (e.g. Corwin, 1987: 19-20). Corwin has identified three types of organizational environments as follows. 1) the task environment, which comprises factors such as the consumers of the organization's products and other organizations and authorities controlling the resources it needs for its functioning; 2) the institutional environment, including major institutions (economic, political, legal and cultural) with which the organization is associated; and 3) the ecological-demographic environment, conceptualized in terms of the distribution, complexity, and rates of change in the opportunities and in the constraints associated with the organization's constituencies[21].

As implied above, the concern with the organizational environment stemmed from a growing awareness among students of organization of the role of external variables in conditioning organizational performance. In incorporating the environment into one of the early best known empirical studies in the area, Emery and Trist (1965) focused on environmental turbulence.[22] Essentially, through their characterization of the interdependence with the environment as "the causal texture of the field", they underscored the influential nature of the organizational environment. Katz and Kahn (1978: 31) observe that,

> changes in the environment lead to demands for change in the
> organization, and even efforts to resist those demands results in internal
> change.

This observation leads them to urge that:

> . . . the study of organizations should include the study of
> organization-environment relations. We must examine the ways in
> which an organization is tied to other structures, . . . (Ibid, p.31)

In this study, the definition of the term organizational environment is restricted to the organizations with which a given organization interacts in a common policy arena. The variables considered are therefore those the institution building model groups under the appellation, 'interorganizational variables'. these constitute the contacts an organization establishes with other organizations in its relevant environment. Those who pursue the mission of improving institutional performance in LDCs see as one of their major tasks the establishment of new relationships, and the improvement and maintenance of existing ones, between organizations operating within common policy fields. A U.N. document summarizes this task as involving simultaneously building viable organizations and managing linkages with other organizations operating in their administrative environment (UN DTDC, 1982:3). The logic behind this is that interorganizational linkages or relationships--that is, contacts between organizations are capable of enhancing organizational effectiveness. This is however, an empirical question rather than one that can be dealt with through a logical juxtaposition of theoretical propositions. Unfortunately there is a dearth of research addressing crucial questions of this nature in the field. To begin tackling this particular question, some important concepts such as organizational effectiveness must be placed within definitional and operational contexts.

The Concept of Organizational Effectiveness:

Although organizational effectiveness has always been the guiding light of ID activities, as a concept it has largely been ignored in the ID community. This ignorance may be explained by the fact that the concept can neither be easily defined nor operationalized. As this concept will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter, it is here sufficient to briefly note that three bodies of opinion dominate

current thinking on the subject (Campbell, 1973; Steers, 1975; Cameron and Whetten, 1983; Cameron, 1986). One position perceives organizational effectiveness in terms of an organization's ability to accomplish its stated goals and objectives (Etzioni, 1964). Another considers an organization effective if it is able to acquire the resources it needs in order to execute its functions (Yutchman and Seashore, 1967). Yet another views organizational effectiveness in terms of an organization's ability to minimize internal constraints to its functioning (Bennis, 1966; Nadler and Tushman, 1983).

The Impact of Contingency Perspectives on ID:

Apart from the perceived failure of programmes that relied on traditional principles of organization theory and charges of ethnocentricism leveled against early classical reform efforts (see e.g. Wiarda, 1985:127), the need for alternative approaches to improving institutional performance in LDCs was triggered by the shift from thinking about organizations as 'closed systems' to perceiving them as 'open systems'.

Based on concepts borrowed from this new perspective in organization theory, institution builders and, later, institutional developers conceptualize organizations in the development policy field -- that is, the organizations they sought to strengthen -- as open systems. In this regard, such organizations are seen as being in a constant process of interaction with a dynamic environment. A development policy organization can therefore not afford to "become calcified or ossified" (UN DTCD, 1982:7). To survive and function adequately, it must not only change, but also adapt. In line with this new sense of awareness, exponents of the "people-centered" approach to ID stongly urge that ID takes as "its starting point local people's knowledge, capacities, aspirations and desires" in designing

organizational tasks (Brinkerhoff and Klaus, 1985: 145). This move toward adaptation constitutes an implicit rejection of a defining feature of the Weberian model, namely, autonomy of people and position, which was advocated during the classical reform era, when organizations built strictly along Weberian lines were considered the panacea to dealing with problems of institutional weaknesses in LDCs.

While the new trends in efforts aimed at improving administrative capacity in LDCs that emerged in the 1960s were couched in terms of institution building as opposed to administrative reforms, they were attempts to redress defects in earlier efforts. A major charge against these efforts brought about by the new awareness created by open systems theory concerned their insensitivity to the environment that circumscribed the organizations that were being improved. Critics have been uniform in arguing that the failure of Western models to register desired results in LDCs can be explained by this ignorance (Esman, 1966; Riggs, 1977; Eisenstadt, 1967; Corwin, 1987).

At the turn of the 1960s decade, mirroring earlier developments in organization theory, students in comparative public administration in general, and development administration in particular, began paying attention to the importance of context to organizational performance. While the resultant works may neither fit neatly under the rubric of administrative reforms nor institution building, they incontestably built on criticisms that had earlier been leveled against traditional models. In effect, the new wave of studies attempted to deal with the need for new kinds of administrative systems (see for example, Marini, 1974; White, 1971; Waldo, 1972, 1971) and organizations (see e.g., Argyris, 1971; Thompson, 1967; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969) with both socio-cultural and societal specificity. In fact

as discussed earlier, the whole enterprise of IB (and now ID) is concerned with the development of organizational systems that can be firmly glued to the environment by which they are circumscribed. The act of creating this bond (between organizations and their environment) is what early scholars in the field such as Milton Esman (1966) alluded to as "institionalizing organizations".

Although compared to classical administrative reformers institution builders had more to offer in terms of remedies to the problem of institutional incapacity in LDCs, evidence suggests that their efforts seldom had any immediate impact on development administration.[23] In fact, there was a phenomenal decline in efforts on the part of donor agencies to incorporate administrative components in their assistance programmes in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when IB was supposed to be fashionable (Hammergren, 1984; Israel, 1987). These agencies and critics, recalling the disappointing results of classical reform efforts, were skeptical about the possibility of IB making any significant contribution to the development enterprise in general, and efforts to improve administrative performance in particular. Along these lines one authority on ID remarked that

> Within the development community, however, in spite of strong
> statements about the essential role of institutional development, there is a
> sort of fatalism about its potential contribution to the development effort.
> Institutional weakness is considered to be one of those problems about
> which not much can be done (Israel, 1987:2).

This view dominated the development scene during the late 1960s and early 1970s to the point that to avoid frustration, international development agencies resorted to bypassing existing local institutions, which were deemed 'highly ineffective'. With the

World Bank playing a leading role under a new label, 'institutional development' (ID), the 1980s marked what Arturo Israel (1987:1) brands "the upswing of another cycle" in efforts to improve the capacity of LDCs to administer development policy. In noting this new trend, Derrick Brinkerhoff (1986:12) writes:

> Currently almost all development projects, with the exception of emergency relief efforts, are judged deficient if they do not contain an ID component that seeks to achieve some sustainable effect that will continue once the project itself has ended.

Given the challenges for public institutions presented by contemporary development problems, it is no surprise that the renewed interest in ID is found not only among international agencies but also among authorities in developing nations. For these countries, "faced with stagnant growth, burgeoning populations, and shrinking resource bases, ID has become more than simply a desirable aim" (Brinkerhoff, 1986:12). By and large, the field continues to be influenced by concepts of open systems theory. Hence, the issue of 'complementarity' in which recent efforts to address institutional weaknesses attempt to deal simultaneously with all institutions whose activities impinge upon one another in a common policy arena. This is the approach adopted by the present research effort. The logic behind this orientation is that deficiencies elsewhere in the system may inhibit the effectiveness of particular institutional intervention (USAID, 1983). Furthermore, improving institutional capacity is now seen as part of the genre of activities aimed at inducing and sustaining development in LDCs. In effect, ID has also evolved in the context of shifts in the conceptualization of development as it particularly relates to these countries.

The most significant shift in thinking about development (in LDCs) occurred during the early 1970s. Prior to this time the concept

of development was operationalized narrowly in terms of (rise in) gross national product (G.N.P.). At the end of the 1960s students of development, notably the late Dudley Seers, began questioning the appropriateness of GNP as the indicator of development. According to Seers (1969, 1977) development can only be said to have occurred in a given country if and only if a significant reduction has taken place within that country in at least one, and preferably all, of the following four areas: i) poverty; ii) inequality; iii) unemployment; and iv) dependence on external support.

In the ID literature, this shift is reflected in writings that have emerged since the 1970s and collectively go under the umbrella of development administration (see for example, Rondinelli, 1983; 1982; Honadle and Klaus, 1982; Honadle and VanSant, 1985; Honadle and Hannah, 1982; Uphoff, 1986; Korten, 1984, 1980; Chambers, 1983, 1986; Esman, 1980; Moris, 1983; Lindenberg and Crosby, 1981). These studies are of particular interest in that they advocate approaches, such as those reviewed above, for improving institutional capacity in LDCs that sharply contrast with the those that were adopted during the classical reform era when GNP was considered the indicator of development, and increased productivity, hence task-oriented organizational structures and procedures, were promoted. In contrast, the new stream of works in the area, with their emphasis on context-specific data, represent a movement away from viewing development in terms of optimal allocation of available resources in order to achieve targeted G.N.P. rates and toward a view of 'development as if people mattered'. This does not, however, imply that questions of economic growth are not given attention in this new movement. Rather, it signifies a departure from an era in which economic growth was the object of all development activities to one in which issues such as poverty alleviation, income redistribution, employment generation

and so on, which may in fact conflict with the goal of raising G.N.P. in the short run, are accorded equal attention.

The central thesis of this section is that shifts in the perception of ID have been largely influenced by changes in thinking about organizational functioning. This obviously implies an inextricable relationship between institutional development and organization. To promote understanding of the enterprise of ID, in particular, and development policy administration, in general, this relationship must be made explicit. This task is tackled in the next section.

I.D., ORGANIZATION, & DEVELOPMENT POLICY ADMINISTRATION:

Institutional development (ID) is related to organization in several ways. On the one hand, ID is an organized activity; its outcome is largely a function of how well it is organized. On the other hand, ID seeks to improve organized activities aimed at positively contributing to national development. In other words, its aim is to enhance the performance of organizations charged with the administration of development policies. These organizations in turn constitute part of the administrative process of a modern complex organizational system -- a nation-state, a region, or a political entity of some sort.

While this line of thought is important for the purpose of understanding the relationship between institutional development and organization, no more than an acknowledgement of its presence and vitality is necessary here. The line of discussion deemed important for the purpose of the present study takes place at two levels. At one level, the discussion focuses on the importance of organization to ID in particular, and the policy administration process in general. At another level, the crucial role of ID as an organizational intervention

measure for bringing about fundamental changes in keeping with the contemporary meaning of development in LDCs (as pointed out above) is accentuated.

The orientation of this study posits that a major variable accounting for the housing problem in LDCs is "ineffective housing policy organizations". The same can be said of any other development problem, be it poverty, socio-economic and/or regional inequalities, unemployment, and so on. Organizational analysts have long recognized that for organizations to be effective, their structure, operating procedures, and recruitment criteria must be suited to their function. Cognizant of this, the Agency for International Development (USAID, 1983) has urged its missions to explicitly take into account the imminent implications of organizational function for organizational form and hence take the steps necessary to ensure compatibility between the two. This position is hardly new to development planners. In fact cases in which public policy organizations as opposed to the policies themselves have been the target of change abound in the literature. The relentless plea from international development agencies (see e.g. USAID, 1979) and scholars within some circles in development planning (see e.g. Rondinelli, 1981) for government decentralization in LDCs is illustrative. Decentralization is a change strategy aimed at the organizational system -- in particular, organizational structure, as oposed to any specific policy. In advocating administrative decentralization in 1975, World Bank president, Robert McNamara contended that if LDCs were truly interested in alleviating poverty and balancing development,

> experience shows that there is a greater chance of success if
> institutions provide for popular participation, local leadership
> and decentralized authority (quoted in Rondinelli, 1981: 133).

The United States Agency for International Development rationalizes decentralization by arguing that it

> . . . is necessary to increase the scope of decisions, and thus incentives available to local participants, as well as to build institutions and encourage, structure, focus and stabilize such participation (USAID, 1979).

Everyone who has ever taken part in a policymaking process or is familiar with policy issues can cite at least one case of a well-intended policy that failed because of inappropriate operating procedures of the implementing organization. Social development planners in LDCs, for instance, have argued that the disappointing results of several years of social planning can be explained by problems stemming from administrative structures and practices of implementing bureaucracies. These structures "make programs inaccessible to the poor or unresponsive to their needs" (Howe, 1987: 384). In a similar vein, students of housing in developing nations have been uniform in blaming housing policy failures on housing policy organizations, which are tailored along Weberian lines (see for instance Turner, 1976; Grenell, 1972). When housing policy is administered by bureaucratic organizations, important factors such as user preference are ignored. This is because, by definition, the procedures of such organizations must be standardized. Where bureaucratic organizations are involved in the direct provision of housing, as in public housing programmes, housing is treated simply as units to be processed into standardized shapes and sizes without the users in mind. Turner (1976) argues that apart from the non-quantifiable and scientifically elusive but hideous effects of excessive monotony in shape, size, and texture caused by such standardization, such procedures tend to minimize variety and fit, and promote rigidity in housing. This suggests that a logical first

step in attempts to alleviate the housing and other social problems in LDCs is to revamp the structure and operating procedures of the related service delivery systems.

Current thinking in organization theory also suggests that organizations can be targeted for change in an effort to redress extant socio-economic inequities in LDCs (see e.g. Peters, 1984). The intervention point in this connection relates to the criteria for recruiting employees of the organization. The Weberian model dictates that vacancies in bureaucratic organizations, particularly public ones, be filled on the merit criterion. This is intended to ensure that the selection of employees is separated from political patronage or any other criteria besides qualification. To the extent that only members of the favoured or dominant group in society are likely to possess the necessary qualification, a valid case can be made that the merit criterion conflicts sharply with the current objectives of reducing levels of inequality in LDCS.[24] A viable alternative to the merit criterion is "representativeness" (Peters, 1984).[25] Since in LDCs the state (through the bureaucracy and other public organizations) constitutes the largest single source of employment, it can by adopting the representativeness criterion utilize this ability to alter the socioeconomic structure of society. Thus, employing members of a minority or disadvantaged group in the bureaucracy for instance, can serve not only to guarantee some say by that group in policy matters affecting their welfare, but also provide a means of economic advancement for its members.

Besides targeting organizations in order to change their structures, operating procedures, or recruitment criteria to comply with specific purposes, policy implementing organizations may also be targeted in order to align their general practices with the objectives of

policy formulating bodies. The importance of this guideline surfaces when the fact that the practices of the former as Donald Schon (1979) has observed sometimes contain implicit policies that may deviate from, or conflict with, the policies of the latter.

The pivotal role of organizations in the development process has not escaped the attention of students and practitioners of ID. In fact, opinion converges on the fact that the concept of ID can only become tangible through a focus on organizations (Brinkerhoff and Garcia-Zamor, 1986). For this reason, USAID, a leading actor in ID, promises to focus its ID efforts on the policy procedures of organizations with key roles in development (USAID, 1983). Similarly, David Korten's (1980) "learning process" approach to ID is intended to be implanted in development policy organizations. The literature on development administration attesting to the importance of organizations in the success of ID, in particular, and the development process, in general, reinforce this trend (see for example, Korten and Klaus, 1984; Uphoff, 1986; Alfonso, 1981; Bagadion and F. Korten, 1980).

In related areas, others working from Max Weber's thesis extolling bureaucracy as the ideal vehicle for carrying out large and complex tasks, have sought to call attention to the fact that organizations are capable either deliberately or unconsciously of distorting policy objectives (Crozier, 1964; Gerth and Mills, 1946). Along identical lines, Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky (1973) in their distinguished analysis of the implementation problems encountered by an employment programme intended to curb black unemployment in Oakland, California, USA in the 1960s; and Alan Althshuler (1965) in his discussion of politics and urban planning have acknowledged the importance of organizational forces in conditioning policy outcomes. More recently, Michael McKinney (1986) has argued

that it is impossible to understand policy efforts without understanding organizational functioning. This is precisely the rationale for the discussion in this and the preceding section.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Planned, systematic and integrated efforts to enhance the capacity for development policy administration in LDCs, treated in this study under the generic term, 'institutional development' (ID), have evolved through three distinct phases. These have been ordered in chronological sequence and discussed in this chapter under the titles, 'classical administrative reforms (1950s to mid-1960s)', 'institution building (mid-1960s to mid-1970s)' and 'institutional development (mid-1970s to present)'.

One of the arguments advanced here is that the shifts so far experienced by the ID enterprise have hardly been spontaneous. Rather, they have been triggered by changes that have occurred in organization theory, the field of inquiry from which ID has traditionally drawn its inspiration. Administrative reforms, for instance, were influenced by concepts and theories of the traditional schools of thought in organization theory comprising rational/scientific management, human relations, and organizational behaviour. These schools, which treat organizations as 'closed systems', thus focus exclusively on their internal dynamics. They were dominant and seldom challenged prior to the late 1950s, when the open systems school emerged. This latter approach, which posited that organizational functioning is as much conditioned by external factors as by factors within the organization, has since played a leading role in shaping thinking about ID. This thinking has grown around a single

conceptual framework, the institution building model, developed in the mid-1960s.

As a theoretical model, ID holds immense promise for generating changes in accordance with current development objectives in LDCs. However, it has not been operationalized adequately, and is therefore of little utility to planners and other change agents in these countries. This serious shortcoming stems from the fact that there has been a dearth of research aimed at developing a unified theory of ID in the field. There has equally been little effort geared toward providing the IB model, which is essentially descriptive, the explanatory and predictive power necessary to transform it into a theory.

Thus, as a field of intellectual inquiry, ID has several gaps that must be filled. For example, the fact that the concept of effectiveness has been neglected translates into a lack of indicators for gauging this concept in the field. This is paradoxical given that ID seeks to improve (institutional) effectiveness. Also, the fact that empirical work in the field has been scanty means that the need to isolate variables in the organizational environment with the greatest potential of affecting organizational effectiveness, is at best, largely unmet. Furthermore, a need exists to test empirically the viability of the various approaches to effecting ID such as social learning, rural development capacity-building, and performance improvement that have been postulated by contemprorary students in the field. Put in a nutshell, there is an urgent need to further develop the IB model. One promising direction that such an effort can take is to reinforce the model's empirical basis. Blase's (1986) sourcebook reveals that only one such effort (Ganesh, 1979) has thus far been made.

While the present study does not pretend to deal with all the questions raised in this chapter, it will produce information on:

1) indicators for gauging the effectiveness of public policy (implementing) organizations,

2) important variables affecting organizational effectiveness in a public policy arena,

3) patterns of interorganizational interaction amongst organizations operating within a common policy arena in an LDC setting,

4) forms of interorganizational interaction (coordination) in a public policy field in an LDC setting, and

5) the effect of interorganizational interaction on organizational effectiveness.

These, in essence are major objectives of this study. To pursue these objectives is to continue the process of inquiry into the nature of the relationship between organizations and their environment started in this chapter. The next step in this process begins in the next chapter, which deals with conceptual and analytical questions of studying interorganizational relationships in a public policy arena in a developing nation.

CHAPTER TWO NOTES

1. At a general level, the definition of the term institutional develpment for the purpose of this study refers to all activities that have been undertaken to improve the capacity for development policy administration in LDCs. This includes activities that have gone under the names, administrative reforms, institution building, and institutional development respectively. At a more specific level, the term alludes to the wave of activities purporting to improve institutional capacity that emerged in the mid-70s and have continued to date. In either case, the definition excludes marginal betterment of administrative systems based on ad hoc approaches. The definition is thus restricted to reactive and proactive institutional strengthening activities carried out on a continuing basis within an integrated and coherent framework.

2. Development administration as a field of inquiry emerged in the 1960s in response to the need for context-specific concepts and theories dealing with administrative issues in LDCs. As a field of inquiry therefore, development administration refers to concepts and theories that have since been either developed or borrowed from main stream administrative and management sciences and adapted to the LDC context in a bid to promote the study and practice of (public) administration in LDCs.

3. The term 'classical' is used here to convey the sense that the institutional strengthening activities of this period drew their inspiration largely from classical organization theory.

4. Here reference is made to international development agencies such as the USAID, the World Bank, Ford and Rockefeller foundations, academic institutions such as the University of Pittsburgh, and The University of Wisconsin as well as members of their respective academic staff, who participated in activities aimed at improving institutional capacity in LDCs.

5. It is possible that these efforts registered positive results in some sectors. This success might have been in activities such as nation-building and efforts to induce large scale societal change; and functions such as natural resource management, and international economic relations in trade and finance, which the literature suggests, lend themselves to bureaucratic organization (UN DTDC, 1981: 3).

6. By making reference almost exclusively to ID activities largely influenced by U.S.-based change agents does not preclude the fact that other advanced nations, especially the erstwhile colonial powers of Western Europe played, and are playing a role in improving administrative systems in LDCs. Rather, it is the intent to limit the discussion only to activities that fit the definition, institutional development as used in this study (see opening paragraphs of this chapter and note 1 above).

7. Before the IB model, those professing to improve institutional performance in LDCs relied, as made explicit in the discussion, on models borrowed from the West. The IB model was the first of its kind to be developed with LDCs in mind. Since then, there has been no other model capable of supplanting it despits its shortcomings. One possible reason why this model remains the only fully articulated in the field is that ID activities almost completely ceased during the late 1970s. Thus, the model has received active attention for about only a decade and a half.

8. The relevant or task environment of an organization consist of factors outside the organization that are directly related to its operations. Included are primary beneficiary groups (see note 13), suppliers, financial institutions and other organizations with which it must directly interact in order to function properly.

9. Ganesh's (1979) procedural model of IB is among the few attempts to address this need.

10. In the traditional sense, the term organization refers to social groupings formed in a purposive manner for attaining some identified ends (McKinney, 1986:1). The beneficiaries of say, an irrigation project whose behaviour an ID intervention may aim at changing cannot be said to fit this definition.

11. The concept of social learning in organization theory traces its roots to the works of Donald Schon and Chris Argyris. For more on the concept, see Schon and Argyris (1978), and Schon (1979).

12. By service delivery system is meant the institutional channels designed to ensure the production and distribution of a given service in conformity with programatic goals, priorities and targets.

13. The constituencies of an organization comprise the client groups the organization must satisfy. These constituencies include on the one hand, the primary beneficiaries, the consumers of the goods/services the organization

produces; and on the other hand, the secondary beneficiaries comprising the employees, owners, and general public (Hodge and Anthony, 1984:281).

14. see note 13 above.

15. The exact date when organization theory actually became a distinct field of inquiry is neither precise nor universally agreed-upon. However, some analysts contend that the early best-known efforts in the field began in 1910 (Owens, 1981:12).

16. In organization theory, the term organizational environment is taken to mean the external environment of an organization. One may thus either talk of the external environment of an organization or the organization's environment.

17. Herbert Simon coined the term, 'satisfice' to denote a selection of the best course of action from among immediately available as opposed to all possible alternatives. Such a choice is less than optimum but 'satisfactory enough' for the purpose of (administrative) decisionmaking.

18. One of the most pronounced of these uncertainties reside in the area of information. Decisionmakers in LDCs must make crucial decisions with very little and in most cases crude information. Rondinelli (1983) deals with the subject of uncertainties in development administration in more detail.

19. Intraorganizational and organizational analysis are synonymous. The latter is more often used in the literature and refers to an organizational study that focuses exclusively on internal components of the organization.

20. The open systems view of organization is alluded to in the literature variously as the organization-environment relations, or interorganizational relations, or interorganizational dependence perspectives.

21. See note 13.

22. Emery & Trist (1965) employed the term environmental turbulence to emphasize the fact that organizations operate in environments characterized by constant changes that are difficult to both predict and deal with.

23. Their works (especially the IB model) however became very influential during the ID era (mid-1970s to present). Also see note 7.

24. The stringent upper-class biased entrance requirements of bureaucracies have historically ensured that only the priveleged can gain access to them. This

feature is not by any means monopolized by bureaucracies in LDCs. Peters (1984) notes that in France, only the priveleged few who can afford a university education at Paris and later gain admission into the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA) can be sure of entering the public service. He also observed that two thirds of the British civil servants are graduates of the country's two most pretigious institutions of higher learning, Oxford and Cambridge. Along similar lines, Thomas Dye remarks that in the U.S., graduating from one of the Ivy League institutions constitutes a passport in and of itself to a high position in Washington.

25. The representativeness criterion demands that vacancies in the bureaucracy be filled in such a manner that its composition reflects (represents) the characteristic of the population it serves.

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3. CONCEPTUALIZING ORGANIZATION-ENVIRONMENT RELATIONS IN THE HOUSING POLICY FIELD IN LDCs.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter continues the inquiry into the nature of the relationship between organization-environment relation, defined in terms of interoganizational relationships (IOR), and organizational effectiveness. It does this by delving more profoundly into the conceptual and theoretical issues of the subject.

The chapter is divided into six sections. Following this introductory passage is Section Two, which sets the stage for the discussion of theoretical and conceptual issues in organization-environment relations that are relevant to this study. Section Three examines different competing views of the concept of organizational environment. The major forms of interorganizational relationships are discussed in Section Four, while Section Five explores the concept of organizational effectiveness. A model considered appropriate for the purpose of appraising the effectiveness of public service delivery agencies such as housing policy organizations, is developed and presented in Section Six. Section Seven delves into the relationship between organizational environment and organizational effectiveness. Said alternatively, the section explores the link between interorganizational relations (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE). Understanding this link is a major aim of this study. Section Eight, containing a summary and conclusion, ends the chapter.

MAJOR THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL ISSUES:

The general area of concern in this study is the public sector in LDCs, where the unprecedented increase in the demand for public services, accompanied by a rapidly deteriorating economic base, signal a need for cooperation among service delivery agencies.

Before data relevant to the Cameroonian experience with respect to the delivery of housing and related services can be applied to the broad questions raised in the foregoing chapters, further consideration of the questions in terms of their theoretical and conceptual relationships, is in order. These relationships are established through a series of propositions stating hypothetical associations between important variables of the study. The actual testing of the propositions to determine whether they can be supported by empirical evidence, however, falls under the purview of subsequent chapters.

To begin with, an independent variable, interorganizational relationship (IOR) has been selected to investigate its possible relationship with a dependent variable, organizational effectiveness (OE), defined in terms of an organization's ability to a) satisfy the consumers of its output; and b) adapt to its environment. Stated as a central hypothesis, these variables are contained in the following proposition. Organizational effectiveness is a function of the intensity of organization-organizational environment relations. Conceptualizing the organizational environment as organizations with which a given organization belongs to the same network, this proposition can be restated in terms of the effectiveness of all the organizations in the network as follows. The effectiveness of any given interorganizational network is a function of the intensity of interorganizational

relationships in that network. This unequivocally triggers a round of endless questions; the following of which are crucial for the purpose of the present study.

1) What is organizational environment?

2) What is interorganizational relationship?

3) What is organizational effectiveness?

4) What is the relationship between the organizational environment and organizational effectiveness?

Each of these questions is explored in turn. In each case, the term is first examined from different dominant and often contradictory perspectives, then, it is conceptualized in the context of the present study.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENT:

As noted earlier, more than four decades have elapsed since social scientists began visualizing organizations as open systems -- that is, entities that are inextricably intertwined with their external environments (see Figure 1 below). This latter, is what among those interested in the subject is known as the "organizational environment". It is reasonable to anticipate that after these many years of research, the vast and proliferating literature in the area would have culminated in a consensual definition of the organizational environment construct. This is not the case. The term thus remains one that has been widely used without having acquired a common meaning.

Discerning from extant literature on the subject, definitions of the term range from general ones that encompass everything else in the universe save the organization under consideration (see e.g. Katz and Kahn, 1978; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969), to more specific ones that consider only other organizations whose activities impinge upon those of the focal organization[1] (cf. Benson, 1978; Evan, 1966; Aldrich, 1972, 1976; Rogers and Molnar, 1982).
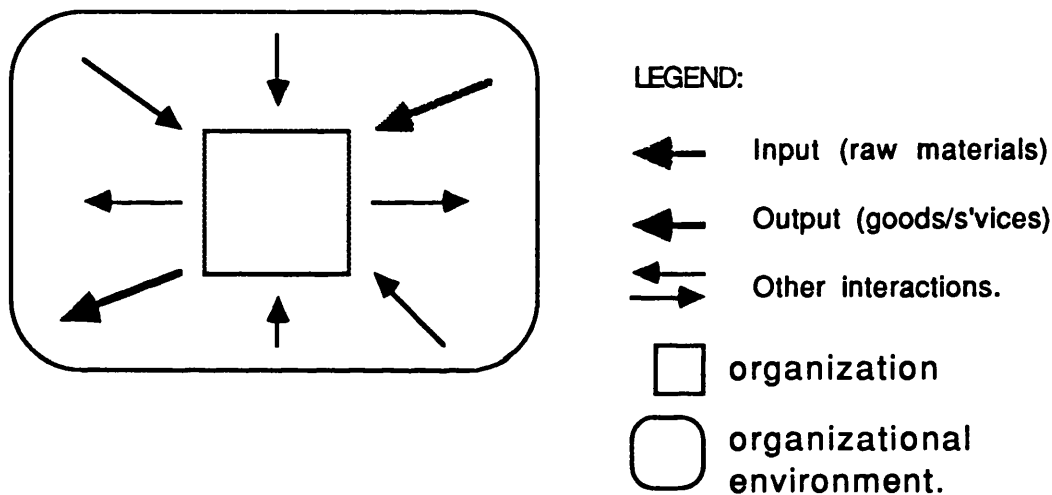
FIG. 1:
AN ORGANIZATION IN INTERACTION WITH ITS ENVIRONMENT

It does not require a lot of imagination to deduce from this that the field faces a problem namely, the absence of complete, agreed-upon meanings for key terms. In his discussion of "The Ecology and Context of Public Administration" in developing nations, Fred Riggs (1980) observes that this problem is one generally characteristic of the English language. The Oxford Advanced Dictionary[2] for example, defines an environment to include "surroundings" or "circumstances" or "influences". Webster's Dictionary[3] defines it as "the complex of climatic, edaphic, and biotic factors that act upon an organism or an ecological community and ultimately determine its form and survival".

In both cases, the term is given a one-sided meaning in which only the fact that entities, be they social organizations or natural organisms, are conditioned by the environment in which they are engulfed. This problem of "one-sidedness" plagues most of the definitions that purport to capture the meaning of the term. B.J. Hodge and William Anthony (1984:12) for instance, refer to the organizational environment as ". . . the total set of outside forces surrounding and shaping the behaviour of the organization and its members"[4]. In effect, the equally imminent fact that these entities -- that is, the 'environed', to borrow Riggs's (1980) terminology, are capable of shaping their environment is ignored. In organization-environment relations any one of both variables may be treated as the dependent or independent variable.

The organizational environment for the purpose of this study refers to elements, which a) reside beyond the external boundaries of the organization; b) can condition it; and c) can in turn, be conditioned by it. This definition is free of the problem of "one-sidedness" that others, such as those cited above, suffer from. It conforms with the view of organizations as open systems to which the present study subscribes. French and Bell (1984:56) have argued that ". . . organizations are essentially open systems in that they exist in interdependent, exchange relationships with their environments." These exchange relationships are at the heart of the present research endeavour, and will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter.

In discussing the environment, most writers, as Riggs (1980:107) has accurately observed,

> . . . frequently note how difficult it is to define the concept, yet, obviously,

until you identify the "environed", you cannot determine its environment.

Therefore, a logical starting point for any discussion of the environment of an entity is to identify that entity. Organizations constitute the entity of concern for the purpose of the present inquiry. Organizations are social groupings formed in a purposive manner for attaining specific ends (McKinney, 1986). As almost all formal organizations fit this definition, it is important that the specific types of interest in the present study be further defined.

Identifying the Focal Organizations:

The problem of identifying focal organizations or the organizations one may be interested in, as Katz and Kahn (1978:18) have noted, is basically one of being able to accurately determine their boundaries or 'outline' them, to borrow oncemore from Fred Riggs (1980). The problem can however be simplified if the hint provided by Katz and Kahn is adopted. These authors contend: the fact that organizations have names is, in and of itself, a common sense solution to the puzzle. At a general level, organizations may be labeled 'public' as opposed to 'private'. If this dichotomous categorization scheme is assumed, the present study can be said to focus on organizations belonging to the former category. Organizations in this category -- that is, public organizations are involved in for instance, the direct provision of public services, the regulation and/or enforcement of public policies and the management and redistribution of especially scarce resources. Public organizations, unlike private ones, provide goods and/or services to clients either free of charge or at fees or charges that are not sufficient to cover costs and generate profit. A distinguishing characteristic of public organizations therefore, is that

the "market" does not function for them the way it does for private profit-seeking ones (Gortner et al., 1987; Bresnick, 1982).

The variety of social groupings that can be labeled public organizations is however, almost infinite. In order therefore, to limit this discussion to manageable proportions, and above all, to be consistent with the purpose of this study, only public organizations participating in the residential development process will be considered. Included are public and para-public agencies that make such essential inputs to the process as supplying water, electricity, land, and finance, as well as those charged with overseeing and regulating the entire (residential development) process. These organizations, labeled here as 'housing policy organizations' (HPOs) constitute the units of analysis, for the purpose of the present study. Seen from a slightly different perspective, these organizations comprise the "environed". Having thus identified the "environed", it is in order to specify their environment. More straightforwardly, an attempt is made to answer the following question. What constitutes the organizational environment of a HPO? Prior to attempting a response to this question, one point is noteworthy. That one can talk of the 'environed' suggest that organizations have boundaries. This is the basis upon which some (Thompson, 1967; Aldrich, 1979; Mulford, 1984) have argued that organizations are semi-open, as opposed to open, systems. If they were completely open systems, they argue, their boundaries would cease to exist and it would be impossible to identify them.

Three different but overlapping approaches to conceptualizing the 'organizational environment' can be gleaned from contemporary literature on organization-environment relations. One approach

exemplified by for example, Katz and Kahn (1978) and Hage (1972) conceptualizes the environment in terms of the society at large. A second approach views it in terms of the availability of various inputs or resources. This view of the environment has been articulated by Aldrich (1976) and Mulford (1984) among others. Yet, a third approach considers other organizations with which a given organization (the focal organization) must interact in order to properly function, as constituting that organization's (relevant)[5] environment. Much of the works concentrating on interorganizational relationships (e.g. Aiken and Hage, 1968; Aldrich, 1976; Benson, 1978; Rogers and Molnar, 1982) adopt this perspective.

The Organizational Environment as the Society at Large:

To risk oversimplication, the open systems view of organization may be said to rest on the assumption that everything in the universe is interconnected. Thus any given social organization constitutes an integral part of the larger society in which it exist.

Scholars working in cross-cultural and cross-national settings are aware of this. For instance, in developing nations, where societal or welfare concerns about say, income redistribution and unemployment may take precedence over economic concerns about efficiency, there is a tendency to consider social organizations magical nostrums for remedying all societal problems. Thus, for example, HPOs are expected to have at heart not only the interest of their primary beneficiaries or other direct constituencies, but also that of the larger society. A major concern of critics of these organizations, for their insistence on high minimum standard requirement for residential development (see e.g. Turner, 1972; Payne, 1984; Lim, 1987), is the fact that they are

insensitive to the needs of their environment -- the larger societal context. An example of these needs is the generation of employment for as many members of the society as possible, which is not met when HPOs insist on high minimum structural standards for residential housing. By insisting on such standards, which require more complex skills than are locally available, these organizations effectively create jobs for only a 'select few'. This 'select few' is what Randall and Theobald (1985) have referred to as the "labour aristocracy" in LDCs. This reasoning permeates a central thesis of the present inquiry into the housing problem in these countries. Reiterating, the thesis is that a substantial portion of the housing problem in LDCs is explicable by malfunctions in their HPOs.

Taking the discussion a step further, the society at large as the organizational environment can be seen to extend beyond the orthodox notion of a society, whose external limits may coterminate with national boundaries. The recent global concern with such issues as energy shortages, the depletion of natural non-renewable resources, the pollution of air and water, and the population explosion, transcend national boundaries. Thus, organizations such as chemical industries and the military, whose activities may in one way or another contribute to these problems consider (or ought to consider) the world at large as constituting a fundamental part of their organizational environment.

The Environment as the Available Resources:

The open systems view of social organizations posits that the supporting environment is crucial to their existence. This is because without a continuous flow of inputs from an organization's

environment, and a demand for its output, sooner or later it becomes marginal or obsolete at best, or extinct at worst. The concept of organizations as input-output production processes advanced by Katz and Kahn (1978) implies this conceptualization. Viewed as input-output processes, organizations are involved in tapping resources (e.g. labour, energy, and information, technology, knowledge, staff, and capital) from their environment, transforming these resources into outputs necessary to satisfy a demand (from consumers) in the environment (see figure 1 above). The view of the organizational environment as the availability of resources can be seen as concerned with environmental inputs necessary for organizational functioning. The inputs or resources being discussed here comprise what economists have long recognized as factors of production or factors that are insdispensable to the production process. These factors or "inputs cannot be assumed but must continually be the subject of investigation" (Katz and Kahn, 1978:3). The importance of such constant investigation or what has been alluded to as environmental scanning by some (e.g. Etzioni, 1964; Hodge and Anthony, 1984) becomes even more important when the fact that organizational environments are always changing, is taken into account. Advocates of intermediate or appropriate technology, especially, those who have pushed for a return to indigenous materials in the house-building industry in LDCs (e.g. Fathy, 1973) would readily admit that the necessary craftsmanship that once was abundant in these countries is now an endangered specie. Hassan Fathy (1973) encountered this problem in Egypt during his search for craftsmen skilled in traditional Egyptian architecture.

A common theme in discussions on appropriate technology that has implications for the view of organizational environment as the availability of resources, is technology transfer.[6] A common practice by housing policy organizations in LDCs especially in connection with attempts to produce conventional housing,[7] has been the borrowing of techniques from more developed countries (MDCs). It goes without saying that the results of such attempts have been very disappointing. The reason for this resides in the fact that the techniques originated in economies where the factor market has strong capital bias. Yet, capital (financial capital, that is) is one resource LDCs possess in extremely limited quantities, a fact that would have certainly surfaced if the HPOs had been sensitive to their environment -- the available resources.

The Environment as a Network of Interorganizational Relationships:

A third, and for the purpose of this study, the most important conceptualization of the organizational environment of any given organization is in terms of other organizations on which it relies for survival, and proper functioning. This conceptualization overlaps, and gives credence, to the other views discussed above. The importance of organizations in contemporary society was underscored in the previous chapters. Although Charles Lindblom (1977) might have exaggerated this importance by contending that the bureaucratization of life has been the "greatest revolution of all", there is no doubt that modern life depends heavily on organizations. Similarly, the life of any given organization depends on other organizations. These organizations include the organizations that regulate its activities; provide the inputs it needs in order to stay operational; and those that

consume its products or output. Also included are the organizations with which it competes for the same type of resources, (Hage, 1978).

In line with the other concepts discussed above, this concept does not recognize geographic borders. Thus, an HPO in say, Cameroon, may have among the organizations constituting its organizational environment, organizations in neighbouring countries supplying construction materials that are not available in the country. The same organization would also consider as part of its organizational environment, organizations in say, Britain or the U.S., on which it may depend for financial support and expertise. In fact a background study for two sites and services project for the cities of Douala and Yaounde (Cameroon) respectively, which were concluded in 1980, involved the collaborative efforts of the World Bank (New York), Halcrow, Fox and Associates (London), Tamajong Ndumu and Associates (Limbe, Cameroon), and the Cameroon Ministry of Housing and Town Planning (see MINUH, 1980). While the study was in progress, the organizational environment of the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning in Yaounde, Cameroon, expanded to include organizations as far away as the United States and Britain, upon which it depended for funds and knowledge -- both vital resources, it did not possess.

Parallel to this is the view of the organizational environment as a source of scarce resources competed for, and/or shared by, a population of organizations (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967; Aldrich, 1976; Provan et al., 1980). The competition for scarce resources produces dependencies, the reliance of one organization on others in its environment for essential and non-substitutable resources it does

not possess, but needs in order to function (see Midlin and Aldrich, 1975 for an elaborate review of the concept and its application).

Therefore, it is safe to conclude that organizations establish contacts, or interact with one another, in order to secure essential resources.   Sol Levine's and Paul White's (1961) notion of interorganizational interaction as 'resource-exchange' provides a basis for this contention.   They argue that,

> . . . were all the essential elements in infinite supply there would be
>
> little need for organizational interaction and for subscription to
>
> cooperation as an ideal (Ibid: 587).

Although the term, 'exchange' implies a reciprocal relationship, it does not have to be so in practice.   In fact, it may be unidirectional or joint, as long as it occurs between two organizations with actual or perceived implications for both.   Exchange, according to Levine and White, alludes to any voluntary activity between two organizations having real or potential consequences for the realization of their respective goals.   Levine and White, who introduced the concept to the interorganizational relations literature,[8] say nothing about involuntary exchange, such as may be mandated by law or some central authority. This is considered a shortcoming of the concept as originally articulated by these authors.   Cognizant of this shortcoming in the original definition, exchange for the purpose of the present study includes any activity, (voluntary or involuntary) between two organizations, involving the transfer of resources[9].

The Organizational Environment in the Context of this Study:

As evident in the foregoing review, the concept of organizational evironment is more difficult to compartmentalize than most other

crucial questions in organization-environment relations studies. The conceptual schemes are too broad to be of much utility for the purpose of the present research endeavour. The concepts, therefore, need further specification.

Although the three different but overlapping views of the organizational environment discussed above are important, the view that is heavily drawn upon here is that of the environment as a network of interorganizational relationships. The importance of this view derives from two major sources. First, the study focuses on the interorganizational network as a unit of analysis. This unit consists of a number of distinguishable organizations interacting in a common policy field. Such interaction may range from extensive *quid pro quod* exchanges of resources, to intense hostility and conflict.

Second, based on the contention that almost all important activities in the world today take place within an organizational context, it follows that the existence of such randomized, unorganized environments as implied by the view of the environment as the society at large, is too vague to be useful for analytical purposes. To be analytically useful, this rather general concept must be specified in terms of the organizations responsible for protecting society's interest. Examples include the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in the United States and similar bodies in other countries. Thus, for any given industry in the U.S., when it comes to matters of environmental pollution, a fundamental part of its relevant environment is occupied by the EPA and not some unspecified entity called "the society at large", although it is this latter that the EPA represents.

The relevant environment (Dill, 1958) or the task environment (Thompson, 1967) of an organization therefore, has to do with other organizations with which the organization directly interacts. This, then, constitutes the organizational environment for the purpose of the present study.

Although the view of the environment as a network of interorganizational relationships is adopted, it must be borne in mind that this conceptual scheme poses analytical difficulties in situations where the elements in question are not organizations. Such elements may include persons (e.g. consumers of the focal organization's output), norms, values, and culture.[10] This problem, as Aldrich (1980) observes, arises because the field has not developed a good vocabulary for describing interorganizational relationships. Since this study is mainly concerned with interorganizational relationships (organization-organization relationships) and their effect on organizational effectiveness, this problem is not a concern.

Some of the well-known works in organization-environment relations have also conceptualized the organizational environment in terms of organizations with which a focal organization interacts in a common policy field. Four examples come readily to mind. The first is Roland L. Warren's (1967, 1974) study of community decision organizations (CDOs) in three cities in the U.S.; Philadelphia, Detroit, and Boston. What Warren called CDOs constituted organizations such as urban renewal authorities, chambers of commerce, federations of churches, that were legitimated to represent the interest of the community at large, or some segment thereof.

The second example is David L. Roger's (1974) analysis of interorganizational interactions amongst 116 county-level community development agencies. Among the agencies studied were, those responsible for such county-wide planning programmes as soil conservation, welfare, employment, and land use regulation.

A study of interorganizational relations among 167 private and public development-related organizations drawn from 16 counties in Iowa, U.S.A. by Rogers and Molnar (1982), constitutes a third example.

Yet a fourth example is provided by Michael McKinney's (1986) investigation of interorganizational dependence among human service organizations that participated in serving the developmental disabled in New Jersey, USA.

However, only very few studies (e.g. Gray and Williams, 1980; Milner, 1980) have actually concentrated specifically on public policy outputs and implementation from an interorganizational perspective.[11] Yet, very important interactions inevitably take place among public policy organizations (Kessler, 1987). These interactions have far-reaching implications for the performance of each interorganizational network in general, and in particular, individual organizations making up the network.

Benson (1978) has suggested that analyses of interorganizational networks should either focus on interaction patterns involving the actual performance of major tasks of the organizations; or on the process of resource acquisition. In this study, the former alternative is adopted. In particular, the analysis focuses on patterns of interaction in the process of resource acquisition among organizations within

interorganizational networks. It is in terms of these interactions that the concept of interorganizational relationships (IOR) is operationalized for the purpose of the present inquiry.

INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS:

As long as social organizations have existed, there have always been interorganizational relationships (IOR), the system of relationships that exist between organizations. Marx's classical analysis of society is said to have imbibed an implicit theory of IOR (Zeitz, 1980: 46).

In this section the concept of IOR is examined. Initially, the concept is defined; then, it is discussed in the light of the exchange theory advanced by Sol Levine and Paul White (1961). The second half of the section deals with an important aspect of IOR, coordination, because of its theoretical and empirical significance to the present study.

The term interorganizational relationships has been employed interchangeably with such terms as interorganizational relations, organizational relations, organizational interaction, and interagency relations, among others (Rogers and Molnar, 1982). Undeniably, a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding is created by the usage of such a wide variety of terminologies in reference to a single concept.

To avoid this confusion, the more conventional terminology, interorganizational relationship is adopted. As used in the study, the term refers to a wide range of contacts (interactions) among

organizations. These contacts may be established through a variety of media such as the telephone, radio, television, newspaper, public bulletin boards, letters, etc. The contacts may also be established in person, through conferences or meetings.

An organization may establish contacts or interact with another for a variety of reasons. The exchange theory of Levine and White (1961) postulates that interactions between two organizations originate from the rational desire of one or both parties to secure scarce resources. These resources which include information, services, personnel, products, equipment, etc., are necessary for the realization of organizational goals and objectives. Operationalizing it as cooperative ventures between organizations, Rogers and Molnar (1982) contend that interorganizational interaction may result from the need for organizations to avoid duplication of effort, minimize conflict, or coordinate areas of common interest.

IOR as the Exchange of Resources Between Organizations:

Thus, interorganizational relationships may be described in terms of the flow of resources between organizations. An important goal of the present study is to better understand this flow of resources among organizations in the housing policy field in a resource-scarce economy. The housing policy field, because of the multiplicity of organizations involved, provide an excellent testing ground for hypotheses derived from interorganizational theory.

Researchers have developed a number of approaches for examining the relational properties between organizations (see for example, Marrett, 1971; Hage and Aiken, 1967; Levine and White, 1961). A relevant approach to investigating exchange relationships

between organizations is that articulated by Cora Marrett (1971). This approach which is essentially a synthesis of the works of other researchers in the field (e.g. Hage and Aiken, 1967; Johns and Dimarche, 1957; Levine and White, 1961; Litwak and Hylton, 1962) focuses on the structure of the linkages or exchanges between organizations. Marrett specifies the following four dimensions, intensity, reciprocity, standardization, and formalization, along which that structure may be analyzed.

Intensity, has to do with the amount of resources each party (organization) commits to the relationship. These resources may be in the form of 'man-hours', as for example when one organization borrows personnel from another organization, or financial, as in cases where funds are transferred from one organization to another, or it may be in the form of equipment, for instance, when one agency grants another the right to use some of its equipment such as copiers, blue print machines, typewriters, etc. These examples constitute indicators of intensity. Two important distinctions between these indicators are in order. The magnitude of the resource committed must be separated from the frequency of exchanges. This is because, for example, where human beings constitute the resources exchanged, some exchanges may involve few people but tend to monopolize the time of those few (Marrett, 1971:92).

Reciprocity, deals with the direction of the exchanges. Exchange between two organizations, A and B, may be unilateral, A gives something to B, and B gives nothing in return; or reciprocal, that is, a *quid pro quod* or mutual flow of elements in which A transfers a resource to B and B transfers another resource to A in return; or joint,

in which A and B share rights over some resource say, a library or meeting room.

Standardization, deals with the extent to which the units (type of resources) exchanged and the procedures through which they are exchanged are fixed. Exchange between organizations may be either on an ad hoc basis or it may be systematic. The former does not follow any set rules while in the latter, the activities expected of participating organizations are explicitly defined.

Formalization, refers to the extent to which exchanges between organizations is accorded official sanction or agreed to by the parties involved, and the extent to which a third party coordinates the relations.

Interorganizational Coordination:

The preceding discussion suggests that exchanges between organizations may take place under a variety of conditions. These conditions are dealt with later in this section. For the moment, it is worthwhile noting that exchanges may either be entered into voluntarily by participating organizations or they may be initiated by a third party, usually a higher or central authority (Lindblom, 1965; Davidson, 1976; Whetten, 1977, 1981). These are, thus, two important forms of interorganizational coordination (IOC), approximating what Lindblom (1965) brands respectively as mutual adjustment and central coordination.

A number of definitions have been proffered to capture the concept of coordination, David Whetten, for instance, perceives

coordination as encompassing from simple ad hoc agreements between two organizations to cooperate in some activity; to participation in well established interlocking or joint committees. Davidson (1976) contends that coordination is ". . . the process by which two or more organizations make decisions together". These definitions, which typify most others that have been suggested in the literature, either fail to acknowledge, or reduce to triviality, the fact that coordination is also possible without agreements or third parties.

After Charles Lindblom (1965), it is herein contended that organizations in any given policy field can, and in fact, do coordinate with each other without anyone's coordinating them, and without rules and regulations that fully prescribe their relations to each other. A typical rural wood carver or artist and his urban clientele in Cameroon are so coordinated. In the advanced nations of the West, where the market mechanism is highly developed, one can expect to see many examples of coordination between persons without the help of a central coordinator. It is however arguable that the market mechanism plays the role of the central coordinator. This argument does not however hold in the face of the fact that market coordination is propelled by a diversity of self interests, while central coordination is not. Rather, this latter may result from the realization of a dominant common purpose.

In an attempt to shed some light on the subject of coordination through mutual adjustment, Lindblom (1965:30) has written:

Partisans[12] engage in mutual adjustment in the pursuit of their own

perceived interests, which are not assumed to be either the same

as, or harmonious in some sense with, the interest of others.

Not to belabour the point, it is in order to highlight the importance of the concept of mutual adjustment as a form of coordination for the purpose of this study. An underlying, albeit implicit, assumption of the study is that within any given policy field, one is bound to find some evidence of interorganizational coordination (IOC). Such IOC will be present whether the organizations see themselves as sharing a common goal and whether there is a central coordinating body responsible for coordinating their activities. Briefly stated: whenever social organizations operate in a common policy field, they are likely to mutually adjust to each other. Mutual adjustment, it must however be stressed, is the weakest form of coordination there is. Therefore, where IOC is deemed a prerequisite to effectiveness, there will likely be a need to go beyond mutual adjustment to other stronger forms of coordination, for example coordination by a central authority. An example of this latter is what Andreas Faludi in Planning Theory (1973, 1984 reprint) has alluded to as a strategic planning agency. This appellation derives from the fact that such an agency, by coordinating the activities of organizations whose operations impinge upon one another; in other words, by managing the interdependencies of these organizations, it is making decisions of strategic importance.

For the purpose of the present study, coordination includes all attempts on the part of an organization to adapt its activities to those of other organizations with which it operates in a given policy arena. In operational terms, interorganizational interaction may be said to constitute IOC. If for example, A, B, C, and D, are four agencies responsible for electrical installation, residential construction, water works, and land use regulation respectively, in a community X; and A

has B, C, and D, on its mailing list, A has in effect made itself a coordinate part of a complex system for residential development in community X. Hence, to study interorganizational interaction (IOI), that is, exchanges between organizations, is to study interorganizational coordination (IOC).

An exploration of a typology of IOC developed by Stephen M. Davidson (1976) serves to elaborate this point. Davidson's typology[13] includes five forms of IOC namely, communication, cooperation, confederation, federation, and merger.

Communication, denotes a case of IOC wherein organizations are doing no more than talking to each other. In other words, exchanges in this case entails simply the sharing of information, ideas, and feelings (about their respective activities).

Cooperation, involves more than simply talking to one another. Organizations are said to be cooperating when they are "working together" for example, in the design and/or implementation of projects. Organizations may also be said to be cooperating when they jointly utilize scarce resources such as equipment and personnel. Cooperation is however characterized by a degree of vagueness in that the role of participants is not formally or well-spelt out.

Confederation, is however, a little more formal even though there are no defined sanctions for non- or malfeasance. Under confederation, organizations basically agree to "work together" on some clearly defined, albeit limited tasks.

Federation, this is said to exist when organizations not only define their roles in a cooperative venture, but proceed to create a

formal structure within which these roles can be executed. In addition, participating organizations agree to relinquish some of their autonomy to that unified structure.

Merger, as the name implies, denotes a case in which the unified structure is formalized to the extent that participating organizations give up their identities as organizations and decide to unite to form a single organization.

Essentially, this typology represents a continuum of increasing possible interorganizational coordination. Davidson argues that on reaching the stage of 'merger', the newly-formed organization will enter into exchange relationships with other organizations beginning with communication and thereby recommencing the whole process anew.

The typology lends some support to the view of exchanges as a form of IOC. But perhaps most important of all, it highlights the fact that what separates one IOC activity from another is the condition under which it takes place (e.g. formal versus informal; undefined versus clearly defined roles for participants). This has far-reaching implications for planning practice. A planner in the field faced with a coordination problem needs some framework for ordering his thoughts in connection with assessing the viability of particular options in specific situations.

ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS:

As a construct, organizational effectiveness is of theoretical, empirical, and practical importance for the purpose of this study.

Theoretically, the construct lies at the heart of all inquiries into the nature and behaviour of social organizations. This is because, underlying such inquiries are assumptions about effective versus ineffective organizations. For instance, goal models insist on some coherent set of interests and value preferences of the organization's managers and/or owners (see e.g. Etzioni, 1964). Thus, an organization is said to be effective if it attains, or is progressing toward, its stated goals.

Empirically, the construct is the ultimate dependent variable in inquiries into organinzational behaviour. "Studying organizational effectiveness as the dependent variable explains the relationship between organizational behaviour and organizational environments" (McKinney, 1986:35). Noting that imprecisely defined terms such as performance, success, ability, are often substituted for organizational effectiveness, Cameron and Whetten (1983:2) contend:

> the need to demonstrate that one structure, reward system, leadership style, information system, or whatever, is better in some way than another makes the notion of effectiveness a central empirical issue.

Practically, national and international development agents especially in LDCs are constantly faced with the need to make judgments about the effectiveness of organizations. Decisions often have to be made for example, about which agency or agencies to award the contract to implement development projects. That organizational effectiveness is seen here as a crucial element in such decsions does not by any means imply a denial of the existence of other equally important factors such as the economy and socio-political climate.

The point being underscored is that organizational effectiveness is a construct that deserves more attention from planners than it has been accorded in the past. An appreciation of this construct is vital to understanding the policy making process. Any policy can be conceptualized in terms of three components namely: policy direction, the goals of the policy; policy measures, comprising the statements which translate broad policy goals (direction) into specifics; and the implementation of measures, constituting the mechanisms and processes by which policy measures are transformed into action (Dewar, 1979:862). To understand organizational effectiveness is therefore to understand the effectiveness of the mechanisms and processes of translating policy statements into concrete action.

Although it has received little or no attention in mainstream planning literature, organizational effectiveness has always been a subject of interest to organization theorists, business managers, public administrators, and economists. One of the seminal works on the subject -- Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, dates as far back as 1776. In this treatise, Smith argued that organizational effectiveness can be improved through division of labour and specialization.

Despite this long history, there remains a remarkable lack of consensus and understanding of what the construct means. All major works in the field especially during the last two or so decades have not only acknowledged this fact but have also noted the conceptual disarray and ambiguity circumscribing the construct (see e.g. Steers, 1977; Zammuto, 1982; Cameron and Whetten, 1983; Hand, 1987). Consequently, efforts to develop universally applicable models of organizational effectiveness have been unfruitful.

Models of Organizational Effectiveness:

Over the years, there has been a steady growth of models purporting to deal with the effectiveness construct. Two of these, the goal model (Etzioni, 1964), and the resource-control model (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967) have received the widest attention in the literature. A third model, the multiple constituency model (Penning and Goodman, 1977), which has not received quite the same degree of attention is of relevance to the present study.

These models are critically discussed below. After highlighting their strength, and weaknesses with regard to their ability to deal with the effectiveness construct in general, and surfacing their inappropriateness for the purpose of this study in particular, a more appropriate model is proposed. The proposed model incorporates an inherent but largely ignored indicator of organizational effectiveness namely, consumer satisfaction.

The Goal Model. The goal model of effectiveness makes at least two explicit assumptions about organizational functioning (Campbell, 1977:19). It assumes that 1) the goals of the organization are not only identifiable, but can also be clearly defined and attained without difficulty; and 2) that the organization's owners and managers (its most powerful constituencies) are capable of making rational decisions in view of selecting and pursuing organizational goals.

Based on these assumptions, gauging organizational effectiveness entails developing criterion measures to assess how well the organization is progressing towards, or is attaining, its stated goals. Amitae Etzioni (1964:8), who was instrumental in developing this

model defines organizational effectiveness as "the degree to which an organization realizes its stated goals".

While this definition and underlying assumptions of the model appear reasonable, and susceptible to analysis, they are difficult to defend in the face of reality. Organizational goals, in general, do not easily lend themselves to definitional contextualization. This problem stems largely from the fact that organizations, especially those in the public sector, have a multiplicity of goals. On this subject Richard Hall (1977:67) has written:

> First, all organizations have multiple and usually conflicting goals;
> second, the multiplicity and conflict among goals, plus other
> constraints prevent any organization from being fully effective;
> third, organizations that are effective for one set of constituents
> may be ineffective or dangerous for another (quoted in McKinney,
> 1986:36).

In addition, as Hannan and Freeman (1977) have observed, organizations have private or operational goals that deviate from official goals. Operational goals are those goals that organizational managers actually pursue in daily practice. In other words, these are unofficial goals of which organizational behaviour is a function, as opposed to official goals which are statements meant for public consumption (Perow, 1961). Such statements are usually contained in annual reports, organizational charters or the speeches of the organization's most powerful constituencies.

Another problem with the goal model of organizational effectiveness relates to the fact that organizational goals lack specificity. Consider for instance, a developing nation's Ministry of Planning's goal of "improving the quality of life of the nation's citizens". Such a goal is not only open ended, but ambiguous, thus lacking the specificity necessary to make it meaningful for conceptual purposes. Yet such lack of specificity is what students of development administration such as Bryant and White (1982) have observed as a common characteristic of organizational goals in LDCs. That organizational goals are non-specific implies that they are multidimensional.

Yet another problem relates to the fact that organizational goals are anything but permanent (Hannan and Freeman, 1977). This temporary feature is a function of the fact that organizational goals, more often than not, reflect the preferences of the organization's most powerful constituencies (i.e. proprietors and managers). Thus, as these preferences change over time, so do the goals. Given the highly dynamic nature of LDCs, their organizational goals are most likely to be in a constant state of flux.

The second assumption is also another major source of the problems of the goal model. Organizational managers and proprietors are seen as rational decision makers. The model of man as a rational decision maker holds that he is a utility maximizer whose relations to others must be seen in purely instrumental terms (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974; Saasa, 1985). The model further assumes that the decision maker is confronted with a well-defined problem, has a full array of alternatives to select a solution from, and has complete

information about the values and preferences of citizens, and a sufficient supply of needed skills and resources (Forester, 1984). The hallmarks of this model as Lindblom (1959), Etzioni (1968), Forester (1984), among others have pointed out, are clarity of objective, explicitness of evaluation, quantification of values, and mathematical analysis.

Yet, the goals of public organizations, because of their complexity, hardly lend themselves to quantitative analysis. Consider the goal of providing citizens with decent housing that can be found on the official agenda of most all public housing organizations in LDCs. This goal cannot be subdivided into elements which can then be rank-ordered and satisfied in order of importance until resources are exhausted. All the elements that make up the housing package are of equal importance in most cases. The 'four walls and a roof' are for instance, just as important as 'reasonable location'. Hence one can neither be easily ranked above, nor substituted for, the other. In other words, protection of the users from adverse weather conditions is just as important an objective of housing policy as is their access to jobs, services, and other opportunities necessary for their social, economic, and cultural well-being.

Despite its intellectual appeal, in practice, the rational model for dealing with organizational goals is seriously incapacitated by the bounds imposed on it by limited knowledge (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974; Etzioni, 1968; Lindblom, 1959, 1979; Simon, 1957). Knowledge entails the ability to handle uncertainty, and information, as well as determine the consequences of decisions. This ability is often lacking in organizations especially those in the public sector in LDCs. This is because resources (e.g. finance and skilled labour) are often in

extreme short supply in these countries. Thus, the capacity to collect the quantity and quality of data, as well as maintain the calibre of up-to-date data bank necessary for rational decision making is absent. Even if there was sufficient capital with which to secure the needed resources (as may be the case in the oil-rich LDCs, and some MDCs), critics of the rational model (e.g. Lindblom, 1979; Etzioni, 1968) argue that the limits of man's intelligence heavily restricts the amount of information that can be handled at any given time.

A closely related problem concerns knowledge about what the 'ideal organizational goal' is. Usually the constituencies of an organization disagree on what goals the organization should pursue. This disagreement stems from the diverse reasons that different groups have for participating in the organization in the first place. Proprietors of private firms usually have an interest in profit making. Politicians and top-ranking government officials, who may be considered the proprietors of public organizations are usually interested in political stability. In either case, the employees are interested job satisfaction. Job satisfaction may be a function of among other factors, 'good wages' and decent working conditions. The organization's primary beneficiaries are likely to be interested in 'good services' or 'quality products'. It is highly improbable that anyone possesses the knowledge necessary to formulate organizational goals to the equal satisfaction of each of these constituencies.

It is impossible within the limited parameters of this discussion to exhaust the list of problems that plague the goal model. Suffice to say that these problems incapacitate the model as a tool for gauging organizational effectiveness especially for the purpose of the present study. Notwithstanding, the importance of goals for guiding

organizational activity is acknowledged, although effectiveness is not defined as goal achievement.

The Resource Control Model. The argument for conceptualizing organizational effectiveness in terms of an organization's ability to secure from its environment the resources it needs in order to function was first advanced by Ephraim Yuchtman and Stanley Seashore (1967). In advancing this argument, the authors underscored the importance of the organizational environment and organization-environment interaction for resource acquisition and hence, for organizational performance. They stated:

> We propose, accordingly to define the effectiveness of an organiza-
> tion in terms of its bargaining position, as reflected in the ability
> of the organization, in either absolute or relative terms, to exploit
> its environment in the acquisition of scarce and valued resources
> (Ibid, p. 899).

These points are central to the present thesis, which is however, for reasons to be discussed, shy of defining organizational effectiveness likewise. Rather, the study sees the ability to acquire resources as an intervening, as opposed to a predictor, variable in an equation dealing with organizational effectiveness.

Shortcomings of the resource control model include the fact that by equating the ability to acquire resources with effectiveness, there is the tendency to confuse organizational effectiveness with the size of an organization (Price and Mueller, 1986). This is because size is sometimes measured in terms of the amount of resources (e.g. employees, land, equipment, assets, etc.) that an organization owns. Therefore, a measure of organizational effectiveness based on this

conceptualization is likely to be uniformly biased in favour of larger and/or financially viable organizations. It is equivocal that the simple fact that an organization possesses or can acquire more resources makes it automatically 'effective'.

To assume that by simply possessing resources an organization automatically becomes effective is to be naive. How these resources are utilized is perhaps just as important as possessing them. Consider for instance the case of a hypothetical planning agency which is richly endowed with such vital resources as infrastructure, office equipment, and funds. Suppose the morale of the personnel is so low that their productivity is inhibited making it difficult for such routine tasks as building site inspection, the issuance of land certificates, building permits, etc. to be executed on a timely basis. It is very likely that if clients who have experienced unnecessary waiting periods for say, their sites to be inspected, or permission to build, are asked to evaluate the agency, they would consider it ineffective. Yet, one can immagine a case in which a similar agency may not possess quite as much resources but the staff is so dedicated that they go out of their way to ensure that routine tasks are executed with minimal delay. It is possible to think of more examples in which the acquisition or possession of resources does not automatically translate into effectiveness but this is unnecessary.

The fact is that the underlying assumption of the resource control model that a distinct link exists between inputs and results is questionable. In this connection Kim Cameron and David Whetten (1983:3) contend that

> . . . some organizations are judged to be effective even though they
> fail to acquire resources whereas others are deemed ineffective

even when resources are acquired in abundance.

The Multiple Constituency Model.   The multiple constituency model conceptualizes organizational effectiveness in terms of the degree to which an organization satisfies its (multiple) constituencies.   According to Pennings and Goodman (1977:160) "organizations are effective if relevant contraints can be satisfied and if organizational results approximate or exceed a set of referents for multiple goals".

The origin of this model can be traced to a workshop on organizational effectiveness held at the Carnegie Melon University, Pittsburgh, USA, in 1976.   Its substantive orientation is however credited to a 1952 article by B.M. Bass.   In the article entitled, "Ultimate Criteria of Organizational Worth", Bass articulated the importance of expanding the criterion of organizational effectiveness to encompass measures relevant to the organization's constituencies. This model is considered relevant for the purpose of the present study because it is the only one in the literature that articulates the importance of other members of an organization's constituencies, other than the proprietors and management, for the purpose of evaluating the organization's performance.

The model explicitly recognizes the fact that the various constituencies of an organization, each contributes in some form to the organization's survival.   Each of these constituent groups has a bias toward assessing the organization's effectiveness from their respective perspective.   This line of reasoning leads Bass to suggest that the criteria for assessing organizational effectiveness must include some measures of how well the organization is serving the interests of its

management, employees, and the society at large.. In echoing this theme Friedlander and Pickle (1967:293) contend that

> Clearly effectiveness criteria must take into account the
>
> profitability of the organization, the degree to which it satisfies its
>
> members, and the degree to which it is of value to the larger
>
> society of which it is part.

A fundamental strength of this model resides in the fact that it embraces multiple value perspectives of performance under a unifying framework. Unfortunately, however, this strength can also represent a major source of weakness where such perspectives are diametrically opposed to one another. For instance, the proprietors of an organization are likely to be interested in increasing productivity while employees may desire job satisfaction. But as Steers (1975) notes, studies reveal that, at least within the short run, exerting pressure on workers to perform at their maximum (which is necessary for increased productivity), results in decreased job satisfaction. Similarly, a profit maximizing organization, that is, one that is highly effective in terms of profits, will rarely be effective from society's point of view. This is because to maximize on profit, a construction company in a developing country, for instance, may require the use of capital intensive technology which conflicts with the societal goal of reducing levels of unemployment -- a goal whose achievement hinges tightly on the use of labour intensive technology.

This suggests that it is difficult, if not impossible, for an organization to maximize its effectiveness on all dimensions simultaneously.

> . . . If we accept such criteria for effectiveness, organizations by

definition cannot be effective! They cannot maximize on [all] dimensions at the same time (Steers, 1975)[14].

The task that the multiple constituency model attempts to accomplish is therefore, rather too ambitious as some problems are imminent. First, there is the problem of knowledge -- the limited capacity of human intelligence discussed above.

A second problem concerns the practical utility of the model. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) have attempted to address this question. Identifying the central questions of organizational action as: "who wants what and how important is it that the demand be satisfied? and what are the implications of the satisfaction of one demand for the satisfaction of the other demands?", they prescribe a four-step process for decision makers to follow (pp. 85-87).

Step one consist of identifying organizational constituencies, which the authors note as being of unequal importance to the organization. Hence, as step two, they suggest that the decision maker develops a system for weighting the preference of organizational constituencies according to their relative importance (to the organization). Weights may be determined by one of two ways. One approach entails having representatives of each constituency assign scores to other constituencies according to their perceived importance to the organization, and averaging these scores. A second approach involves "identifying the critical resources which the organization needs and analyzing which groups or individuals control them" (p. 85).

In step three, the criteria or preferences for performance that each of the organization's constituencies would use in judging the

organization's effectiveness should be identified. The final step consist of determining the reaction of each constituency to any particular organizational action.

The severe limitations of the practical utility of the multiple constituency model can be appreciated by examining the major assumptions it makes about organizations. One is that it is possible to rank the constituencies of an organization in order of their importance to the organization (see step one above). It is difficult to defend this assumption. This is because, as far as the survival and success of any organization is concerned, all its constituencies command equal importance. For example, suppliers of inputs such as raw materials are no less important to the organization than are the employees who transform the materials into finished products; nor are the consumers of these products any less important than any of the two.

A second assumption is that members of the organization's constituencies not only know other constituencies but are able to determine their importance to the organization (see step two, first approach). Based on this assumption, the consumers of an organization's outputs are supposed to know, and be able to assess their relative importance to the organization, other constituencies such as the organization's suppliers of raw materials, its creditors, and owners. This assumption is out of touch with reality. It is highly unlikely that residents of sites and services projects such as Dandora in Kenya; Chawama in Lusaka, Zambia; New Georgia in Liberia; Quartier Nylon in Douala, Cameroon; and most others in different parts of the developing world, know that the housing units in which they live were developed with financial assistance from the World Bank in New York. Similarly, it is equivocal that the customers of a retail foodstore would

know the store's owner(s); let alone other constituencies such as the store's creditors, bankers, and insurance agents, to name but a few. It is more improbable that these customers can assess the relative importance (to the store) of each of these groups.

Besides the problems associated with the major assumptions of this model, another shortcoming of the model relates to the tendency to disregard the less powerful constituencies of the organization. Even advocates of the model acknowledge this shortcoming. Alluding to the second method of weighting the preferences of constituencies (see step two above), Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:85) admit that "one problem with this method, however is that the less visible interest groups may be ignored or underestimated".

Perhaps the major problem with the multiple constituency model is the fact that it promises more than it is capable of delivering. For instance, it claims that it can deal not only with the preferences of those directly connected to the organization, but also with those of the society at large. A proponent of the model, Walter Nord, maintains that:

> Most treatments of organizational effectiveness have ignored macroquality criteria and proceeded as if greater microquality effectiveness is preferable to less without discussion of the extent or process by which such effectiveness have failed to meet what Silverman (1970) considered to be a necessary criterion for any organization theory -- the specification of the relationship between organization and larger society (Nord, 1983: 87).

This raises several questions associated with the community welfare function -- questions that become more complicated when

examined in the context of developing societies. Where resources are scarce such as in these societies, it is obvious that some tradeoffs must be made among people's preferences for different objectives. Economists call the calculation of these tradeoffs, the 'community welfare function'. Under formal democratic conditions, a community welfare function may be logically derived from premises that are in conformity with formalized rules of political democracy (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974). In the advanced societies of the West, an organization may approximate a community's preferences for different objectives through majority voting. On the contrary, and to risk understatement, democracy is a rare characteristic of developing nations. This renders impossible the approximation of the values and preferences of the citizens -- the society at large.

A related problem has to do with determining social, environmental, and other intangible costs and benefits of organizational actions to the larger society. The cost benefit analysis technique, a direct mathematical formulation of the rational model, because of its quantitative bias, cannot adequately deal with this problem. Thus, the multiple constituency model's claim that it can deal simultaneously with the preferences of all constituencies of an organization, including the larger society is an illusion.

AN EFFECTIVENESS MODEL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY AGENCIES

IN LDCs:

What follows is a discussion of a proposed model for gauging the effectiveness of public organizations charged with the responsibility of

delivering public services in LDCs. This model is then used to measure the effectiveness of housing policy organizations (HPOs) in Cameroon.

The model extends beyond the contemporary literature on organizational effectiveness in that it 1) incorporates consumer satisfaction, an inherent but largely ignored indicator of the effectiveness construct, and 2) recognizes the importance of operative (as opposed to official) policies in evaluating organizational performance. Two indicators form the corpus of the model. The first is consumer (i.e. primary beneficiary) satisfaction. Satisfaction is defined as a construct describing a service or product recipient's subjective emotional state occuring in response to an evaluation of a set of experiences connected with the service or product received.

The second indicator is 'adaptability', which should be taken to constitute a service delivery organization's ability to adopt standards compatible with the socioeconomic characteristics of its primary beneficiaries when responding to their demands.

Before discussing these indicators any further, it is orderly to examine the proposed model in relation to the three discussed above. The proposed model honours some of the basic underlying assumptions of the others. In this respect it may be seen as building on extant models in the field. For instance, it recognizes, as does the goal model, that there should be some goals or objectives against which an organization's performance can be measured. It however, does not subscribe to the notion that these goals must be those of the owners and management of the organization. Rather, at the heart of the proposed model is the contention that other goals such as the satisfaction of consumer preferences are equally important, and

should therefore be pursued. The importance of this goal is magnified in the case of service delivery agencies whose *raison d'etre* is (or should be) meeting the service needs of the citizenry. The model further differs from the goal model in that in contrast to this latter, which concerns itself with the official goals of the organization, it perceives operative goals as a more appropriate background against which to measure organizational effectiveness. This is because, as mentioned earlier, operative goals are the goals which organizations actually pursue while official goals constitute nothing more than statements about what organizations intend to do, or would like the public to believe they intend to do. The same holds true for official versus operative policies. Thus, to deal with operative policies, is to deal with the actions hence, the actual, as opposed to the intended, behaviour of organizations.

The importance of resource acquisition for organizational success is also recognized in the proposed model. The ability to acquire resources is however not equated with effectiveness as is the case with the resource control model. Rather, an organization that is able to acquire, or indulges in activities aimed at acquiring the resources it needs in order to function, is considered potentially effective. In other words, such an organization is not regarded as effective but as likely to be effective.

The model further subscribes to some of the primary assumptions of the multiple constituency model. It, for example, accepts the argument that organizations are comprised of different constituencies, each of which places different demands on the organization. The constituencies that constitute a typical public housing organization in a developing nation may be grouped into three

categories as follows. First, there are the employees, seeking improved working conditions and better remuneration for their labour. Second, there is the state or government, which expects the organization to contribute in the maintenance of public order by ensuring that the other constituencies (e.g. employees and consumers) are satisfied. Finally, there are the consumers, who desire maximum satisfaction from the use of housing and related services. That any single model can effectively deal with the question of organizational effectiveness from the perspective of all possible constituencies of the organization simultaneously, as held by the multiple constituency model is however, rejected in the proposed model. Some prominent scholars in the field such as Cameron and Whetten (1983: ix) also "reject the idea that one universal model of effectiveness can be developed".

To gauge organizational effectiveness from the perspective of an organization's primary beneficiaries, as is being proposed here, is only to measure the organization's effectiveness on one of several possible dimensions. Thus, in order to avoid confusion, it is important that researchers state explicitly the perspective from which they are dealing with the effectiveness construct prior to embarking on evaluating any organization.

That the proposed model has elected to deal with the construct from the consumer's perspective does not imply that the other perspectives are any less important. However, it is assumed that in the housing policy field in LDCs, an organization that is capable of satisfying its primary beneficiaries, is likely to be effective from the perspective of the state and that of its employees. For the consumers of the organization's products to rate the organization effective means

they are reasonably satisfied with the quality and quantity of products and services delivered by the organization. Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume *ceteris paribus,* that only satisfied workers (employees) are likely to produce such quality and quantity of goods and services. It also follows that satisfied workers and satisfied consumers, are unlikely to constitute a threat to the political stability of the nation. Therefore, it is within reason to expect the state to be satisfied with such an organization.

What is being asserted here is correlation and not causality. It is not being argued, for example, that consumer satisfaction determines employee satisfaction or political stability. Rather, it is being argued that given a positive score on consumer satisfaction, one is likely to find an identical score on employee satisfaction and political stability if a nation-state is considered an organization -- if only a very large and complex one. This line of reasoning is crucial to appreciating the importance of "consumer satisfaction" as an indicator of organizational effectiveness.

The Model:

The proposed model is expected to complement other existing models of organizational effectiveness since 1) no single available model is capable of dealing with the effectiveness construct from all possible perspectives simultaneously; and 2) it deals with the construct from an important perspective, that of the consumers, that has been ignored in the literature. The importance of this perspective, which at first sight may seem to fall beyond the scope of housing in LDCs, the subject of this study, is discussed below.

To be sure, housing is among other things, a consumer, as well as a public good. Marion Glaser (1985: 410) explains:

> In the sense that people derive personal satisfaction and well-being from housing, it is therefore a consumer good. . . . If not only considered as a dwelling but as a complex product, etc., housing displays all the features of a public good.

Primary Beneficiary Satisfaction. This term is used interchangeably with consumer satisfaction in this study. The importance of consumer satisfaction both as a concept and as a guide for policymaking in LDCs can hardly be overstated. Underlying most consumer theories is the assumption that consumption is undertaken in order to satisfy some need (Stearns, 1981: 15). Incorporating this indicator, effectiveness will be measured in terms of the proportion of an organization's primary beneficiaries expressing satisfaction with services and/or goods provided by the organization. Employed as a measure of effectiveness for public sector organizations, this indicator can assist policymakers and other authorities in LDCs in several ways.

First, information on public service consumer satisfaction can be a barometer of public sector performance by providing an evaluative dimension for ratings of the quality of goods and/or services produced by organizations in this sector.

Second, the maximization of public service consumer satisfaction should be the goal of governments in LDCs since this is likely to contribute to political stability. In housing for instance, Geofrey Payne (1984: 3) contends that one of the objectives of programmes such as settlement upgrading in LDCs is to win the political support of "entrenched and increasingly active slum or squatter communities".

To ascertain that consumers are satisfied with public goods and services therefore, is to foster this objective. We will return to this issue in Chapter Seven, the final chapter of the study.

Third, because citizen satisfaction with public goods and services contributes to overall well-being (Marans and Rodgers, 1975) it is important for governments in LDCs to maximize this satisfaction.

Fourth, in the housing policy field measures of consumer satisfaction can help generate a more accurate picture of the housing problem in LDCs. This picture has always been distorted because public officials and other parties concerned with the problem rely on pre-conceived, pseudo-western middle class standards for appropriate housing.

Fifth, information on consumer satisfaction could constitute valuable input not only for social indicators but also provide project/programme administrators in LDCs additional information about the effectiveness of their efforts.

Sixth, as valuable inputs to the planning process, consumer satisfaction measures can help keep planners and leaders in LDCs abreast with shifts in the preferences and needs of the citizens.

Seventh, a measure of public service consumer satisfaction is capable of providing leaders in LDCs the information necessary for avoiding a crises of confidence in their leadership. Such information serves as an early warning system for shifts in preferences, needs, and attitudes concerning the quality, quantity, and kind of goods and services offered by the government (through public organizations).

Eighth, as one approach to strengthen their capacity for development policy administration (see discussion of the learning approach in chapter 2), organizations in LDCs need to be knowledgeable about their environment. A measure of consumer satisfaction is capable of performing the environmental scanning function for organizations that are interested not only in reactive, but also proactive policy making or planning.

Ninth, 'good planning' and 'good intentions' are not enough. Planners in LDCs need to gauge the extent to which the "planned-for" actually like the products of the planners' efforts. A measure of public service consumer satisfaction is a logical tool for making this determination.

Finally, the fact that, with a few exceptions (see e.g. Stearns, 1981), consumer satisfaction studies have been limited to the private sector, means that there exist a need for studies to focus on the subject with respect to the public sector in general, and the public sector in LDCs in particular.[15]

Adaptability. The term adaptability is employed here in a sense that is slightly different from that implied by others in the literature. Ephraim Yuchtman and Stanley Seashore (1967) in making a case for considering environmental functioning as the indicator of organizational effectiveness, for instance, imply that adaptability is the ability of an organization, in either absolute or relative terms, to exploit its environment in the acquisition of scarce and valued resources.

The <u>Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English</u> defines adapt as the act of making suitable for a new use. <u>Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary</u> defines it as the act of making fit, that is, "to bring one into correspondence with another". Adaptation, according to Webster's, therefore means to adjust to environmental conditions.

After this nominal meaning, the term adaptability will be taken in this study to mean the modification of a technology or parts thereof that makes it more appropriate under conditions in its environment. Technology in this context refers to the totality of the means employed to reach desired objectives. A nation's housing policy, that is, the definite course of action selected to guide and determine present and future decisions about the development and distribution of housing, is for example, a form of technology.

The housing policies of LDCs have always been the target of bitter criticism. Critics (e.g. Turner, 1976; Glaser, 1985; Lim, 1987) hold that because these policies have been borrowed from the more advanced nations and are being used without modification, they are counterproductive in LDCs. Howard Sumka (1987:172) for instance, notes that the borrowing of housing policy from the industrialized countries by LDCs was especially dominant during the 1960s and early 1970s. The desire on the part of LDC governments to duplicate the housing standards of the developed nations led to the adoption of programmes such as squatter clearance and public housing construction that were characteristic of that era.

The fact that adaptation to suit local conditions was a prerequisite for housing policy success in LDCs became widely acknowledged in the mid-1970s. This acknowledgement gave birth to

what became known as 'second best' or marginal housing policies. A profound aspect of these policies is the view that given the poor state of the economy in LDCs, governments should not assume the role of provider of housing. Rather, governments should be 'facilitators', primarily responsible for supporting the housing development process (Ramachandran, 1986, cited in Sumka, 1987).

> The implication is that governments [in LDCs] should realize that
>
> the vast majority of housing has always been, and will continue to
>
> be, provided by the private sector (Sumka, 1987: 173).[16]

Whether governments in LDCs have accepted the role of 'facilitators' in the housing process is open to question. What is incontestable is the fact that they regulate the process to ascertain that only "acceptable housing" is produced. The current approach to accomplishing this objective consist of specifying minimum standards for a wide range of ingredients considered to constitute "acceptable housing". These standards "regulate type and quality of construction materials, design and service levels of buildings, and density of occupation" among other things (Glaser, 1985: 412). Because minimum standard requirements constitute part of the underlying norms of traditional housing policies (Lim, 1987) they raise questions of adaptability.

How compatible with extant social, economic and cultural conditions are specified minimum standards in LDCs? John F.C. Turner (1972) maintains that the standards cannot be achieved with available resources. Jorge Hardoy (1982: 6) echoes this theme when he argues that:

> . . . very few countries now in the process of developing will, in the

near future, have sufficient economic capacity to meet the population's need for housing and services consistent with their own building codes.

Marion Glaser (1985: 12) observes that the standards "tend to lack connection with the cultural, climatic and financial realities of the countries they are applied to".

It is one thing for a country to stipulate high minimum structural standards for housing construction on paper (an official policy). It is another to ascertain that these standards are followed in the actual construction process (operational policy). There is enough evidence that the former is true. However, the same cannot be said of the latter. Yet, as was argued earlier, organizations should be evaluated based on their actions as opposed to intentions. Housing planners in LDCs do not have the tools necessary for making such evaluations.

The indicator, adaptability, is intended to fill this gap. An important purpose of this study is to validate the indicator. Accomplishing this makes two major contributions to housing policymaking and research in LDCs: 1) policymakers will have valuable information on the extent to which people are willing and able to maintain specified housing standards. This information can be a very useful guide to any attempts aimed at revamping (extant) housing policies in LDCs. 2) Researchers will find this indicator useful in comparative studies on housing policy administration in LDCs.

Essentially, adaptability measures the disparities between official housing policies, operational housing policies and what residential developers actually do on the site. Official housing policies in this case are the policies that appear on such documents as the national

building codes, land use laws etc. Operational policies consist of what the implementing agencies actually insist must be respected in terms of building standards. It was noted in the previous chapter that the practices of implementing agencies sometimes contain implicit policies that may deviate from, or even be diametrically opposed to, the policies of policy formulating organizations . Thus, implementing agencies, can in and of themselves, be the target of investigation with respect to policy outputs.

It is expected that organizations considered effective in terms of adaptability, will also be effective in terms of consumer satisfaction. This is because housing developers (consumers) are likely to be satisfied with an agency whose operational policies are consistent with their (the consumers') needs and economic reach. (Figure 2 is a diagramatic representation of this model).

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┌─────────┐
│ I. O. R.│
│ -i.o.c. │        ┌──────────────────────┐
│ -exch.  │───────▶│ EFFECTIVENESS        │
│ -info.  │        │ -client satisfaction │
│ -link.  │        │ -adaptation          │
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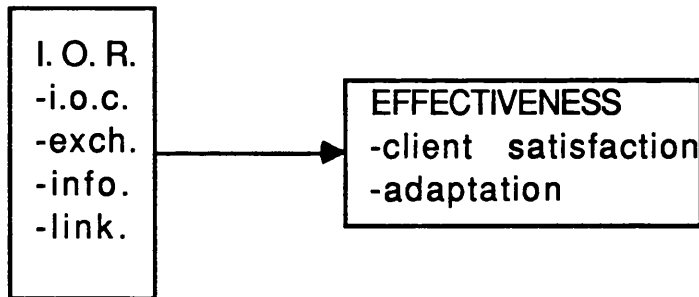
FIG. 2:
A CONSUMER SATISFACTION-BASED MODEL OF
ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS.

THE RELATION BETWEEN ORGAN'L ENVIRONMENT & EFFECTIVENESS:

Research on the relationship between the organizational environment and organizational functioning has earned a central place in contemporary organization theory. Studies in this area explore, among other things, the internal structural characteristics necessary under given environmental conditions for any organization to be effective. One of the earliest best known studies in this regard was conducted by Tom Burns and George Stalker (1961). Burns and Stalker investigated 20 industrial firms in Britain and found that those firms characterized by relatively closed and rigid structures, that is, "mechanistic organizations", were effective where the organizational environment was characterized by stability; while firms that had flexible and open structures, "organic organizations", were effective where the environment was in a state of flux.

Other works influenced by the pioneering effort of Burns and Stalker in the area include Thompson (1967) and Lawrence and Lorsch (1969). Central to these studies is the thesis that "there must be a fit between internal organizational characteristics and external environmental requirements if an organization is to perform effectively . . ." (Lorsch 1980:77). In essence, the orientation of the studies posits that, there is no "one best way" for structuring an (effective) organization. Rather, the internal composition necessary for effectiveness is a function of the organizational environment.

This perspective has been extended to determine the effects of organization-environment relations on organizational effectiveness (see e.g. Thompson, 1967; Emery and Trist, 1965; Warren, 1967; Hirsch, 1975; Rogers and Molnar, 1982). As far as the effect of

organization-environment relations on organizational effectiveness is concerned, consensus is lacking.

On the one hand some (e.g. Thompson, 1967; Emery and Trist, 1965) perceive these relations in terms of an organization's dependence on its environment and argue that as the dependence increases, so do constraints on the organization, thus rendering organizational management more difficult. The effect of this on organizational effectiveness is obviously negative. Adopting a "power" perspective, Howard Aldrich (1971) contends that the effects of intensifying an organization's relation (dependence) with the organizational environment on organizational effectiveness are negative. More straightforwardly, this view holds that it is costly for organizations to initiate and/or maintain linkages with their environments. The costs can be seen in terms of for instance, the additional staff-time necessary to attend a joint board-of-directors' meeting; or the additional funds necessary to maintain a mailing list or participate in joint data banking, etc. Where bureaucratic and inter-agency rivalry is common-place such as in LDCs, the cost of maintaining these linkages may also be seen in terms of the power that agencies give up when they engage in exchanges. The resource dependence model of interorganizational relationships (IOR) postulates that "organizations will be powerful relative to others to the extent that they 1) control resources needed by others and 2) can reduce their dependence on others" (Provan et al., 1980: 200).

On the other hand, some evidence suggest that the effect of organization-environment relations on organizational effectiveness is positive. Hirsch (1975) for instance, discovered that the typical pharmaceutical manufacturing firm was more effective (in terms of

profitability) than a typical phonograph record company. The reason for this is that the pharmaceutical firm tends to interact with its external environment as it seeks to gain greater control over pricing and distribution, access to patents and more copyright laws; while the phonograph record company does not.

Conceptualizing organization-environment relations in terms of cooperation and coordination through resource exchange, Roland Warren (1967) brought forth empirical evidence demonstrating that such relations relate positively to organizational effectiveness. David Rogers and Joseph Molnar (1982), who restricted the concept of the organizational environment to organizations with which a focal organization interacts, found likewise.

These two opposing views are indicative of the fact that the debate surrounding the nature of the relationship between organization-environment relations and organizational effectiveness is inconclusive. The present study however does not assume a neutral position in the debate. It has a point view. The point of view is that organization-environment relations are capable of improving organizational effectiveness. This is not to say these relations are costless. Rather, it is maintained that whatever cost is involved fades into insignificance besides the countless benefits that accrue to organizations in particular, and their constituencies in general, when they interact with their environment.

Consistent with the earlier conceptualization of the organizational environment, organization-environment interaction here refers to interorganizational relationships (IOR), operationalized in terms of interorganizational interactions (IOI). Thus, restating the point of view

of this study in light of the effect of organization-environment interaction on organizational effectiveness: IOR, the wide range of contacts among organizations, can improve organizational effectiveness especially when this occurs where 1) the activities of the organizations impinge on one another; and 2) resources are scarce (e.g. in LDCs). This is because by interacting, individual organizations are able to a) expand their resource bases; b) avoid conflict, waste, and duplication of functions; c) reduce organizational uncertainty, and d) contribute more positively to efforts to deal with "indivisible problems".

IOR as a strategy for expanding the organizational resource base, is central to the exchange model of Levine and White (1961). According to this model organizations will generally not engage in exchange were they in possession of all the resources required in order for them to function. Organizations thus, enter exchange relationships as a means of increasing their supply of resources. The case of libraries participating in interlibrary loan programmes is a good example.

IOR is also a viable means of avoiding conflict, waste, and the duplication of effort especially, among organizations whose activities impinge upon one another. In his article "The Institutional Element in the Effective Management of Urbanization in Nigeria", D.C.I. Okpala (1986) reports several actual cases in which the lack of IOC among agencies whose activities impinge upon one another led to conflict, confusion, waste and effort duplication. He begins by asserting that

> . . . the fragmentation of overlapping responsibilities for city management and service delivery among agencies breeds disorder and confusion in city management, inefficiency in the provision, delivery and maintenance of good quality urban public services

and certainly very wasteful of resources in money and manpower (p. 40).

One of the cases Okpala reported that is illustrative of this assertion involved the South-West Ring Road project in Ibadan, which the Oyo State Ministry of Works (located in Ibadan), had planned without informing the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority. This latter, unaware of the planned road, approved building plans in the area including the stretch intended for the road. During the road construction phase, soon after the buildings were put up, the Ministry of Works had to demolish them. The cost of this can be seen in terms of the compensation payments made to the victims by the government, the monetary and other intangible costs to the families involved, etc.

Another case in Britain reported by Christopher Hood (1976) invoved the Main Road, Harwich that was said to have been excavated by local utility contractors 700 times during the 18-month period ending January 1973, because no contractor knew of the others' programmes or plans. This latter case serves as an indicator that LDCs do not have monopoly over these phenomena. The emphasis on resource-scarce economies (LDCs) in this thesis stems from the fact that they can least afford to be wasteful. Furthermore, and ironically, IOC is more likely to be absent in LDCs than in advanced nations.

Working oncemore from the point of limited resources: the scarcity of information is one factor capable of precipitating organizational uncertainty. IOI then becomes among other things, a means of reducing this uncertainty. Some support to this contention is provided by Gortner and associates (1987:167), who maintain that:

one way that an organization can make its environment more predictable and favourable is by coordinating information and actions with relevant actors in that environment.

Most problems in contemporary society cannot be handled by any single actor. Housing for example, is a problem that is bigger than any single organization acting alone can address. Howard Aldrich (1967) has referred to such as "indivisible problems" while Rittel and Weber (1973) branded them "wicked problems". By interacting with one another, interdependent organizations more readily pool resources (e.g. information, funds, personnel, equipment, etc.) hence are more able to deal with such problems.

Richard Hall's and associates' (1978) unqualified pronouncement that interorganizational "coordination is almost like magic" may be a little melodramatic. Yet, it is nonetheless unequivocal that when an organization interacts with others in its policy field, it learns about their activities hence designs its own accordingly. This translates into improved effectiveness on the part of the organization. For service delivery agencies such as those in the housing policy field, the magical qualities of IOC, which Hall and his colleagues allude to, can be seen through the lenses of the agencies' constituencies.

> For the client, time would be saved and frustrations eased if
> agencies would only coordinate their services and the client
> did not have to go (or be pushed) from agency to agency to
> find help. Agency personnel also recognize the magical qualities
> of coordination as they engage in the "if only" game of wishing
> that needed information would be available and useless duplication
> of services avoided (Ibid: 293).

This suggests that when an organization interacts with others with which it functions in a common policy field, it is likely to be more effective. This, then, is the central hypothesis of the present study. It will be recalled that organizational effectiveness, for the purpose of the research, was conceptualized in terms of consumer satisfaction, and adaptability. Incorporating these concepts into the central hypothesis: the more interaction there is among organizations whose activities impinge upon one another, the more effective in terms of satisfying the consumers of their products and/or services (consumer satisfaction), and pursuing policies that are compatible with their environment (adaptation), the organizations will be. In other words, a positive relationship is expected between interorganizational relations (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE). This relationship is graphically illustrated in figure 3.
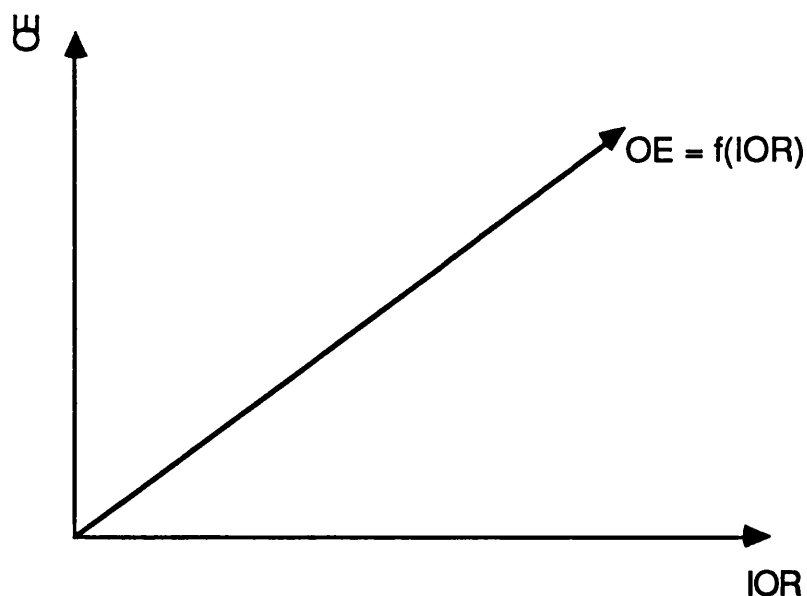
Fig. III.3:
CURVE OF HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS
AND INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS.

CONCLUSION

The chapter has explored the link between organization-environment relations and organizational effectiveness. It began by defining organization-environment relations in terms of interorganizational relationships (IOR).

The organizational environment was conceptualized at three levels. First it was seen as the society at large, in which the environment of an organization could be seen as including everything else in the universe but the organization itself. Second, it was discussed in terms of the resources an organization has at its disposal. Finally, the organizational environment was conceptualized in terms of the network of interorganizational relationships it makes with other organizations. This third view of the organizational environment approximates that employed in this study, which defines an organization's environment to include other organizations with which it operates in a common policy arena. This led to a discussion of the concept of interorganizational relationships.

Interorganizational relationships were discussed first in terms of the exchange of resources between organizations; then as the coordination of activities among organizations whose operations impinge upon one another. Five forms of interorganizational coordination namely, communication, cooperation, confederation, federation, and merger were discussed.

In dealing with the concept of organizational effectiveness, three models of effectiveness, the goal model, the resourc control model and the multiple constituency model were reviewed and appraised. None

of these was considered adequate for the purpose of this study. Thus, an effectiveness model incorporating an inherent but hitherto ignored indicator of organizational effectiveness, consumer satisfaction, was developed. The proposed model also incorporates environmental adaptability as a measure of the effectiveness construct.

Finally, the link between organization-environment relations, that is, interorganizational relationships and organizational effectiveness was explored. At the theoretical level, it was argued that this link is positive. In other words, theoretical evidence suggests that as interorganizational relationships increase, so does organizational effectiveness.

However, the issue cannot be resolved at the theoretical level. Empirical evidence is necessary to make a more convincing case. The rest of the study seeks to uncover such evidence. The next chapter discusses the strategies employed in accomplishing the task.

CHAPTER THREE NOTES

1. The term 'focal organization' is employed to distinguish the organization under investigation from the others in the network of organizations of which it is part. This is conventional (see e.g. Mulford, 1984:44).

2. See 4th impression, 1988.

3. Webster's Dictionary, 1981 edition.

4. The authors however acknowledge the fact that the environment can also be conditioned by organization although their definition does not reflect this. Its inclusion is for illustrative purposes only.

5. The literature use 'relevant' interchangeably with 'task' in reference to the environment that is directly connected to the focal organization. Organizations whose activities impinge on those of any organization constitute for instance the relevant or task environment of that organization in interorganization relations lingo.

6. By technology transfer is meant the movement of the skills, knowledge, techniques and procedures of performing a given task from their point of origin to a host point. Customarily, the former is an advanced nation and the latter, an LDC.

7. Conventional housing as used here refers to housing produced to government-specified standards.

8. The concept of exchange originated in sociology and social psychology, where it had been used to characterize interpersonal relationships.

9. Resources as used here may be either tangible (e.g. equipment) or intangible (e.g. information).

10. It is however possible to place these groups within organizational contexts. For example, consumers' interest may be represented by consumer protection agencies.

11. There is no evidence that such a study has been conducted in any LDC.

12. Lindblom (1965:4) defines partisans as persons without a dominant common purpose.

13. This typology is similar to those of others in the literature (see a review of the field by Whetten, 1974).

14. No evidence of such a study ever in the developing world.

15. Emphasis, mine.

16. My words in brackets.

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4. INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS IN HOUSING: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES.

INTRODUCTION:

In the previous chapters it was asserted that the relationship between organization-environment interaction and organizational effectiveness is positive. Support to this assertion, it will be recalled, was culled largely from theory. Moving beyond theory, the remainder of the study seeks to reinforce the argument with empirical evidence. The present chapter discusses the process and strategy adopted for the purpose of accomplishing this task.

The organization of the chapter is as follows. An outline of the major phases of the study follows this introduction. Section Two deals with the research design. Section Three discusses the population, sample, and sampling strategy, while the data collection procedures are discussed in Section Four. The variables and how they are measured are discussed in Section Five. Section Six discusses the techniques employed in analyzing the data. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion in Section Seven.

MAJOR PHASES OF THE STUDY:

The search for answers to the questions raised in chapter one proceeded through five different but overlapping phases as follows (also see figure 4.1).

Phase 1:

Review and analyze relevant literature. This phase served two

functions. First, it provided state-of-the-art information on the subject area dealt with in the study. Second, it provided partial information for responding to question 1.

Phase 2:

Qualitatively analyze the interorganizational context of housing policy administration in Cameroon. The intent here was to partially respond to question 1, and provide a complete answer to question 2.

Phase 3:

Construct a general profile of major housing policy organizations in Cameroon and show patterns of interorganizational interaction in the country's housing policy arena. This constituted an important source for the answers to questions 1 and 2.

Phase 4:

Develop and administer two survey instruments (questionnaires '1' and '2'). The questionnaires were developed along the dimensions of variables in the organizational environment as suggested by the institution building model (see chapter 2) and the exchange model (chapter 3). These models were modified and combined to form the corpus of the analytical framework for the study. The questionnaires are discussed in more detail in a subsequent section of this chapter. Information generated by both questionnaires was crucial in responding to the fourth research question (question 4, see chapter 1).

Phase 5:

Determine whether organizational performance is a function of

organizational environment. In particular, respond to the question, "what are the effects of interorganizational interaction on organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field in a resource-scarce economy?". This is research question 4, which constitutes the central question of this study.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN:

Standard textbooks in social research methods usually contain a variety of research designs from which a researcher interested in studying some social phenomenon may choose.[1] The choice of any particular design depends on several factors -- the most important being the central research question(s) the researcher wishes to address.

The present study is concerned with isolating variables that are correlates of organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field in a developing country. This central concern led to the adoption of the correlational design. This latter is a quasi-experimental approach to social scientific inquiry which relates two or more variables at one point in time (cf. Labovitz and Hagedorn, 1981:49). Apart from the study's central concern, two important factors, time constraints and limited resources, influenced the choice of design. A tight budget and time limitations typical of dissertation research meant that repeated observations or a longitudinal study, even if desirable, was impossible.

The design adopted in this study (see figure 4.1) is not without its weaknesses. One major weakness associated with quasi-experimental designs is their inability to control for the effects of extraneous factors that may account for variations between different

groups. This problem can be remedied through statistical control techniques such as partialling, partial correlation, and standardization (Labovitz and Hagedorn, 1981:49).

POPULATION AND RESEARCH SAMPLE:

The main units of observation in this study are housing policy organizations (HPOs) and their clients (primary beneficiaries or consumers). Specifically, the study is concerned with: 1) public and para-public agencies that delivered housing in selected urban centres in Cameroon during the four-year period ending June 1989[2]; and 2) clients or primary beneficiaries of these agencies. The clients consist of individuals (landlords) who constructed conventional housing units

during the three-year period ending June 1988[3]. That the study excludes non-conventional housing units does not constitute a trivialization of the role of such units in efforts aimed at alleviating the housing problem in the country, or any other LDC for that matter. Rather, by electing to deal exclusively with owners of conventional units, which by definition are built with approval from the state or concerned authorities, the researcher was assured a known sampling frame.

SAMPLING FRAME AND SAMPLE DESIGN:

A prerequisite for efficiently designing a survey sample is a complete and up-to-date sampling frame, a list of all the units comprising the population or universe with which the researcher is concerned. As stated above, two different populations, HPOs and their clients, were of concern in the present study. In the case of the former there was no pre-existing frame. The absence of sampling

DATA SOURCE

```
                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │Cameroon gov't│
                    │publications; │
                    │pub-          │
                    │ished/unpub.  │
                    │lit.          │
                    └──────────────┘
  ┌──────────────┐         │        ┌──────────────┐
  │Field obser-  │         │        │Question-     │
  │vations by    │         │        │naires:       │
  │researcher    │         │        │1. Heads,     │
  │informal      │         │        │   HPOs;      │
  │interviews.   │         │        │2. Clients.   │
  └──────────────┘         │        └──────────────┘
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                ┌───────────────────┐
                │Review relevant lit.│
            1   │on I.D., I.O.R. & O.E.│
                │Analyze pub. docs. &│
                │other publ'tions on │
                │hsg in Cameroon/LDCs.│
                └───────────────────┘
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MAJOR PHASES

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  ┌──────────────┐                          ┌──────────────┐
  │Descript'ly   │   ┌──────────────┐       │Employ mul-   │
  │analyze the   │   │Constr. gen'ral│      │tiple regres- │
  │interorgani-  │ 3 │profile of HPOs│      │sion techni-  │
  │zational con- │   │in Cameroon.  │       │ques/cros-    │
2 │text of hou-  │   └──────────────┘       │stabs, to     │
  │sing policy   │                          │analyze da-   │
  │admin. in     │                          │ta. Test hy-  │
  │Cameroon.     │                          │potheses.     │
  └──────────────┘                          └──────────────┘
```

```
          ┌─────────────────────────┐
          │Develop Quest'naires 1    │
          │& 2, based on I.D. &      │
       4  │I.O.R. literature & adm.  │
          │Q. 1 to heads of HPOs &   │
          │Q. 2 to clients of HPOs.  │
          └─────────────────────────┘
```

RESEARCH QUESTION ANSWERED

```
┌────────────┐ ┌────────────┐ ┌────────────┐ ┌────────────┐
│What types  │ │What is the │ │What, and to│ │What are the│
│of institut-│ │inter-      │ │what extent │ │effects of  │
│ions part-  │ │organizat-  │ │do organiz- │ │interorgan- │
│icipate in  │ │ional struc-│ │ations with-│ │izational   │
│the resident│ │ture of the │ │in the sys- │ │interaction │
│-ial deve-  │ │housing del-│ │tem interact│ │on organiz- │
│lopment pro-│ │ivery system│ │with one    │ │ational     │
│cess in     │ │in Cameroon?│ │an'ther to  │ │effectivenes│
│Cameroon?   │ │            │ │realize hsg.│ │in the hous-│
│            │ │            │ │policy obj- │ │ing policy  │
│            │ │            │ │'tives      │ │field?      │
└────────────┘ └────────────┘ └────────────┘ └────────────┘
```

1   2   3   4

FIG. 4.1 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

frames in less developed countries (LDCs) is a problem that has been widely acknowledged by social scientists (see e.g. Bulmer, 1983; Casley and Lury, 1987; Zarkovich, 1983). The compilation of a

complete and current list of HPOs in Cameroon necessitated a review of official documents such as the Decree Number 89/266 of 17 February 1989, reorganizing the country's Ministry of Town Planning and Housing; the building application form, which contains a list of regulatory agencies involved in the housing development process (see appendix B); and informal interviews with a number of key housing policy makers in the country.

As implied earlier, there was a pre-existing sampling frame for clients of HPOs. It consisted of the register of approved building plans kept by all divisional services of Town Planning and Housing in the country. A similar register is kept by all local government councils. All officially authorized buildings in any given administrative division are recorded in this register by name of landlord. Other vital data contained in the register include the date the building plan was submitted for approval, the date approval was granted, the location of the building (by neighbourhood), the type of building (e.g. bungalow or storey), intended use (e.g. commercial or residential), value of building[4], and miscellaneous remarks (e.g. approval denied).

SAMPLE DESIGN:

Sampling, the deliberate selection of a subset of representative members of a population about which inferences are to be made, is a long and well-established practice in social science research. Sampling may either be random or non-random.

Random or probability sampling, in its ideal form entails the selection of units such that each unit in the population has a known and non-zero chance of inclusion. This is the basic form assumed in

survey statistical computations (Babbie, 1983; Blalock, 1972). Non-random or non-probability sampling designs are recommended in situations where probability sampling is either impossible, unnecessary, or both.

Both random and non-random sampling methods were employed in this study. The latter, in particular the purposive or judgmental sampling method, was adopted in selecting the HPOs. This sampling strategy permits the researcher to select units based on his/her knowledge of the population being dealt with and the purpose of the research. Non-probability sampling methods of this nature have been recommended for studies such as the present one that deal with systems or organizations (Bulmer, 1983). This is because the number of units is likely to be small, thus rendering the use of standard sampling strategies unnecessary.

The stratified random sampling method was employed in choosing clients of HPOs included in the study. Thus, the population was first divided into categories according to the urban centres in which clients carried out housing construction projects. Then a simple random sample was drawn from each category (urban centre). The stratified sampling strategy has been extolled for its ability to: 1) insure a greater degree of representativeness in samples and 2) decrease the probability of sampling error (Babbie, 1983; Labovitz and Hagedorn, 1981).

SAMPLE SIZE:

In principle the optimum sample size is influenced by three factors (Meier and Brudney, 1987: 163) namely, 1) the allowable

margin of error; 2) the confidence level desired; and 3) the standard deviation of the population. It can be expressed mathematically as:

$$n = (Z \times d)^2/E$$

Where n represents the sample size; Z, the z-score associated with the desired confidence level; d, the standard deviation, and E, the allowable amount of error.

However, in practice, where several different variables are involved and estimates usually aim at satisfying largely unspecified uses, determining the size of samples becomes an entirely arbitrary process. Sobodan S. Zarkovich (1983: 104) provides some support for this assertion when he contends that

> . . . the size of the sample is more a matter of convenience (such as 1 or
>
> 10 percent) or routine (3 - 5 percent usually discussed in books and often
>
> applied in past surveys) than of real justification. It is difficult to
>
> believe that in surveys with many items on the programs and the
>
> estimates presented by, say, ten provinces, 1 percent more or less in the
>
> precision of estimates changes substantially the usefulness of the data.

The units that were included for analysis (i.e. those that completed questionnaires) in the present study consist of 113 clients (out of 127 that were sampled; for a return rate of 89%), and 29 HPOs (out of 32 sampled; for a return rate of 91%). While an equal number of HPOs (eight) were selected from each of the four urban centres in the study, urban areas with less than two hundred approved building plans (in other words, urban centres with less than 200 clients) were deliberately oversampled. This procedure was aimed at ensuring a greater degree of representativeness. Thus in areas with less than 200 approved residential building plans, 15 percent of the population

was included in the sample compared to 10 percent where the number surpassed 200 for the three-year period ending June 1988.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING THE UNITS:

The main reason for including exclusively urban centres in this study stems from the nature of the housing problem in developing nations. Current thinking in the field suggests that the housing problem in these countries is essentially an urban problem (see e.g. Agbola, 1987). An urban centre by Cameroonian standards is "any agglomeration of over 5,000 people engaged mainly in non-rural activities" (Neba, 1987:73). Four urban centres were chosen from two provinces, the South-West and North-West.[5] Two factors influenced the choice of these two provinces. First, the study is designed to identify as many institutional arrangements as possible (both governmental and non-governmental) that participate in the country's residential development process. The two selected provinces have a long and relatively well-documented history of informal institutional arrangements promoting national development in general and residential development in particular (see e.g. Uphoff, 1986; DeLancey, 1978). Second, the researcher is very familiar with this particular area of the country. Such familiarity is considered to be an advantage. The study involved extensive traveling, door-to-door delivery/collection of questionnaires, and the administration of questionnaires in multiple languages.

The four urban centres are Limbe, Kumba, Bamenda, and Mbengwi. In 1976, the year the last official census was published, populations of 51,600; 58,469; 67,184; and 7,560 respectively, were reported for these towns. The growth rates between 1967 and 1976 were, respectively, 11.9%; 6.4%; 17.7% and 49.4%. With 49.4%,

Mbengwi stood as the fastest growing urban centre in the two provinces. It is specifically for this reason that the town was included in the study. The other three were included because of the sizes of their population. They are the three largest in the selected provinces. Besides their sizes and growth rates, the sampled urban areas were required to meet one additional criterion: they had to be the seat of government for their respective divisions.

The eight agencies that were selected in each of the four urban centres sampled include the divisional services of: 1) Town Planning and Housing; 2) Lands; 3) Surveys; 4) Public Health; 5) the Divisional Office; 6) Local Government Council; the regional centres for, 7) the National Electricity Corporation (SONEL) and 8) the National Water Corporation (SNEC). These eight, it must be emphasized, are not the only public and parapublic agencies involved in the residential development process in the country. Rather, their selection was based on the fact that they are the eight agencies anyone undertaking a residential building project in the country must contact. This became evident after pretesting the questionnaire having HPO clients as its universe, and discussing the matter with key housing policy makers. These agencies and others operating in the housing policy field in the country are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

DATA: SOURCES AND COLLECTION METHODS:

This study is based on primary data. In developing nations appropriate secondary data are often unavailable or of poor quality (Murthy, 1978: 232). The need for primary data for this study stems from the fact that the subject of enquiry, interorganizational relations, is fairly new. Even in developed nations, where the availability of

data is not a major problem, researchers have relied primarily on data they themselves generate (see for example, Rogers and Molnar, 1982; Kessler, 1987; Hall et al., 1978). The more compelling justification for collecting primary data is the uniqueness of the theoretical model to be tested. It is unlikely that appropriate measures of the constituent concepts will be readily available in existing data.

SOURCES: The main sources of information used in this study were, 1) heads of HPOs; 2) clients of HPOs; 3) official records of HPOs; 4) key housing policy makers; and 5) published and unpublished works.

Heads of Housing Policy Organizations (HPOs): These include the divisional Chiefs of Service for Town Planning and Housing; Lands; and Surveys; the superintendents of Health (in charge of building regulations); the mayors, government delegates or municipal administrators of local government councils; divisional officers (D.O.); the regional delegates of the National Electricity Corporation (SONEL); and the regional delegates of the National Water Corporation (SNEC) in the urban areas sampled. These agency heads constituted the main source of information about the magnitude of interorganizational interaction in the housing policy field in the country. The heads of HPOs that were selected, besides having to interact with one another in the housing policy implementation process, deal directly with the public, particularly parties undertaking residential development projects. Perhaps most important of all, for the purpose of the present study, is the fact that these agency heads play the role of boundary spanners[7] for their respective agencies.

Clients or Primary Beneficiaries of HPOs: This group constituted the primary source of information that was required to determine the

effectiveness of HPOs. It will be recalled that an important measure of organizational effectiveness (discussed in the previous chapter) is client or consumer satisfaction. In other words, the effectiveness of HPOs was judged based, in part, on their ability to satisfy the consumers of the goods and/or services they produce.

Official Records of HPOs, include correspondence registers, building plan registers, files of approved building plans, cadastral maps, reports, etc. A review of such records was necessary to reinforce the information tapped from other sources.

Key Housing Policy Makers, include individuals such as technical advisers, directors, provincial delegates, provincial chiefs of service, and other top-ranking officials in the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing, as well as the regional delegates of SONEL and SNEC respectively. Such individuals, whom the researcher informally interviewed, constituted a valuable source of information relating to shifts in the macrosystem environment of housing in the country. This environment encompasses the economic outlook, the legislative climate and possible policy initiatives on the part of political leaders.

Published and Unpublished Works: Published works include books, encyclopedias, professional journal articles, and periodicals on the general topical area of concern in this study. Unpublished literature refers especially to 1) government publications such as the national five-year development plan, presidential and ministerial decrees, local master plans, census reports, etc.; 2) previous reports on urban/housing studies in the country; and 3) local and municipal government documents, etc. These data were required to 1) complete the preceeding chapters of this study; 2) undertake a qualitative analysis of the housing policy field and housing policy making in the

country; and 3) supplement the information generated through the two survey instruments discussed below.

DATA COLLECTION METHODS: The survey method, employed in this study, is not just a way of gathering information. Rather, it consists of a distinct design for systematically collecting and analyzing social research data (Marsh, 1982). In this sense, it constitutes the research design for the entire study.

As a data collection method, the social survey encompasses a family of strategies (rather than a single strategy) for gathering information in social science research. The family of strategies includes but is not limited to the following (Moser and Kalton, 1971: 238): 1) document analysis; 2) questionnaire[8]; and 4) interviewing. There are currently no theoretical frameworks capable of guiding social researchers in matters of data collection. The choice of any strategy depends largely on the researcher's understanding of relevant conditions characteristic of the study site and the phenomena he/she may be interested in. For example, Moser and Kalton (1971: 238) commenting on the feasibility of telephone surveys, note at the time that ". . . in Britain and many other countries . . . too few households have telephones to make the method useful . . . " To be useful, the strategy must be consistent with the social, economic, cultural, and other realities of the setting in which it is employed. One strategy, the questionnaire, was considered appropriate for the purpose of the present study.

A questionnaire is "a group or sequence of questions designed to elicit information upon a subject, or sequence of subjects, from an informant" (Casley and Lury, 1987: 74). It is possible to imagine some problems that may inhibit the utility of questionnaires in LDCs. However, it would appear that there is a great deal of exaggeration

among scholars and the lay public with respect to the magnitude of these problems. Experience reveals for instance, that the response rate to questionnaires in LDCs compares favourably with that in developed nations (Stycos, 1983: 55). Therefore, the use of such instruments in LDCs present only a few unique problems. For instance, while mutual trust is important for sincere and honest responses to questions in all settings, it tends to play a more significant role in LDCs. The survey researcher in a developing nation must therefore give high priority to winning the confidence of his/her subjects. If the confidence of the subjects can be won, they would answer the questions honestly and speedily. The fact that the present researcher is a native of the setting of this study was an advantage in this connection.

The Measuring Instrument; Composition and Administration: Two different sets of questionnaires (questionnaire '1' and questionnaire '2') were employed in this study. Questionnaire '1' is a twenty-item,[9] self-administered instrument that asked heads of HPOs questions regarding for instance, the extent to which they 1) interacted with one another, 2) insisted that clients adhere to the rules and regulations governing the development of housing in the country, and 3) considered the contacts they may make with one another important to the functioning of their respective agencies. A multiple-choice format was adopted in this questionnaire, which is largely a modified version of that presented by Charles Mulford (1984, see especially pp. 102-106). The items of which it is composed have their roots in the 'Exchange Model' proffered by Sol Levine and Paul White (1961) and the 'Institution Building Model' of Milton Esman and associates (e.g. 1966). Both models were extensively discussed in Chapter Two.

A review of the literature however, failed to surface an instrument deemed appropriate to the particular demands of the information required from the clients. Thus, a unique questionnaire, 'Questionnaire 2' was developed. It is however, identical in form and content to others that have been employed to elicit information on satisfaction from consumers in previous studies especially in the field of marketing (see Stearns, 1981, for a rich bibliography on this subject).

Administration: The instruments were delivered and collected in person by the researcher. Respondents, that is, the heads of HPOs, were contacted in their offices. At the time of each delivery the date for collecting the completed instrument was arranged between the researcher and the respondent.

Questionnaire '2' had as its universe clients of HPOs. This questionnaire was designed such that it could be either self- or researcher-administered. This procedure was chosen in order to accommodate both literate and illiterate subjects in the sample. Where the respondent was literate, the instrument was, as in the case of questionnaire '1' above, delivered and collected by the researcher. Where the respondent was illiterate, the questionnaire was administered by the researcher in pidgin English, French, or where necessary and possible, in a native dialect at the respondent's residence or place of work.

Questionnaire '2' contained fifteen major items that sought to elicit information regarding clients' level of satisfaction with these organizations. One question, for instance, asked the client to indicate how satisfied he/she was with an agency given the length of time it took that agency to deliver a desired service. Four answer categories,

'satisfied', 'somewhat satisfied', 'unsatisfied' and 'not applicable' were provided in each case. Other items on the questionnaire dealt with basic questions concerning the client's building project, in particular, the various actors that were involved in the process, and possible alterations made to the building after the plan had been approved.

Before closing the discussion of the questionnaires, a word on the mode adopted for their delivery and collection is in order. By personally delivering and collecting these questionnaires, as opposed to mailing them, a higher return rate was assurred. Perhaps more importantly, by so doing unnecessary delays and the risks of misplacement of the questionnaires in the oft-inefficient mailing systems common in LDCs were avoided.

Interviews: In addition to the two standardized questionnaires discussed above, survey interviews were used to elicit necessary information from selected key housing policy makers. A survey interview may simply be defined as a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee in which the former seeks information from the latter. This process may be formal, in which the sequence and wording of items are worked out before hand, or informal, wherein the reverse is true (Moser and Kalton, 1971). The informal approach was adopted in the present study.

An important strength of informal interviews is the fact that "they can 'dig-deeper' hence enable the researcher to get a richer understanding of the subject matter in which he/she is interested (Moser and Kalton, 1971: 299). However, the method is not without its flaws. A basic objection of the method resides in the fact that the data it elicits are often not amenable to quantification. This is because unless all interviewees are asked the same questions in the same sequence there is no assurance that the answers relate to the

same thing and can be meaningfully compared. Quantification and comparability were, however, not major concerns in the present case. The information gathered through the interviews was used mainly for qualitative purposes such as revising the questionnaires ('1' and '2'), retracing the evolution of housing policy, and describing the institutional framework for housing policy administration in the country. The interviews were conducted 'face-to-face' in the interviewees' offices. This mode was deemed not only feasible but also cost-effective in comparison to alternatives such as the telephone or mail.

Locating Members of the Sample: Although seldom discussed, one of the most complicated tasks of a survey researcher, especially in developing countries, is locating the survey subjects. Experience in the West with respect to 'face-to-face', researcher-administered questionnaires reveals that as much as 40 percent of the researcher's time is spent traveling and locating respondents (Moser and Kalton, 1971: 273). This problem was aggravated in the present study by the fact that of the four urban centres sampled, none possessed a central directory or any other document containing the names and addresses of all residents. To further compound the problem, most streets were without names. In the very few cases in which the streets were named, the names were not sign-posted. Thus, locating members of the sample that constituted the universe for questionnaire '2' proved to be an almost insurmountable task despite the fact that the researcher was reasonably familiar with all the urban centres.

After considering a number of 'second-best' options,[10] the researcher elected to solicit the assistance of technical agents of the town planning service in each of the urban areas. Thus, he was

accompanied on field trips aimed at contacting landlords (clients) in each urban centre by one of these agents. Technical agents of town planning possess a good knowledge of their areas of jurisdiction. This is because their duties include making site calls to inspect ongoing building activities in the area of jurisdiction.

VARIABLES:

This study dealt with two main variables, organizational effectiveness (OE), the dependent variable, and interorganizational relations, the independent variable. Both variables were discussed in theoretical and conceptual terms in the previous chapters. The present chapter translates these hitherto nominally defined concepts into operational and empirically measurable terms. Measurement in social science research entails the assignment of numbers to some phenomenon a researcher may be interested in analyzing (Meier and Brudney, 1987). The underlying assumption of measurement theory is that a concept representing the phenomenon exists but cannot be measured directly. Organizational effectiveness (OE) and interorganizational relations (IOR) are concepts believed by members of the concerned social scientific community to exist but not to be directly measurable.

Operationalizing and Measuring the Variables:

In this study both objective and subjective indicators were employed to gauge the variables. Indicators of the former category were used mainly for the independent variables, while those of the latter were employed in measuring the dependent variables.

The Independent Variable. Interorganizational Relations (IOR):

The term interorganizational relationship, for the purpose of this study, refers to the contacts organizations operating in the same policy field make with one another. These contacts were operationalized in terms of the exchange of intangible and tangible resources. An example of the former is information. Tangible resources include such things as equipment and personnel. These have been identified by a number of researchers in the field as relevant dimensions of the exchange concept (Mulford, 1984; Marrett, 1971; Aiken and Hage, 1968). Seven dimensions of the concept were employed in this study. These dimensions comprising nine variables, are discussed below.

X_1: Agency Head Awareness (AWARES):

An index composed of a single item (Q. 1) on Questionnaire '1', which asked the responding agency head to state whether he knows the head of each of the other HPOs in his administrative area. The agency scored one point for every affirmative response entered by its head. There was a possible total of seven points, for seven possible agency heads within the network the respondent was expected to know.

X_2: Correspondence (LETTERS):

An index composed of two items (Qs. 4 & 5) on Questionnaire '1', asking the respondent to state the number of official letters he or his representative has written to, or received from, other agencies in his network during the three-year period preceding the interview. The agency scores one point for each letter received or written.

X_3: Meeting and Committee Participation (MEETS):

Participation in meetings and committees is considered an important dimension of IOR (Mulford, 1984). Measuring this dimension for the present purpose entailed eliciting information on the number of times each HPO was represented at a forum dealing with matters relating to housing. For each meeting or committee at which the agency was represented, it scored a single point.

X4: Infrastructure Exchange (SPACES):

An index made up of two items (Qs. 8 & 12) requiring the agency head to state the number of times his agency has: 1) made use of the infrastructure of other HPOs in its area of jurisdiction; and 2) allowed other HPOs in the area to make use of his agency's infrastructure. Examples of infrastructure were given to include, meeting rooms, office and storage space. For every incidence any such act occurred, the agency scored a single point.

X5: Equipment Exchange (EQUIPS):

Questions 9, 10, 13 and 14, which asked the agency head to state the number of occasions during the foregoing three years on which his agency has loaned, or borrowed from, other housing policy agencies in his area equipment such as copy machines, typewriters, service vehicles, survey/levelling instrument, and so on. The scoring is similar to that discussed above.

X6: Cooperative Ventures (COOPS):

A single item (Q. 18) required the respondent to state the number of projects and/or programmes his agency and another HPO or HPOs in his area of jurisdiction have collaborated in formulating, designing or implementing during the three-year period covered by the study.

X7: Resource Sharing (SHARES):

One item (Q. 16) on the questionnaire with HPO heads as its universe was employed to elicit information for this variable. The respondent was required to state "how many times during the last three years" his agency has jointly used such resources as office space, equipment, personnel, and so on, with another agency or other agencies in his administrative area.

A simple linear scoring procedure was adopted for each variable. That is, scores of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, . . . n, were assigned to each agency depending on the number of times it states as having participated in any of the activities mentioned above. In this study, these numbers, to reiterate, serve only as a means of operationalizing interorganizational relations. No one form of contact was considered superior to another. Hence, for each agency the scores on the different items were simply added up. The resultant or 'total contact score' was assigned the code name, CONTACS.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS:

Subjective indicators were used in gauging this variable. Two dimensions of the concept of organizational effectiveness, as employed in this study, client or consumer satisfaction and environmental adaptability, were used. The following indicators and proxy measures were adopted.

Y1: Client Satisfaction:

Five items on a multiple choice, structured questionnaire (Questionnaire 2), with universe as clients of HPOs, asked the

respondent to indicate his/her level of satisfaction with each HPO given: 1) the length of time it took to render him/her service(s) necessary for the completion of his/her recent construction project; 2) the number of trips he/she had to make to the agency in order to obtain the service; 3) the net cost of the service; 4) the quality of the service; and 5) the amount of information provided by the agency to enable him/her secure the service. Four response categories, 'satisfied', 'somewhat satisfied', 'unsatisfied' and 'not applicable (N/A)' were provided. Raw weights of 0, 2, and 3, were assigned to the categories, 'unsatisfied', 'somewhat satisfied', and 'satisfied', respectively. The category, 'not applicable' was treated as a missing value. from these scores, a "satisfaction index" (discussed below) was developed.

Y_2: Environmental Adaptability:

An index composed of three items (Qs. 19 a and b, and 20) on the Questionnaire 1. The first question asked the respondent to state the extent to which he insist that official guidelines for housing development be adhered to by housing developers in his area of jurisdiction. Three response categories, 'Never', 'Sometimes', and 'Always', were provided. These categories were scored '2', '3' and '1' respectively. The second asked the respondent to give his opinion with respect to the appropriateness of these guidelines. Three repsonse categories, 'not appropriate' 'about appropriate' and 'appropriate', scored 1, 3, and 2, respectively were provided. Finally, question 20 required the HPO head to state how important contacts with each of the other HPOs in his area were to the work of his agency as far as housing policy administration was concerned. The response categories were 'not important', 'somewhat important' and 'very important', scored 1, 3, and 2 respectively.

Measurement Scales: As the reader would have already noticed, a three-point scale was adopted for the dependent variables in this study. This was done largely for the sake of simplicity. A three-point scale is certainly easier to relate to by the respondent than the five-point scale traditionally used by researchers in social sciences.

The Satisfaction Index: The necessity to discuss this index results from two facts. First, it is admittedly complicated. Second, it has never, to the best of the present researcher's knowledge, been used before.

Construction: It would be recalled that, the dimensions on which the responding client was required to express his/her level of satisfaction with each HPO are, 'Time', 'Trips', 'Cost', 'Information' and 'Quality'.

The effectiveness score on each of these dimensions was obtained by employing the following formula:

$$EFS_D = (\%C_{s0D} \times 0) + (\%C_{s1D} \times 2) + (\%C_{s2D} \times 3) \quad \text{where,}$$

EFS_D=effectiveness score (EFS) on a given dimension (D);

$\%C_{s0D} \times 0$ = percent (%) of the clients (C) unsatisfied with an agency (s0) on that dimension (D) multiplied (x) by zero (0), the coefficient or weight associated with the satisfaction level, 'unsatisfied', producing always a zero score of course.

$\%C_{s1D} \times 2$ = percent (%) of the client (C) somewhat satisfied (s1) with an agency on a given dimension (D) multiplied by (x) 2, the coefficient or raw weight associated with the level of satisfaction, 'somewhat satisfied'.

$\%C_{s2D}$ x 3 = percent (%) of the client (C) satisfied (s2) with an agency on a given dimension (D) multiplied by (x) 3, the raw weight associated with the level of satisfaction, 'satisfied'. The subscripts s0, s1, and s2, respectively, were used to represent the different levels of satisfaction. The numbers 0, 2, and 3 are respectively the weights attached to these satisfaction levels. Percentages were used as a means of standardizing the scores.

A general formula for obtaining individual agency effectiveness score on the consumer satisfaction scale may thus be stated as follows:

$$W_1S_0 + W_2S_1 + W_3S_2 \ldots W_nS_e$$

where w_1, w_2, $w_3 \ldots w_n$ are the weights attached to the satisfaction levels s_0, s_1, s_2, ... s_e, such that $w_1 < w_2 < w_3 < \ldots w_n$. Alternative weights were employed to test the generalizability of the formula. Results of the test revealed that the order remains unchanged as long as $w_1 < w_2 < w_3 < w_n$.

The total effectiveness score on client satisfaction for each agency was computed by adding up all the scores on the different dimensions on which satisfaction was gauged. That is,

$$EFS_{Tot.} = EFS_{Time} + EFS_{Trips} + EFS_{Cost} + EFS_{Quality} + EFS_{Information}.$$

A discussion of the instruments used in this study cannot be deemed complete without addressing the inevitable questions of their validity and reliability. Before proceeding any further it is important to recall that variants of these instruments have been employed in previous studies. At a general level, therefore, the questions of their validity and reliability have already been dealt with elsewhere (see

e.g. Stearns, 1981; Mulford, 1984). Presently the task is to deal with the issues in the particular context of this study.

VALIDITY: An instrument is said to be valid if it accurately measures the concept it purports to measure (Meier and Brudney, 1987). This definition propels us headlong into one major question. How do we establish that the concept has been accurately captured? Of the various ways of going about this, three, consensual, correlational, and predictive validity (Meier and Brudney, 1987; Gergen, 1968), were considered appropriate for the purpose of this study.

Consensual Validity: An indicator that is consensually valid is one that has been accepted by numerous persons in different situations to accurately capture the concept in question. The process of verifying the consensual validity of the indicators in this study entailed a review of the relevant literature to ascertain that only indicators that have been widely accepted in the field were employed.

Correlational Validity: A measure that correlates with other observations that are rationally or theoretically related is said to possess correlational validity. Thus, the fact that the theoretically informed hypothesis of this study can be confirmed by empirical data is in, and of, itself an attestation to the correlational validity of the measures, indicators and instruments adopted.

Predictive Validity: This is closely related to correlational validity. An indicator is said to have predictive validity if it correctly predicts a specified outcome. Thus, by accurately predicting that the interorganizational exchange of resources is capable of positively affecting client satisfaction as hypothesized in this study, IOR as a

predictor of Organizational effectiveness is said to possess predictive validity.

RELIABILITY: Dissertation research such as this often rely on a single set of observations made over a relatively short time span.

> Perhaps a major shortcoming of this approach has to do with the issue
>
> of reliability . . . (Gergen, 1968: 210).

This issue is closely related to that of validity. An indicator or measure is said to be reliable if it consistently assigns the same values or numbers to a given phenomenon. Thus, a reliable indicator or measure is one that is valid. In fact

> if it were known that a given observation were perfectly valid, relia-
>
> bility would not be an issue (Ibid: 210).

Two major threats to the reliability of most measures in the social sciences are subjectivity and lack of precision (Meier and Brudney, 1987). Subjectivity is an inherent problem in measures that rely on the judgement of the researcher or his/her subject. an imprecise measure is one that fails, for instance, to take into account variations in the different categories or groups of which the population being studied is comprised. Neither subjectivity nor imprecision were major problems in the present study. This is because a substantial part of the measures employed, as stated earlier, are objective. In this connection, questionnaire '1', having as its universe, heads of HPOs for instance, incorporated mostly items seeking objective responses and strongly suggested that respondents refer to official records (see Appendix A). This suggestion was aimed at discouraging guessed answers. With respect to the questionnaire administered to HPO clients, it is in order to point out that the reliability of, albeit, subjective measures of satisfaction that depend on the judgement of the respondent, is already well established in social sciences (see for

example, Stearns, 1981). Efforts to deal with the problem of imprecision entailed in large part ascertaining that the sample was as close as possible an accurate representation of the population. The procedures and techniques adopted in this connection were discussed earlier in this chapter.

DATA ANALYSIS:

The qualitative and quantitative approaches to data analysis were employed. The former, and more specifically, the descriptive approach, was relied upon in answering research questions 1, 2, and 3 (see figure 4.1 above and chapter 1). This approach has two main empirical strengths. First, it permits the researcher to provide alternative interpretations to the data. second, and perhaps more importantly, it is a thorough, yet flexible approach to data analysis. The quantitative approach was used to determine the nature of the link between interororganizational relationships and organizational effectiveness, the central concern of this study. In other words, this approach was used to uncover the answer to research question 4 (see figure 4.1 above and/or chapter 1). Using the CYBER 180/850 at the Florida State University Computing Center (USA), subprogrammes from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences Version Ten (SPSSx) were employed to manipulate the quantitative data as well as conduct the necessary statistical tests for the study.

STATISTICAL PROCEDURES: The statistical procedures employed in this study include crosstabulation, simple linear regression, and (stepwise) multiple regression. These procedures were employed mainly because of their strength in dealing with relationships between paired variables and/or producing test statistic values that indicate the tenability of hypotheses.

Crosstabulations: This is a method of analysis for frequency data arranged in a cross-classification or contingency format. In employing the method in this study, the data were rearranged into mutually exclusive and exhaustive dichotomous categories. For the dependent variable, organizational effectiveness, these categories were labelled 'Below Average' and 'Average+' representing respectively effectiveness scores that were lower than the mean score for all sampled agencies, and those that were equal or above the mean. For the independent variable interorganizational relations, the two categories were alluded to as 'Low' and 'High' representing respectively below average scores on contacts and equal to, or above the mean score on this dimension. The data were in effect classified with respect to two qualitative variables in both cases.

The general form assumed by such a two-dimensional contingency classification scheme is as follows.

TABLE 4.1: GENERAL FORM OF A TWO-DIMENSIONAL

CONTINGENCY TABLE

VARIABLE A

	Category 1	Category 2	TOTALS
VARIABLE B	a	b	a + b
	c	d	c + d
TOTALS	a + c	b + d	N= a + b + c + d

Source: Everitt (1977).

Where:

a, b, c, and d are the cell frequencies;

a + b, and c + d are the row marginal totals;

a + c, and b + d are the column marginal totals; and

N represents the total number of observations.

<u>Regression Analysis</u>: Regression analysis is one of several statistical techniques for investigating and modeling the relationship between variables (Montgomery and Peck, 1982). Two variants of this technique, simple linear regression and forward stepwise multiple regression were employed in this study.

<u>Simple Regression Analysis</u>: Here reference is being made to the simplest form of regression analysis, namely, the bivariate linear case. Mathematically this case can be represented as follows:

$$Y = B_0 + B_1 X + e$$

where Y is the dependent variable, B0, the intercept, B1, the slope, X, the independent or regressor variable, and e is the statistical error associated with the model.

<u>Multiple Linear Regression</u>: This technique belongs to the family of multivariate methods that have been developed to deal with situations such as the present one in which the researcher is interested in interrelationships amongst several variables simultaneously. The general form of the multiple linear regression model, which is simply an extension of the bivariate model is as follows:

$$Y = B_0 + B_1 X + B_2 X_2 + \ldots B_k X_k + e$$

The most fundamental difference between this and the bivariate model is the fact that more than one regressors is involved.

Thus, multiple regression simply "extends bivariate regression by incorporating multiple independent variables" (Norusis, 1985: 35).

Because several independent variables are involved, the problem of determining which to introduce in the equation first usually arises. Several procedures have been suggested for dealing with this problem (see e.g. Norusis, 1985 for more). One such procedure, which was used in this study is known as the stepwise selection method (Norusis, 1985: 45-48).

This is probably the most commonly used of all the methods. In this method, the first variable to be included in the model is the one with the highest absolute correlation with the dependent variable, and whose F-value meets a pre-established condition for inclusion. In SPSSx, which was used in analyzing the data for this study, one of two conditions may be specified. One condition is the minimum value of the F-statistic that a variable has to attain in order to enter the model. The other is the probability of F-to-enter. This value is usually 0.05. Thus, a variable does not enter the model unless the probability associated with the F test is less than or equal to 0.05. In the next step variables not already in the equation are examined for inclusion. Subsequent steps entail the repitition of this process. The entire procedure is automatic with the computer programme, SPSSx by simply specifying the subcommand, METHOD = STEPWISE.

Vital Statistics: The statistics deemed most appropriate for the purpose of this study are Gamma, Chi-Square (X^2), Coefficient of Determination, Pearson Moment Correlation Coefficient (R, r) and Partial Correlation Coefficient. The first two are associated with contingency tables. The others have to do with regression analyses.

Gamma: A measure of association ideal for ordinal level data, gamma, was used to determine the strength of relationships between paired observations. A major positive attribute of gamma in the context of this study is its ability to isolate differences between discordant or inconsistent pairs in contingency tables. Statistically, gamma is a standardized value varying between -1 and +1, with the associated sign indicative of direction. The standardization of gamma

. . . is accomplished by dividing the difference between concordant and discordant pairs by a well-defined quantity based on the contingency table under study (Meier and Brudney, 1987: 233).

Therefore, gamma may be seen as representing the sum of the number of concordant, and discordant pairs in any given contingency table. That is, gamma is the number of concordant pairs minus the number of discordant pairs divided by the number of concordant pairs plus the number of discordant pairs. Restated:

$$G = (nc - nd)/(nc + nd)$$

where, G = gamma, nc = number of concordant pairs, nd = number of concordant pairs.

Chi-Square: This was used in evaluating the level of statistical significance attained by each bivariate relationship in the contingency tables. One of the most attractive features of this measure, particularly for the purpose of this study, is its ability to determine whether a relationship between two or more variables is a result of mere chance.

Chi-Square (X^2) is usually computed as follows:

$$X^2 = \text{Sum of } (OF - EF)^2/EF$$

where OF=observed frequency and EF=expected frequency.

Based on the general form of a two-dimensional contingency table (Everitt, 1977) presented as Table 4.1 above, this can be restated thus

$$X^2 = N\ (ad\text{-}bc)^2/(a + b)\ (c + d)\ (a + b)\ (b + d).$$

<u>Coefficient of Determination (r^2, R^2)</u>: Simply determining the direction of the relationship between or amongst the variables was considered insufficient for the purpose of this study. Knowing the magnitude of the relationship was seen as being of great importance as well. The coefficient of determination, r^2 (bivariate regression) or R^2 (multivariate analysis), was thus used to assess the degree to which variations in effectiveness were associated with variations in the independent variables. By definition, r^2 or R^2 is the amount of variations in the dependent variable accounted for or explained by the independent variable or variables in the regression model. The value of r^2 or R^2 always lies between 0 and 1, with values approaching zero indicating the presence of no relationship, while values approaching one are indicative of a very strong relationship. This value is obtained by dividing the regression sums of square by the total sums of square. Restated,

$$R^2 = SS_{Regression}/SS_{Tot}.$$

<u>Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient (r)</u>: This is simply the square root of the coefficient of determination. Its importance in this study derives from its ability to: 1) measure association between two continuous variables, and 2) estimate the direction and strength of linear relationship. The value of r, a measure of the change in the mean value of the dependent variable

for each unit change in the independent variable, always lies between -1 for perfect negative correlation to +1 indicative of a perfect positive association. In multivariate analysis R is referred to as the partial regression coefficient.

Partial Regression Coefficients: These were used in the present study to assess the unique contribution of each interorganizational relations variables when employed along with others to predict organizational effectiveness.

To shed some light on the meaning of partial regression coefficients, the standard multiple regression equation is rewritten as follows (Gujarati, 1978, citing Yule, 1907):

$$Y_i = B_{1.23} + B_{12.3}X_{2i} + B_{13.2}X_{3i} + U_i$$

where subscript 1 is the dependent variable Y, 2 and 3 are the independent variables X_2 and X_3 respectively. The partial regression coefficients in this case are $B_{12.3}$ and $B_{13.2}$.

The interpretation of these coefficients is as follows: $B_{12.3}$ measures the change in the mean value of Y for each unit change in X_2, accounting for the presence of X_3 in the model. In a similar manner, $B_{13.2}$ represents the change in the mean value of Y per unit change in X_3, controlling for X_2.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the research strategies adopted in this study. The chapter opened with a discussion of the five major phases of the research, which include reviewing the relevant literature, descriptively analyzing the interorganizational context of

housing policy administration in Cameroon, constructing a general profile of institutions participating in the housing policy field in the country, developing and administering two survey instruments, and statistically determining the link between interorganizational relationships (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE) (in the housing policy field in a developing nation).

This was followed by a discussion of the correlational design, the research design employed in the study. The relevance of this design for the present study resides in the fact that the study seeks to determine the nature of the relationship between two main variables, IOR and OE. In discussing "Sampling Frame and Sample Design" the difficulties involved in this process in LDCs were alluded to. One of the most nagging problems in conducting survey research in these countries is the fact that sampling frames are either unavailable, or when they are, (which is seldom) they are usually very unreliable. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the question of 'sample size' is purely arbitrary, and the researcher must therefore use his/her own imagination in choosing the number of units to be included in the sample. In theory, however, the optimum size of a sample is a function of the allowable margin of error, the confidence level, and the standard deviation of the population.

The information used for the purpose of completing this study originated in several sources. The principal ones of which are two questionnaires that were administered respectively to heads of housing policy organizations (HPOs) and clients of these organizations. Other important sources included key housing policy makers in the country, official records of the HPOs and relevant government publications. One oft-neglected issue in discussions of sample surveys, that of locating members of the sample, was emphasized. In

particular the difficulties involved in locating the clients of HPOs in this study were underscored. The difficulties stemmed mainly from the fact that streets in the country were largely without names. And in the few cases where some of the streets had names, these names were not 'sign-posted'.

Other important issues explored in this chapter include the strategies for operationalizing IOR and OE variables. Although at first sight these two concepts appear unamenable to quantification, a closer look reveals otherwise. For example by appreciating the fact that IOR can be seen in terms of the contacts organizations make with one another through such means as letters, telephone calls, and meetings, it is easy to figure out that quantification can be made possible by simply counting the incidence of such contacts. This degree of ease is however not true of the concept of organizational effectiveness. Thus, subjective measures such as "client satisfaction", that is, how a client rates a given organization on a three-point scale, are employed. This is indicative of the fact that the field of IOR is in its infancy. The last section of the chapter discussed the techniques used in manipulating the data for this study. These techniques include multiple regression anlyses and crosstabulation tables.

As alluded to above, the field of IOR is in an early stage in its development. This implies that most of the strategies discussed in this chapter are original. Thus, one major accomplishment of the chapter is the fact that it proposes strategies that can help researchers analyze interorganizational relations in the housing policy field in LDCs.

CHAPTER FOUR NOTES

1. See for example, Babbie (1983); and Blalock (1972).

2. A 2-3-year period was considered reasonable time during which a residential building would be completed. Clients who started the process less than 2 years prior to this study were therefore eliminated. But since organizations that were being dealt with are those that were in existence at the time of the study, a four-year period was considered logical.

3. See note 2 above.

4. Only Limbe, of all the four urban centres sampled, recorded the value of the building.

5. For administrative purposes, Cameroon is divided into ten provinces.

6. Author's words in brackets.

7. Boundary spanners are the members of an organization whose duties include linking the organization with the outside world through mechanisms such as letters, telephone calls, etc.

8. Questionnaires may be administered in person by the researcher or they may be self-administered by the respondent.

9. Two questions dealing with the number of telephone calls made/received, were later eliminated as it turned out that officials in all the agencies sampled kept no records of this transaction, and only an insignificant few could approximate it.

10. Other options that were considered but rejected include, determining the tribes of members of the sample, and then contacting the chiefs of the identified tribal groups in the various areas, who would in turn help in locating the individual concerned. This process was rejected for two reasons. First, there was no assurance that from an individual's name one could tell that individual's tribal origin. Second, the process was considered very tedious.

11. The environmental adaptability measure of organizational effectiveness was used at the interorganizational network level only.

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5. THE INTERORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM FOR HOUSING DELIVERY IN CAMEROON.

INTRODUCTION:

An important objective of this study as stated in Chapter One is to promote understanding of the interorganizational context for housing policy administration in Cameroon (hereinafter, the country). The next chapter pursues this objective at the quantitative level.

Complementing this, the present chapter provides a qualitative analysis of the context. The chapter is aimed in large part at addressing the following questions: 1) "what types of institutions participate in the residential development process in the country?"; 2) "what is the interorganizational structure of the country's housing delivery system?"; and 3) "how and to what extent do organizations within the system interact with one another in fostering the country's housing policy objective?" These, it would be recalled constitute Questions 1, 2, and 3 respectively, of this study. Thus, consistent with "Phase IV" of the study, the chapter seeks to: 1) paint a descriptive picture of the country's housing policy field; 2) profile institutional actors in the field; and 3) highlight the nature, patterns and extent of interaction amongst these actors. In addition, and consistent with one of the study's policy-related objectives, it attempts to isolate factors that inhibit interorganizational relations (IOR), hence the effectiveness of the country's housing delivery system. By this latter is meant the institutional channels for conceiving, formulating, and implementing housing policy. Organizational effectiveness is, for the present

purpose, conceptualized in terms of client satisfaction and environmental adaptability.[1]

The discussion is ordered as follows. Following this introductory note is a brief review of the country's public administration system. The evolution of her housing policy is examined in Section Three. Section Four explores the institutional context of housing in the country. This context is then critically examined in Section Five. The latter is aimed at identifying forces in the system that are antithetical to interorganizational interaction hence, client satisfaction and environmental adaptability. The chapter closes with a summary and conclusion.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN CAMEROON:

This section establishes a useful basis for understanding the causes of institutional problems in housing policy administration in the country.

Soon after securing independence in 1960, and particularly, following reunification[2] of the erstwhile French and English territories in 1961, the country was preocuppied with a search for novel methods of governance. The search, as in most other newly independent nations, culminated in the creation of a highly centralized administration system patterned after the Western bureaucratic model. At least three paramount features of this model: grouping of administration by 1) function; 2) geographic area served (both after Luther Gullick and Lyndall Urwick, 1937); and 3) pyramidal structure of organization (after Marx Weber, e.g., 1947), are observable in the country's system of administration.

Administration by Function:

A conspicuous feature of the country's administrative apparatus is the ministerial sytstem consisting of functional bodies such as the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing, whose concern, as the name suggests, is with matters of town planning and housing; or the Ministry of Agriculture, charged with the responsibility of administering the country's agriculture policy. Each ministry is in turn divided into departments with specific responsibilities such as accounts, personnel, supplies, and so on. Each department is further broken down hierarchically into functional branches, sections and subsections. For example, the Divisional Service of say, Lands, is a subsection of the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing, whose functions are limited to Land matters at the administrative divisional level. Similarly, the functions of the Provincial Service of Lands are limited to land matters at the provincial level. The roots of this system of organization are traceable to the works of two classical administration theorists, Luther Gullick and Lyndall Urwick (1937).[1b]

Administration by Geographic Area:

Further incorporating Gullick and Urwick's ideas, the system is organized by geographic areas served. For example, the country is divided into ten (10) administrative geographic regions or provinces. The provinces are further divided into forty-one (41) administrative divisions, which are in turn divided into numerous subdivisions and districts.

Pyramidal Structure of Organization:

In line with the Weberian model, Cameroon's administrative structure is conspicuously pyramidal. It comprises six distinct tiers

viz (see Figure 5.1): national, provincial, divisional, subdivisional, and local.
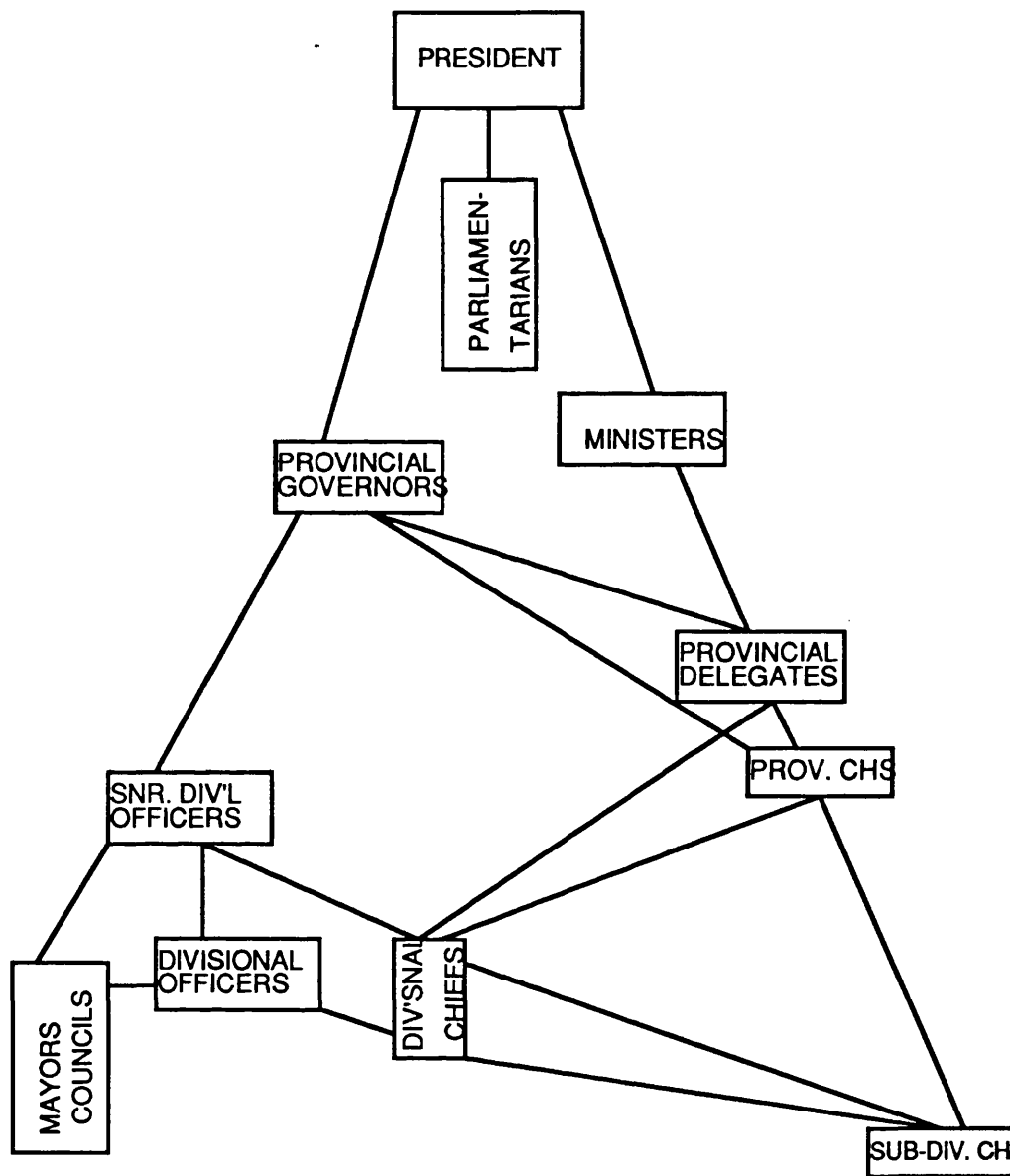
FIGURE 5.1: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, CAMEROON.

National Level: This consists from the top-down, the Presidency, the National Assembly, the various functional ministries, government departments and sectoral public agencies. Ministers head the various ministries and the National Assembly is headed by the speaker. Each is answerable to the Head of State.

Provincial Level: Each province is placed under the jurisdiction of a governor, appointed by, and answerable to, the head of state. The Governor represents the head of state at the provincial level and is placed in charge of all civil service matters in the province. The various ministries are represented at this level by Provincial Delegates. Departments within the ministries are represented at the provincial level by Provincial Chiefs of Service.

Divisional Level: The state is represented at this level by a Senior Divisional Officer (SDO or prefet). As the executive agent of the central authority, answerable to the Provincial Governor, the SDO is responsible for seeing that laws and by-laws on all subjects are adhered to by all within his administrative area of jurisdiction.

Subdivisional Level (arrondissements): This level is headed by an Assistant Divisional Officer (sous-prefet), who reports to the SDO (prefet).

District Level: This is headed by district heads who report to sous-prefets on matters at the district level.

Local Council: Local councils, which may cut across district lines, can be seen as a sixth level in the hierarchy of administrative levels in the country. Zachary Nsutebu (1989:10) notes that the autonomy of local councils in the country is highly restricted given that their operations are not only supervised, but scrutinized by the central government.

The fact that the administrative system is not only tailored after the Western or classical bureaucratic model, but is heavily influenced from the center, has far-reaching implications for housing policy administration in the country. These implications, especially in

terms of interorganizational relations, client satisfaction, and environmental adaptability are explored later in this chapter.

THE EVOLUTION OF HOUSING POLICY IN CAMEROON:

The discussion in this section is divided into three parts. The first deals with housing policy in the country prior to independence in 1960. The second is concerned with the period between 1960 and 1979, and the last deals with the period since 1979 to present. These periods, which coincide with some major events in the country's housing policy field, are used here for analytical convenience.

Pre-Independence Era (Prior to 1960):

Although it is debatable that a formal housing policy existed in the country prior to independence, it is unequivocal that concern with the built environment dates as far back as the colonial era. In fact there is evidence suggesting that colonial administrators were not any less concerned with regulating building activity than contemporary indigenous administrators. For example, a letter dated 23 April 1929, from the Divisional Officer, Victoria, Cameroons made the following prescription ". . . No person shall erect any building within 50 ft of the center line of any road" (Archives, Buea). In a similar connection, Section 9 of Native Authority (N.A.) Ordinance of 1930 stated that:

> . . . His Excellency the Governor has approved of N.A.'s issuing
>
> orders for the purpose of penalizing the erection of buildings
>
> and the planting of trees within 50 ft from the center of any road
>
> or parts of the road within their jurisdiction and for the purpose
>
> of securing the removing of any trees and buildings so erected
>
> (Gazette, 1930).

Such archival data contradict claims by earlier researchers (e.g. Burns and Grebler, 1977) suggesting that: 1) colonial administrations were not concerned with the housing and sanitary conditions of the native population, and 2) housing policy did not exist in the territories prior to independence[3].

Apart from their regulatory role in the housing field, colonial governments were also concerned with the housing needs of expatriate administrators, military personnel, or educators who were resident in the country. This led to an attempt on their part to produce housing with standards approximating or matching those in the colonial master-nations. There was also the need to house some members of the native population who served in various capacities such as clerks, soldiers, and police officers. While housing provided to this latter group was modest in comparison to those of the colonial officials, it was/is, in relation to housing produced by the native population, of "high" standard.

Not only did such housing create a new concept of housing environmental standards, which falsely raised the hopes of Cameroonians, it posed, and continues to pose, a phenomenal threat to the traditional concept of housing in the country.

Post-Independence Era (1960-1979):

Following independence in 1960, the indigenous government replaced the colonial regime and passed on the luxury housing to members of the higher echelons of the new bureaucracy and the modest quarters to officials at junior levels within the civil service. For more than half a decade, the independent state's concern in the housing field was restricted to housing its employees and regulating

private building activity. In this sense its role in the field was identical to that of the colonial governments that preceded it.

This however changed in 1966 when a policy was instituted requiring all employers in the country to either directly house their employees or provide them with an extra amount of money equivalent to 20% of their salary or wages as housing allowance. In effect, there was an attempt to address the housing needs of a larger segment of the population thenceforth. However, there was no effort made to deal with the housing needs of the overwhelming majority of the population either engaged in the informal sector of the economy or unemployed.

The Period Since 1979:

The establishment of a ministry in charge of town planning and housing matters on 15 November 1979 coincided with the launching of the first ever comprehensive housing policy in the country. The role of the state in housing stretched for the first time beyond simply attending to the housing needs of the small formally employed segment of the population, to a general concern for housing the nation as a whole. Thus, it is by no means coincidental that in 1980, hardly a year after the ministry was created, a World Bank-sponsored feasibility study of two sites-and-services and squatter upgrading projects was completed for the country's two largest cities, Douala and Yaounde (see Halcrow Fox, et al. for Ministry of Town Planning and Housing, 1980)[4]. The state's new role in the housing policy field was further amplified at the end of 1981, when it launched a housing programme aimed at responding to the housing needs of the economically disadvantaged. The goal of this programme was/is to build one thousand (1,000) single family homes a year beginning from

the second year of the Fifth Five-Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (Douala, 1981).

Thus, the country's housing policy not only became more comprehensive, but thenceforth formed an integral part of its national development plan.   In its current sixth five-year plan, 1986-1991, the government promises to improve the living conditions of the entire population by promoting mastery of urban problems,

"building new homes   and improving housing conditions,
intensifying programmes for electrification of urban and rural
areas . . . and extending.existing water supplies and building new
ones in subdivisional headquarters and villages" (Republic of
Cameroon, 1986: ix).

It is one thing to promise the population improved housing, and quite another to deliver it.   The central thesis of this study implies that no single agency or organization is capable of effectively transforming such a promise into reality.   The country's policymakers recognize this and in stipulating guidelines for realizing the goal of creating a decent and healthy environment for every Cameroonian, assert that "many ministries and public and semi-public bodies will participate in this sector" (Ibid, 1986: 161).

Presently, a number of different ministerial bodies, departments, agencies and parapublic organizations participate in the country's housing policy field.   The most prominent of these institutions are profiled in the next section.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF HOUSING IN CAMEROON:

The transformation of land and other necessary resources to residential use involves not only individuals but a multiplicity of institutions in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy.

These institutions can be grouped in accordance with processes such as: 1) regulating, comprising organizations whose major function in the field involves controlling residential development; 2) delivery, including agencies that mostly supply housing and related services; and 3) financing, consisting of institutions whose predominant role includes funding housing development projects/programmes.

Prior to profiling the major institutions falling under each of these categories in the context of this study, it is in order to briefly examine the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing, which is the ministerial body charged with the responsibility of overseeing all matters connected with housing and urban development in the country. As it will soon be made clear, most agencies and departments in the housing field are either subsections of this ministry or are placed under its supervisory authority.

The Ministry of Town Planning and Housing:

This ministerial body was established by Decree number 79/474 of 15 November 1979. Its main responsibility is to create and/or maintain a decent and healthy environment that would be conducive to the harmonious economic and social development of the country.

Placed under the authority of a minister appointed by the Head of State, the ministry, according to the reorganization by Decree number 89/266 of 17 February 1989, comprises a central administration and external services. The former consists of a general secretariat and five departments or directorates, respectively in charge of 1) Administrative Affairs, 2) Lands, 3) Surveys, 4) Town Planning, and 5) Architecture and Housing. The General Secretariat falls under the administrative authority of a general secretary, who is

a senior civil servant appointed by presidential decree, and authorized to sign for the Minister. This individual is responsible for staff training and coordinating the activities of the different sections of the ministry.

Each department or directorate is placed under the authority of a Director and has external services at the provincial, divisional, and where necessary and possible, sub-divisional levels. While the ministry as a whole is represented at the provincial level by a (Provincial) Delegate, each department at this level is under the authority of a Provincial Chief of Service. At the divisional level the departments are represented by Divisional Chiefs of Service, alluded to in this study as heads of housing policy organizations (HPOs).

The departments within the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing considered directly relevant to the housing policy administration process in the country are: Town Planning, Architecture and Housing, Lands, and Surveys. These agencies are involved mainly in regulating and controlling different phases in the residential development process. Thus, they, and relevant departments of other ministerial bodies with roles in housing in the country, are discussed here under 'regulating agencies'.

Regulating Agencies:

Town Planning is responsible for structuring urban settlements in a manner designed to enhance the functioning of urban spatial activities in particular, and economic and national development in general.

Architecture and Housing: This department is charged with the responsibility of controlling, and providing technical advice on residential development activities in the public and private sectors. It

is also the custodian of state-owned, and state-rented housing units in the country. In this latter respect, it regulates access to the few, mostly luxurious and highly subsidized public housing units in major towns all over the country.

The Lands Department has as its main objective, to guarantee the effective mobilization and management of land for residential development in the country. It does so by, for example, 1) ensuring that all legally-owned land in the country is duly registered; and 2) modernizing the land registration process including the constant updating of plots and land certificates.

The Department of Surveys is responsible for demarcating land and in particular, building plots, for registration and entitlement purposes. It also has the task of drawing cadastral plans for human settlements, and setting up a geodetic network for the country as a whole.

The Health Department is a unit within the Ministry of Public Health. It is difficult to overstate the role of this department in the country's housing policy field. Studies linking health to housing conditions date as far back as 1842, when Chadwick (cited in Macpherson, 1977: 67) contended that "disease and a poor expectation of life were associated with bad housing". A major responsibility of this service is therefore to control residential development activities to ensure that only housing meeting minimum habitable standards is produced.

The actual physical location of the housing unit of the Health Department is however not constant. In some local areas it is located as a service of the health superintendent in a building with other services of the Ministry of Health (e.g. Limbe). In others, it constitutes

a service of Preventive Medicine, which is also a department of the Ministry of Health (e.g. Kumba and Mbengwi). Yet in others, while maintaining ties with its Ministry of origin, it is physically located in a building housing services of the Local Government Council (e.g. Bamenda).

Senior Divisional Office/Subdivisional Office: The Senior Divisional and Subdivisional Offices in each administrative division play a crucial role in housing policy administration in the country. Their most significant role is in the land control and management process. The Senior Divisional Officer (SDO) is the custodian of state-owned land/building plots in his area of jurisdiction. Thus,

> Any public Service wishing to have state land allocated to it
>
> shall address an application to the prefect of the division
>
> in which the land in question is situated. . . . On receipt of the
>
> application, the prefect shall convene a commission including
>
> the authorized representative of the ministry concerned and the
>
> divisional officials responsible respectively for Lands, Surveys,
>
> Town Planning, Highways and Health (Republic of Cameroon,
>
> nd: 120-121).

The commission is then responsible for properly demarcating the parcel of land and making recommendations to the President of the republic regarding necessary action.

The Sub-divisional Officer receives, and in collaboration with the Senior Divisional Officer, the Chief of the local Lands Department, and a local leader, make recommendations on, land certificate applications, in his administrative area of jurisdiction.

The Land Consultative Board (LCB) is a land use regulating and controlling board appointed by the SDO of the area. It is specifically

responsible for dealing with problems (e.g. zoning law violations) arising from urban land use and where necessary, settling land disputes and/or other problems connected with the land registration process. The board comprises:

-the subdivisional officer (chairperson);

-a representative of the Department of Lands (secretary);

-a representative of the Department of Surveys;

-a representative of the Department of Town Planning, in the case of an urban project;

-a representative of the ministerial body concerned with the project;

-the local chief and two key members of the village or community where the land is located.

Local Government Councils (LGCs): Local councils have been actors in the housing policy field as far back as the colonial days, when they went under the name, Native Authorities (N.A.). Their role has always been largely regulatory. Local councils in the country today are charged with duties such as (Ministry of Territorial Administration, nd: 1):

-approving building plans;

-issuing Building Permits and applying the relevant regulations on behalf of the state; and

-inflicting the relevant sanctions on defaulters of town planning regulations.

Delivery Agencies:

These are agencies whose role in the country's housing policy field involves mostly the supply of housing and/or housing related services such as water, electricity, access roads, and so on.

The Urban and Rural Land Development Authority (MAETUR): This is a public autonomous agency established by decree on June 23, 1977, and placed under the supervisory authority of the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing. Its functions include preparing land for residential development. Such preparation may entail providing building lots with vital services such as roads, water, sanitary facilities electricity, and so on. The purpose of MAETUR is to

> . . . carry out or cause to be carried out, under its responsibility, land development or equipment projects with a view to promoting real estate and housing throughout the country (Republic of Cameroon, nd: 129)[5].

The Cameroon Housing Corporation (SIC): The Societe Immobilier du Cameroun (SIC) is a parastatal agency, which as MAETUR, is placed under the auspices of the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing. Although it has been in existence since 1952, SIC did not embody social housing programmes until 1977, when it began working in close collaboration with MAETUR. In this connection, the latter prepares the building sites and the former undertakes the building construction. The housing element of the country's fifth Five-Year Development Plan for example, among other things, was to ensure that MAETUR develops and transfers to SIC 680 hectares of land for low and moderate income housing (Republic of Cameroon, 1986: 165). As of 1988 SIC had constructed 3,700 residential units in the Centre and Littoral provinces. It is currently constructing 3,000 housing units in Yaounde, Douala, Maroua, Garoua, Buea, Limbe and Bafoussam.

The National Electricity Corporation (SONEL): This is a semi-public establishment of an industrial and commercial nature endowed with legal status -and financial autonomy. It is placed under the auspices of the Ministry of Mines and Power. Societe Nationale d'Electricite (SONEL), the sole supplier of electric energy in the country, was created in 1974 by merging POWERCAM, the corporation that supplied electricity to former West Cameroon, and Electricite du Cameroun (Cameroon Electricity), the firm that distributed electrical energy to the former state of East Cameroon.

SONEL has regional Delegations in each administrative province,[6] and divisional centres in divisions all over the country. The delegations are placed under the authority of Regional Delegates and Divisional Chiefs of Centres head divisional branches.

The National Water Corporation (SNEC): Like SONEL, this parapublic establishment is placed under the supervisory authority of the Ministry of Mines and Power. However, unlike SONEL, it is not the sole supplier of any service. In fact, other bodies, both national (e.g. services of the Ministry of Agriculture, local councils, and community organizations) and international (e.g. multinational and bilateral agencies are involved in water supply projects in the country. The importance of SNEC for the purpose of this study derives from the fact that it plays a dominant role in water supply in the country's urban settings. The other collaborating institutions operate mostly in rural areas and in some cases small towns, where their activities involve mostly the installation of manual pumps, open wells, bore holes, and the development of *in situ* sources.

SNEC operates on an administrative system identical to that of SONEL. It has regional delegations headed by delegates in the

provinces and divisional branch services placed under the authority of centre chiefs. SONEL and SNEC collaborate in some of their activities. For instance, payments for the services provided by the one can be paid at the office of the other.

Financing Institutions:

To state the obvious, finance plays a crucial role in the residential development process. In fact, along with effective financial institutions, it is a prerequisite for housing policy implementation.

Although a few government funding sources exist, the more important sources of finance for housing in the country are private ones such as, commercial banks[7], credit unions, and informal credit associations. The latter is the most important as far as private housing is concerned. It constitutes the major source of funding for most (63 or 55.7%) of the 113 owner-developers interviewed in the study. Three (3 or 2.6%) indicated that the largest portion of funds for their project came from a government source; thirty (30 or 26.5%) mentioned commercial banks; and four (4 or 3.5%) indicated credit unions. Meanwhile some respondents stated that two sources simultaneously make up the largest portion of the funds. In this vein, four (4 or 3.5%) mentioned informal credit associations and credit unions; thirteen (13 or 11.5%) pointed at commercial banks and informal credit associations; and four (4 or 3.5 %) mentioned banks and credit unions.

Government Funding Agencies:

Cameroon Housing Fund (CFC): The Credit Foncier du Cameroun (CFC) was created in 1977 and placed under the auspices of two ministerial bodies, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Town Planning and Housing.

The fund is meant to finance 1) land development for low income housing; 2) low- and moderate-cost housing projects/programmes undertaken by SIC, and 3) short, medium and long term loans to enable individuals undertake housing development. An important source (70%) of CFC funds is a one percent (1%) taxed contribution by all salaried workers in the country. Other sources include the National Social Insurance (20%); Postal Savings Fund (5%) and the National Reinsurance Fund (5%) (Chendi, 1988).

Only two out of the one hundred and thirteen owner-developers mentioned CFC as the major source of funding for their housing project. This is accountable for by several reasons including the fact that the conditions for obtaining funds from this institution are very stringent. Furthermore, as one respondent stated on his questionnaire,

> Credit Foncier does not operate in most towns in Cameroon. Like banks, the managers ask for a percentage of the loan. . . . The managers are interested in themselves and do not care for the well-being of the bank. The only exception is BICIC, which has foreign shares.

Special Council Support Fund or *le Fonds Special d'Equipement et d'Investissement Intercommunal* (FEICOM). This is a fund set up by the national government to assist municipal councils realize local urban development projects. This include such sites-and-services and slum up-grading programmes as renovating old towns and providing building plots with access roads and utilities, as well as ensuring that minimum building standards are respected. As of 1986, FEICOM had given local government councils in different parts of the country grants amounting to 2,121 frs CFA[8] (Republic of Cameroon, 1986: 161).

Banque Camerounaise de Developpement (BCD) is a state-owned commercial bank concerned only with investments (Halcrow Fox and Associates et al., 1980). It also provides loans for residential development. In the present study, one of the interviewees named BCD as the major source of funding for his residential development project. This finding casts some doubt on a claim in the report for the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing authored by Halcrow Fox and Associates et al. (1980:15) to the effect that the bank no longer grants loans for housing development. Between July 1979 and February 1980, the bank granted 494 loans for housing projects all over the country (Ibid: 16).

Commercial Banks:

Commercial banks, as indicated by the number of owner-developers in this study who used them, constitute an important source of funds for residential development in the country. However, it must be stated that while banks may do well in their role as savings institutions, they generally perform very poorly in their loans capacity. The conditions for obtaining loans from these institutions are such that the average Cameroonian can never meet.

The following banks were in operation in the country as of July/August 1989, during which period these data were collected: 1) Banque Internationale pour l'Afrique Occidentale (BIAO); 2) Societe Camerounaise de Banque (SCB); 3) Societe Generale de Banque au Cameroun (SGBC); 4) Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Cameroun (BICIC); 5) Cameroon Bank S.A.; 6) Bank of Credit and Commerce Cameroon (BCCC); 7) Pariba-Cameroun; 8) Boston Bank Cameroon Ltd.; 9) Bank of America Cameroon. These banks, which are opened every week day, and except for the last three, which

currently operate only in Douala and Yaounde, have branches in important centres throughout the country.

Credit Unions:

The first credit unions were established by two Catholic priests in Bamenda, North West Province in 1963 (DeLancey, 1977). Since then, credit union activities have not only grown and proliferated but have spread to all major centres in the country. Currently, these institutions play an important role in mobilizing resources for development projects, including housing as uncovered by this study. Credit unions get their funds from several sources including, organizations such as the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Oxfam, the Murray MacDonald Foundation, Cafod, and the Canadian American aid programmes (Ibid: 20).

They often operate through existing formal organizations such as church congregations, police detachments, agricultural co-operatives, and large industrial and/or commercial establishments. By so doing, they take advantage of existing communications network, skilled staff, technical infrastructure and so on. No fixed rates are required as contributions from members. Members may arrange to have contributions automatically deducted from their wages, where such a union operates within the administrative framework of an employer. Not only are the interest rates lower, their loan terms are more flexible, than those of commercial banks and government funding institutions.

Informal Credit Associations:

The present study confirms evidence that has been presented in previous studies regarding the significant role traditional savings and loans institutions play in the development process in developing

countries in general and Cameroon in particular (see e.g. DeLancey, 1977; 1980). They are at least two variants of these institutions in the country. The first is commonly alluded to as njangi or Rotating Credit Association (RCA), and the second, 'meeting'.

Rotating Credit Associations, njangi's, or tontines, as they may also be called[9], are informal institutions whose members contribute some agreed input to each member on a rotating basis. This input may take one of a number of forms. Commonly, however, the input is either cash (e.g. when members contribute to a fund which is given to each member in turn) or labour (e.g. when members agree to clear the farm of each member in turn)[10].

For the purpose of this study the focus will be on the former variant of RCAs, where contributions are in cash. Shirley Arderner (1964: 201) defines this as

> an association formed upon a core of participants who agree to
>
> make regular contributions to a fund which is given, in whole, or
>
> in part, to each contributor in rotation.

RCAs, because of the requirement that members contribute a fixed sum on a regular basis, tend to operate along socio-economic lines. Thus, members of any given RCA are likely to orignate in the same socio-economic category. The basic principle upon which RCAs operate is very simple. As DeLancey (1978) illustrates, five persons A,B,C,D, and E, for instance, join together in an RCA in say, January. Each contributes 5,000 frs CFA and one of them, A receives the total sum of 20,000 frs CFA. In February B takes the 20,000 frs CFA total and this routine is followed for 5 months until each man has received the payoff. In a way, therefore, RCAs enable people to save and serves as a vehicle for facilitating the movement of funds from those with surpluses to those in need of additional capital for undertaking such

large projects as residential development. The individual receiving the contribution for the period usually hosts the meeting.

Meetings constitute a second variant of informal credit institutions commonly found in the country. It however differs from RCAs in several respects. First, members do not have to contribute a fixed sum. They contribute as their means allow. Hence, second, membership is not along socio-economic lines. Third, however, membership is usually open only to persons of the same ethnic or tribal grouping. In some cases, membership is based on extended family lines. A tribal chief or family head usually hosts the meetings. Finally, members as well as non-members may apply for loans for which a relatively low one-time fees is often charged.

PRIVATE HOUSING IN CAMEROON:

Although the number of formal institutions operating in the housing policy field has increased tremendously since independence, the largest institutional source of housing in the country is still, by far, the government (including the military). In comparison, other institutional sources such as corporations, large employers, religious and charity organizations, play a less significant role in this field. Government housing, which as stated earlier, is a legacy of the country's colonial experience, remains limited and highly restricted to the priveleged elite segment of the population. The overwhelming majority is housed in privately owned and individually developed housing. It is specifically for this reason that the present investigation is interested in such housing.

Private housing is typically individually built by the owner, his family, friends, labourers, and artisans (bricklayers, carpenters,

electricians, plumbers, etc.) working under the owner's supervision. This was the case with all of the 113 owner-developers interviewed for the purpose of this study. In some cases such as that of absentee landlords, supervisory powers are delegated to a trusted family member or friend.

The important fact to bear in mind is that individuals seldom, if ever, contact large building contractors for the purpose of developing residential housing projects. There is also an absence of real estate companies that develop housing for sale as is the case in advanced nations such as the United States and Great Britain. Furthermore, the resale of used housing is very rare. This situation is not unique to Cameroon. Rather, it appears to be common in West Africa and other parts of the developing world. For instance, Sandra Barnes (1982:6) observed that in Lagos, Nigeria

> . . . there is an insignificant resale market, because houses customarily remain with the original owners and subsequently, with their descendants.

The typology of housing she developed based on this case study is of relevance to the Cameroonian context. Barnes identifies three types of private housing: authorized, which is built according to official rules and regulations governing land acquisition and building construction; customary, which refers to housing built according to building codes in force but on land over which the owner has customary as opposed to state recognized legal rights; and spontaneous housing, which is generally associated with squatting . In this case the owner has no right, formal or customary over the parcel of land in occupation. This is uncommon because land in the country is largely individually owned and/customarily held as opposed to state-owned. Such land is

not amenable to squatting because traditional owners and new settlers who are their clients are more effective in policing their land than are public authorities. They are present and aware of what is taking place on their holdings (Barnes, 1982:9).

For methodological reasons (see Chapter 4), this study is concerned mainly with (officially) authorized housing. Of particular interest in this section is the process by which an individual secures the necessary authorization to develop such housing. Specifically, we seek to address two fundamental questions: 1) which of the public agencies or ministerial departments discussed above must a private potential housing developer in the country contact? and 2) what is the role of each of these institutions in the process? To uncover answers to these questions, the building plan approval process is examined.

THE BUILDING PLAN APPROVAL PROCESS:

This section constitutes an analysis of an early stage in the private housing production process (see figure 5.2 below for the entire process). The stage, for the present purpose involves securing legal title over a parcel of buildable land, and obtaining a building permit.

Securing Legal Title Over Land:

In its bid to facilitate the land management process, the government encourages all individuals holding customary or other claims to land in the country to secure land certificates. The land certificate constitutes the official certification of formal legal rights over land in the country. The first step in the process of acquiring this certificate requires the applicant to prepare a dossier containing

ACQUIRE LAND ———— APPLY FOR LAND CERT.

NO APPL

(CUSTOMARY
TENURE)

DIVISIONAL
OFFICE

APPLY FOR
BLDG. PERMIT

NO BLDG.
PERMIT

LOCAL COUNCIL

A

B

LOCAL LANDS
DEPT.

LOCAL SURVEY
DEPT.

LOCAL TOWN
PLANG/HSG.

LOCAL DEPT.
PUB. HEALTH

BUILD

S N E C
(WATER)

S O N E L
(ELECT'CITY)

REQUEST BASIC SERVICE

FUNDING:
-PERSONAL
 -NJANGI
 -MEETING
 -CR UNION
 -GOV'T
 -BANK
 -CO-OP

LEGEND:

REGULATING
AGENCIES

FINANCING
AGENCIES

SERVICE
AGENCIES

UNOFFICIAL ROUTES

FIGURE 5.2:

THE RESIDENTIAL

DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

IN CAMEROON.

the following:

- a signed application containing the applicant's full name, names of his/her parents, place of residence, profession, marital status, nationality and name under which property is to be registered, in quadruplicate, the original of which must be stamped;

-a description of the parcel of land in terms of its location, superficial area, nature of occupancy, estimated value and details of liabilities with which it is encumbered.

The next step entails the submission of the dossier at the Divisional Office (Sous-Prefecture) of the subdivision where the property is located. Upon receiving and recording the dossier, and issuing a receipt to the applicant, the Divisional Officer transmits the documents to the Divisional Service of Lands for the area. One month following this, the Divisional Officer is then required to, publish a summary of the application and post copies thereof at the Senior Divisional Office, Divisional Office, Town Hall, and where applicable, in the Village Hall of the village in which the property is located. The purpose of this is to ensure that no parties are contending the applicant's claim of right to the parcel of land in question.

The Divisional Officer is further required to fix a date for a meeting of the Land Consultative Board. The major responsibility of the board in the land certification process is to assess, and have the property demarcated by a sworn surveyor of the local Survey Department. In thirty days following the meeting, he is required to transmit to the Lands Department, the board's report and five copies of the plan of demarcation indicating the reference points of the property. The Lands Department in turn is required to assign the dossier a serial number, countersign the plan, and if approved, draw up a notice of final demarcation which is then published in the Official Gazette. This is then followed by the issuance of a land certificate to the applicant. The researcher gathered from conversations with owner-developers and other authorities in the field that waiting periods of twelve months for this certificate are not uncommon.

Securing Permission to Build:

While only two agencies, the Divisional Office and the Lands Department, play major roles in the land certification process, at least

five, the Local Government Council, the local departments of Town Planning, Surveys, Lands, and Health, are instrumental in the Building Permit process.

The application for a building permit which should be made to the Local Government Council of the area in which the building is proposed, must contain:

1) a town planning certificate or attestation from the local Town Planning service testifying that according to the master plan for the area, the proposed development is compatible with existing or intended adjacent activities;

2) a cadastral site plan from the local Surveys Department showing all reference points of the parcel of land intended for development;

3) an attestation of land ownership from the local service of Lands testifying that to the best of available knowledge, the applicant is the uncontested owner of the piece of land in question;

The application file should further contain the following technical documents.

5) Execution building plan comprising:

- a foundation plan, cross-sections, side views and roof, to scale 1/200 to 1/500;

- block plan and situation plan (scale: 1/200 to 1/500);

- structural plan (in the case of a storey building), scale:1/10 to 1/50;

- plan of septic tank and soak away pit (scale: 1/100 to 1/500);

- technical specifications (descriptive notes);

- cost estimates;

- application form for building permit (see appendix B).

Institutional Actors in the Building Plan Approval Process:

The form on which the application for permission to build is made contains six spaces that must be endorsed by the relevant housing policy organizations (HPOs). First, a dossier containing the application and the documents mentioned above is submitted at the Local Government Council of the area in which the building is intended. Next, it is presented to the following local services: Lands; Survey; Health; and Town Planning and Housing, in that order. Finally, it is once again submitted at the Local Government Council Office concerned, which, if satisfied, then issues a building permit. Each service is required to: 1) review relevant portions of the plan and application for compliance with building codes and regulations in force; and 2) make necessary recommendations ('favourable' or 'unfavourable') in spaces provided on the application form.

In principle, each service should take one week to reach a decision regarding the status of any given application. But reality indicates otherwise. In fact waiting periods of up to six months are not unusual (personal conversation with owner-developers in the field). For this reason, construction work on a significant proportion of building projects usually begins before the approval process is completed. In the present study forty-four out of the one hundred and twenty-six (44 out of 113 or 39%) owner-developers indicated that they started construction work on their projects before final approval was granted. In most cases, as shall be discussed later, some developers actually embark on building without an approved plan at

all, probably in order to avoid the long waiting periods and accompanying frustration.

Upon approving the plan the project remains under the surveillance of agents of HPOs (at least in principle) until it is completed and a certificate of habitability is issued by the local department of Health. In practice however, such surveillance which entails regular visits by the agents to the building site leaves much to be desired. More than a quarter (29% or 33 out of 113) of the owner-developers interviewed responded in the negative when asked if an agent of any of the local HPOs visited the site of their projects. About as many (27% or 31 out of 113) admitted making unauthorized alterations to the plan. Two other HPOs, SONEL (for electricity) and SNEC (for water) are also crucial during this stage of the residential development process. Thus, any individual undertaking a residential development project in the country is very likely to contact both agencies. These agencies however differ from the others involved in the process in two major respects. First, as discussed earlier, they are delivery agencies as opposed to the others which are regulatory. Second, they, as opposed to the others, have a profit motive. This latter probably explains why they will deliver service to any property regardless of its legality as may be defined by regulatory authorities.

To recapitulate, therefore, the eight important agencies in the private residential development process (see Figure 5.2), are 1) the Subdivisional Office (land certificate); 2) Surveys (cadastral plan); 3) Lands (attestation of land ownership); 4) Town Planning and Housing (town planning certificate); 5) Health (attestation of habitability); 6) Council (building permit); 7) SONEL (electricity); and 8) SNEC (water). An important objective of the study is to isolate factors that may

prevent these and other agencies in the field from interacting with one another hence, impede their ability to satisfy their clients and adapt to their environment. This objective is pursued next.

FACTORS INHIBITING INTERACTION, SATISFACTION AND ADAPTABILITY:

This section seeks to uncover forces that may be antithetical to interorganizational relations, client satisfaction, and environmental adaptability in the housing policy field in Cameroon.

Interorganizational Relations (IOR):

Interorganizational relations (IOR) is predicated upon certain preconditions. These include (cf. Gray, 1985)[12]: 1) the ability/willingness to identify all stakeholders; 2) an expectation of some positive outcomes; 3) an unconstrained coordinator; 4) an equitable dispersion of power among stakeholders; 5) the existence of external mandates; and 6) the physical proximity of activities. It is argued that the absence of these conditions in the country's housing policy field prevents any meaningful IOR from taking place.

The Ability/Willingness to Identify all Stakeholders. A paramount concern in IOR is whether an agency in any given field recognizes the importance of others in the field to its operations. Where IOR must be promoted by some higher authority, the important question has to do with the authority's ability and willingness to identify all parties having a stake in the policy field under consideration. It is difficult to overemphasize the need for a sufficient variety of stakeholders for any fruitful attempt to address a

multifaceted and complex problem such as housing. In fact, a more comprehensive understanding of such a problem

. . . is achieved as more stakeholders share their various

appreciations about the problem (Gray, 1985; 918).

Conversely, difficulties are imminent when relevant stakeholders are omitted. In essence, therefore,

The stakeholder set needs to reflect the complexity of the

problem under consideration . . . (Ibid: 919).

The set of institutions recognized by authorities as comprising stakeholders in housing in the country however, fails to reflect the intricacy of the housing problem. At least three very important housing policy institutions, SONEL, SNEC, and Informal Credit Associations do not consider themselves, and are not considered as relevant members of the housing policy field. In the case of SONEL and SNEC, this is reflected not only in the fact that neither is represented on any board dealing with housing and/or land matters in the country, but also the fact that very little, if any, interaction takes place between them and other HPOs (interviews with key housing policymakers)[13]. In the case of informal credit institutions, evidence of their neglect as important members of the country's housing policy organizational set resides in the fact that hardly any official discussion and decision connected with housing takes account of their existence and crucial role in the financing of housing development. This is despite the documentation of their real and potential role in the country's development process by researchers as far back as 1958 (see e.g. Warmington, 1958) and in recent decades by Mark DeLancey (1977; 1978) and more recently by Norman Uphoff (1980).

An Expectation of some Positive Outcomes on the part of Stakeholders. In Chapter Three it was admitted that IOR does involve

some costs. However, the central thesis of the study implies that the benefits of IOR far outweigh whatever costs may be involved. Based on Table 6.6 Chapter Six, which shows among other things, the number of HPO heads considering contacts with other HPOs important to their operations, it would appear that heads of HPOs in the country do not fully appreciate this. Because of this lack of appreciation, the agency heads fail as well to understand the necessity and extent of their respective agencies' interdependence on each other. Even in the rare situations where the benefits of such interdependence may be fully understood, professional and bureaucratic jealousies, coupled with interagency rivalry reduce any gainful IOR to the barest minimum at best, and prevent it at worst. A major source of this problem is the country's administrative structure, which emphasizes vertical intra-organizational relations to the exclusion of equally, and perhaps more important, (horizontal) interorganizational ones. Ministerial departments and other agencies in the provinces and divisions, that is, external services -- as they are commonly known among officials in the country -- owe their primary loyalty to their superiors at the central administration in Yaounde.

An Unconstrained Coordinator. Where a task must be executed by two or more actors working simultaneously, such as in housing policy administration, success depends largely on the 'room for manoeuvre' available to whoever coordinates the efforts of participating actors. In Cameroon, as discussed earlier, this role falls within the jurisdiction of the Senior Divisional Officer (SDO or *Prefet*), who is in charge of coordinating all matters of public policy in his local area.

Thus, the country employs what is alluded to in the literature as the 'integrated prefectoral system' (see e.g. Wallis, 1989) to deal with

administrative problems. Because this system, whose origin is traceable to France, 1) pays greater attention to political issues, and 2) because the prefect is expected to represent the interest of the state in his area of administrative jurisdiction, he, in comparison to other officials has no 'room for manoeuvre'. Thus, any IOR in particular, and activity in general, that may conflict with the interest of the state even though beneficial otherwise, is effectively discouraged.

An Equitable Dispersion of Power among Stakeholders. In any given housing policy interorganizational network in the country, power is likely to be inequitably distributed among stakeholders. Besides the fact that the administrative system places the S.D.O. and D.O. above all other (government) officials in their areas of jurisdiction, a lot of disparities exist in terms of the educational qualifications, experience, and public service ranking of heads of HPOs in the country. S.D.O.s and D.O.s are usually senior civil servants and graduates of the nation's prestigious 'Ecole Nationale d'Administration et Magistrature' (ENAM or National School of Administration and Magistracy). Heads of other HPOs meanwhile vary between categories 'C' and 'A' (but mostly Category B) of the public service or their equivalents in the parapublic sector. Thus, because the country emphasizes class and bureaucratic hierarchy, such inequality incontestably hinders effective IOR from occurring.

The Existence of External Mandates. This has to do with whether agencies in the field are required by law or some superior authority to interact with one another. Such a requirement has been found to be an important motivating factor in IOR especially in the public sector, where it may be required by some higher level of government (Gray, 1985).

Apart from mandates requiring all establishments in any given area to inform the SDO of that area of their activities, none requires HPOs in the country to interact with one another. Where there may be an opportunity for interaction such as in the plan approval process, the agencies tend to function in a manner analogous to that of assembly line workers.

The Physical Proximity of Activities. Intuition suggests that physical proximity facilitates IOR. That is, the closer organizations are physically to one another, the more contacts they are likely to make. Barbara Gray (1985) advances this same argument contending that geographic dispersion increases the cost of interaction. However, neither Gray nor the present researcher brings forth any empirical evidence supporting the argument. Future research will do well to test this proposition. To be sure, the important face-to-face contacts among HPO officials that takes place when their offices are within close proximity are rendered difficult when they are geographically dispersed, which, (with a few exceptions such as Limbe, where four HPOs share a common building), is the case in Cameroon. The importance of physical proximity is accentuated in this case owing to the fact that, as mentioned in Chapter Four, the mailing and other communication systems such as the telephone, are unreliable. In fact, as also mentioned in that chapter, telephone services are not available in all major towns in the country.

Client Satisfaction:

Popular opinion in the country's housing policy field holds that client discontent is likely to stem from two paramount sources namely (informal interviews with stakeholders):

1) the inability of HPOs to deliver the 'right' goods/services; and

2) lengthy and cumbersome procedures for obtaining necessary goods and/or services.

The inability of HPOs to deliver the 'right' goods and/or services. This is accountable for by the fact that the country's housing policy is administered bureaucratically, wherein standardization, hence, rigidity as opposed to flexibility dominates. Bureaucracy connotes not only an administration which occupies a position above and beyond the reach of the people, but one that lacks the ability to correct its behaviour by learning from its mistakes (Abrahamson, 1977). For this reason, it has been argued that bureaucracy is an inappropriate tool for administering housing policy (Turner, 1977; Grenell, 1972). When housing policy is administered through the bureaucratic mechanism housing tends to be treated simply as units to be processed into particular shapes and dropped into slots approximating the status (e.g. low- middle- or high-income category) of clients/users. The latter are thus seen only in terms of quantities of stereotyped human beings and programmes/projects are evaluated in terms of number of, for example, units produced or supplied as opposed to how well the units satisfy the users' needs.

As an illustration, in the country's fifth Five-Year Development Plan, the government promised among other things, supplying 8,327 houses through the National Housing Corporation (SIC) within the framework of a three-year programme. In evaluating the programme on the eve of the sixth Five Year Plan, what appeared to matter was only the fact that the corporation had produced 5,800 of these units. Yet, an authority in the country's housing policy field observes that

> There has been a strong objection to the quality of houses
>
> designed and constructed by SIC, for they do not reflect the
>
> Cameroonian family size set up, traditional architecture and

comfortable spatial dimensions. In spite of the non-reflection of Cameroonian values, the rental and sale prices are extremely high (Chendi, 1988: 6).

Thus, if anything, the foregoing discussion suggests that the mechanism through which the country's housing policy is administered namely, bureaucracy, makes it difficult, if not impossible, for HPOs to satisfy their clients.

Lengthy and Cumbersome Precedures for Obtaining Goods/Services. It is true that "informal unanticipated processes generated by ostensibly rational organizations" such as bureaucracies "may occasion administrative delay and public complaints of red tape" (Albrow, 1970: 90 quoted in Abrahamson, 1977:18). However, it would appear that this problem is compounded in Cameroon's housing policy context by the existence of several agencies with unnecessarily overlapping functions. In effect, the process of obtaining any given service/good in the field tends to be lengthy and cumbersome. Take for instance, the building approval process. In an attempt to explain why most people in Limbe, one of the nation's urban centres, build without approval, a recent government study admitted that:

-the process and procedures for obtaining the necessary approval
  are long, complicated, costly and time consuming;

-It is generally alleged that those who study, recommend and
  approve building plans and land documents illegally demand
  favours and gifts from applicants before their documents are
  considered. This increases the costs of transactions, leads to
  waste of time and quite often the applicant's documents go
  unconsidered (Provincial Department of Town Planning and
  Housing, Buea, 1989: 5)[15].

This cogent explication certainly holds true for all areas in the country. The roots of the problem, as earlier implied, can be found in the fact that too many agencies with overlapping, and sometimes undefined, functions operate in the country's housing policy field. Again, using the case of the building plan approval process to illustrate, one finds it difficult to clearly distinguish between the functions of the various agencies involved. This is particularly the case at the plan-checking stage. Is it for instance necessary that a building plan be checked by the services of Town Planning and Housing, Health, and then twice by the Local Government Council when all that is being verified is how well the proposed building meets minimum required standards for safe habitation? At another level, it does not appear to make any sense that one should apply for a land certificate through the Divisional Office and contact the Lands Department for an attestation showing that he/she indeed owns the parcel of land in question. In fact, it seems more logical that a single service handles the cadastral survey, certification and attestation of land ownership procedures. As shown above, three different departments handle these matters. That a private residential developer in the country must deal with such a multiplicity of agencies only compounds his/her frustration. In fact the magnitude of this frustration is such that an overwhelming majority chooses to rather deal with the harsh consequences of building without approved plans than endure it. Witness the fact that 96% or 241 out of the 251 ongoing projects studied in Limbe last year were without approved plans (Provincial Department of Town Planning and Housing, Buea, 1989).

Environmental Adaptability:

Environmental adaptability as employed here has to do with the standards used in implementing housing policy. These standards, as implied above, are not only rigid but also 'high' given the income level of the average Cameroonian. While the bureaucratic value emphasizing standardization or uniformity encourages rigidity, other reasons, such as an attempt on the part of public officials to protect the state's interest, ensures that the standards remain 'high'.

Standardization and Uniformity. Although this value is dominant in all phases of housing policy administration, it attains its highest level of importance at the implementation stage with the use of the building code. The building code is a pervasive instrument used by governments to exercise control over building activity. Its main objective is to protect the safety of the building's users in particular, and the public in general. A building code may be either performance- or specification-oriented.

A performance code typically recommends an objective to be accomplished and allows the broad leeway to the designer to select materials and techniques necessary for attaining the objective. In contrast, a specification-oriented code makes rigid specifications governing aspects of the building ranging from types of building materials to minimum required heights for buildings.

Although the former's flexibility makes it more logical, its administration not only demands judgment on the part of the administrator, but must be carried out on a regional basis at best, or case-by-case basis at worst. This conflicts sharply with basic principles of bureaucracy, which has been defined as a formally established organization designed to maximize administrative efficiency. Thus, because to specify required standards is to standardize operating procedures, the government finds

finds specification-oriented codes more appealing. Such codes are easier to administer and in contrast to performance-oriented ones do not require any independent judgment on the part of the administrator. This, in effect, makes their administration easier even for low-skilled staff, such as can be easily found in the country's housing policy field.

The attempt on the part of public bureaucrats to protect the state's interest may be understood by examining their actions in this field. For the present purpose, the public bureaucracy will be seen as the arm of the state charged with carrying out the wishes of the countries political leaders. Although public bureaucrats also have their own interests and preferences, and in fact may use their resources to 'feather their own nests' Riggs (1977), it will be assumed here that their actions are sanctioned by, and are intended to serve the interest of, the state. This latter is employed here interchangeably with the term, government. The main question we seek to address is thus: "why does the state in Cameroon insist, or sanctions the insistence, on 'high' standards in the country's housing field?" It is suggested that this is done for ideological, economic and political reasons. We recognize that there may be a good number of other reasons but these appear to be the most likely.

Ideological Reasons. To better appreciate ideological reasons necessitating the state in Cameroon to insist on 'high' housing standards, it is necessary to re-examine some of the most salient aspects of the country's housing policy so far discussed. First, the building code plays a prominent role in her attempt to maintain such standards especially during the construction phase of residential development. As discussed above, the rationale for the building code may be considered parternalistic, as its aim is to protect the health and safety of the building's occupants.

Second, there has been an attempt since 1966 to maintain 'high' housing standards by requiring all employers to provide employees with housing or an extra 20% of their income in lieu of this. Prior to the enactment of this policy, the government has been (and is still) providing state employees with housing of standards generally higher than those available in the private housing sector. Not only do such policies constitute an attempt on the part of the government of Cameroon to respond to ideological instructions and propanganda campaigns by Western 'experts' bent on promoting life styles in their countries, they serve as tangible signs of its concern for the welfare of its people.

Third, in recent years, government's attempts to maintain 'high' housing standards have involved some, albeit token, assistance to households in the form of 'free services' such as water and access roads through sites-and-services schemes under the auspices of MAETUR and local governments. It is easy to make a connection between such a policy and an attempt on the part of the state to legitimize its authority over the people it governs.

Fourth, there has also been an attempt to keep the country's built environment free of any 'obsolete and dilapidated' buildings. Such buildings as so defined by officials are often marked with a red 'X' indicating their existence is in violation of building by-laws. Such marked buildings are plentiful in the country's urban centres. The intent here, it appears, is to maintain a middle class image and pseudo-Western notion of housing environmental standards.

Finally, the government has strived towards maintaining 'high' housing standards by encouraging home-ownership. It stated in its sixth Five-Year plan that it intends to pursue this objective more vigorously through

the promotion of joint-ownership in the urban areas, [and] by

setting up housing cooperatives . . . . (Republic of Cameroon, 1986: 165).

Furthermore, it promises "assisting in the financing of the building of 5,000 houses through personal effort . . . " (Ibid: 166). When the state seeks to increase the number of home-owners in particular (as in this case), and property owners in general, its effort may be seen as constituting an ideological butress for the continuation of the historical legacy linking private property to the private ownership of the means of production characterizing the capitalist mode of production (Burgess, 1985).

Economic Reasons. The state stands to benefit economically from 'high' housing standards to the extent that such standards encourage non-local building materials and the formalization of land acquisition/ownership processes.

For a housing unit to be considered 'permanent' in the country, it has to be of concrete or cement blocks, with components such as lintels and piers reinforced with steel and the roof of (corrugated) iron or aluminum sheets, all usually imported materials. Buildings of locally available materials such as wood and thatch or grass are officially considered 'temporary'. Thus, apart from the fact that the country's specification-oriented codes discourage the use of local materials, official labels such as these, albeit subtly, encourage the importation of building materials. The direct benefits accruing to the state from this include, but are not limited to, the taxes it charges on the importation and sales of these materials.

The formalization of land acquisition/ownership processes (by for instance, requiring the registration/certification of lands) and other aspects of the residential development process (e.g. by requiring detailed building plans), constitute an attempt on the part of the state to facilitate the transition of housing from a low to a high commodity

sphere while discouraging residential development in the informal sector. The benefits it (the state) derives from this include, but are by no means limited to, fees and taxes on income earned through all housing and related transactions in the modern sector.

Political Reasons. The state guarantees itself some degree of stability to the extent that it can employ 'high' standards in housing to neutralize real and/or potential threats from interest groups in society.

To clarify and substantiate this assertion, it is in order to oncemore, take a look at one important dimension of the country's housing policy. Soon after securing independence in 1960, the government transfered all luxury housing units formerly occupied by the departing colonial administrators to members of the emerging bureaucracy. With the passage of time the newly independent government went on to increase the inherited stock of luxury housing units. Recently, with a tremendous increase in demand resulting from a burgeoning bureaucracy, there has been a need to subsidize this stock by renting from private owners. In this latter connection, the state spends about 18 to 20 billion frs CFA annually (Chendi, 1988). It would also be recalled that there has been an attempt by the government at least in principle, to address the housing need of the economically deprived. In practice however, beneficiaries of such programmes have been members of the middle-income categories (Ibid).

From this, the following conclusions are plausible. First, it is clear that those who have benefited most from state housing programmes are members of the civil bureaucracy. The need for the state to satisfy this group cannot be overstated. In fact it is reasonable to say that the state's survival depends on this group (taken roughly to include the public bureaucracy and the military)

since it constitutes the only group with the necessary professional and entrepreneurial resources crucial for systems maintenance. It is also incontestable that finance and loan capital are beneficiaries of policies of this genre: the former, since the state has to borrow in order to finance state-owned housing projects including sites-and-services schemes, and the latter, because tax subsidies and mortgage reliefs must be provided owner-occupiers to enable them pay the high interest charges that go with such transactions. To facilitate the growth of capital as in this case, is to facilitate economic development, which means a better quality of life for the people hence, political stability.[17] Apart from this, the state probably recognizes the fact that its survival depends on the extent to which it can win the support of elite groups in society. Fred Riggs (1977) has observed that the state in developing nations sometimes act in association with ruling classes. Thus, rules are formulated and implemented in the interest of such groups. It is therefore not surprising that programmes originally intended to benefit the economically deprived such as the low-income schemes alluded to earlier, usually end up benefiting middle-income groups.

A more concrete example with respect to the housing policy field in Cameroon is illustrative. In the 1970s there was persistent pressure from professional architects and planners to discourage 'non-professionals' from drawing building plans. The hidden agenda was the creation of jobs for members of this profession. The effort paid off. Thus, currently, it is required that "Building Plans with complex architectural components shall be designed and visaed by Registered Architect of the National Order of the Profession in Cameroon" (Ministry of Territorial Administration, nd: 4). In fact, one can look at the whole requirement that all buildings have detailed building plans

as constituting an effort on the part of the state to create jobs for more favoured groups in the country's job market.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter began with a discussion of public administration in Cameroon as a way of laying the foundation for an examination of the country's housing delivery system. Problems plaguing this latter, comprising both formal and informal institutions, were said to stem from the country's administrative structure which has been tailored after the classical bureaucratic model. Some major problems believed, or possessing the potential, to impede interorganizational interaction, hence, effectiveness were discussed.

First, it was contended that the necessary preconditions for meaningful interorganizational relations (IOR) were not present in the country's housing field.[18] Second, with regard to environmental adaptability, the bureaucratic value emphasizing standardization and uniformity was held accountable for the rigidity that prevails in the implementation of housing policy in the country. Finally, in the same connection, the problem of 'high' standards, was said to be a function of attempts on the part of public bureaucrats to foster the state's ideological position, as well as its economic, and political interests.

The chapter complements the next chapter, as it provides a qualitative analysis of Cameroon's housing delivery system, with particular emphasis on relationships, and patterns of interaction amongst stakeholders in the field. A major accomplishment of the chapter is the fact that it has uncovered answers to to some of the most important questions dealing with institutional actors and extent of IOR in, as well as the interorganizational structure of, the housing policy field in Cameroon. The chapter is in keeping with the study's underlying premise, which holds that for efforts aimed at improving

institutional capacity in LDCs to succeed, they must be matched by similar attempts to understand the status quo. Its major objective, therefore, has been, first and foremost, to promote understanding of the country's housing field as is, and then attempt to isolate factors that may be antithetical to the effectiveness of agencies in the field. This, thus, constitutes an important initial step towards improving the effectiveness of housing policy organizations (HPOs) in Cameroon in particular, and other resource-scarce economies in general.

CHAPTER FIVE NOTES

1. See chapters 3 and 4 for the conceptualization and operationalization of these variables.

1b. The reader is referred to Chapter Two for more on the contribution of these and other classical theorists to administrative thought.

2. The territory was a colony of Germany from 1884 to 1918. At the end of World War I, 1914-1918, it was mandated by the League of Nations to France and Britain. A larger portion of the territory went to the former. On January 1, 1960 the French portion secured independence. The smaller British sector, then the Southern Cameroons decided overwhelmingly in a plebiscite on 11, February 1961 to reunite with the larger, former French sector. This reunification and automatic independence came through on October 1, 1961.

3. According to Burns and Grebler (1977) only Mexico as an LDC had anything that resembled a housing policy prior to 1945.

4. See references below for participating firms in this study.

5. My italics. The word, 'country' replaces 'United Republic of Cameroon', which is outdated.

6. The regional delegations are not necessarily located in provincial headquarters. For example, the Regional Delegation for the South West Province is located in Limbe whereas the South West Provincial capital is Buea.

7. During the data gathering phase of this study commercial banks in the country, including the government's own BCD, were in a lot of trouble. In fact, according to African Economic Development of 17 July 1989, "three troubled banks, Banque Camerounaise de Developpement (BCD), Cambank, and Fond Nationale de Developpement Rural (FONADER), were to be liquidated as the first step in the rehabilitation of the banking and financial system in the country". Three others, Societe Camerounaise de Banque (SCB), Societe Generale de Banque au Cameroun (SGBC) and BICIC, were earmarked either for restructuring or liquidation as well.

8. Rotating Credit Associations exist in other parts of West Africa in particular, and the world in general. In Nigeria they are alluded to as esusu's. Sierra Leonians refer to them as asusu's; and Ghanians, susu's.

9. Earlier students of this phenomenon (e.g. Warmington, 1958; Ardener, 1964; and DeLancey, 1978) have often tended to emphasize the cash input variant to the exclusion of other variants of RCA's.

10. Mr. Zachary Nsutebu, currently Deputy Director of Town Planning for the country, was the Provincial Chief of Service for Town Planning in Buea at the time.

12. Gray (1985) identifies ten preconditions and employs terminologies different from those used here.

13. Whatever interaction there was occurred between both agencies or between either and the SDO's Office.

14. A few exceptions, e.g. Limbe, where four HPOs occupy a single building, however exist.

15. The study was jointly conducted by the Provincial Department (Service) of Town Planning and Housing (TPH), Buea, the Divisional Service of TPH Limbe, and the Limbe Urban Council between 9 and 21, January 1989.

16. See note 15 above.

17. The reader is referred to Chapter 2 and 3 for more on the arguments surrounding the relationship between economic growth and quality of life, and quality of life and political stability.

18. By "meaningful IOR" here is meant any IOR capable of yielding significant improvement in Organizational effectiveness.

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6. INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS: EMPIRICAL LINK.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One through Three explored the theoretical and conceptual link between interorganizational relationships (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE). In this chapter, quantitative techniques are employed to examine the link at the empirical level. The central concern is with research questions 3, "How, and to what extent do organizations within the system interact with one another in fostering the housing policy objectives of the country?" and 4, "What is the link between interorganizational relationships and organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field?".

The chapter is divided into two main parts. Part One, which presents the major findings, contains four sections. The first is an overview of the performance of the sampled housing policy organizations (HPOs) on the major dimensions of organizational effectiveness dealt with in this study (see chapter 4). The second presents findings on the relative importance of the various modes of IOR among these organizations. Section Three tests the study's central hypothesis of a positive association between IOR and OE. Other important findings surfaced in this section include the relative ability of the different independent variables (IV's) to explain OE; the relationship between the various independent and dependent variables; and finally, the simultaneous relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. Part Two discusses the study's major findings.

MAJOR FINDINGS:

AGENCY PERFORMANCE BY EFFECTIVENESS DIMENSION:

The effectiveness of each housing policy agency was gauged with the help of the effectiveness scale developed in Chapter 4. Table 6.1 shows the scores of the HPOs on the six dimensions of organizational effectiveness of concern in the study. The table reveals that the sampled residential developers were least satisfied with cost than with any other dimension studied. The scores on this dimension (column 3, COSTS) ranged from a low of 65.5 to a high of 281.8 with a mean of 188. The second most likely source of discontent amongst the clients or primary beneficiaries of HPOs, is the number of visits they must pay HPOs in order to secure necessary goods and/or services. The 32 agencies evaluated[1] scored between 100.1 and 284.2 on this dimension (see column 2, TRIPS). The mean score of 202 for this variable almost matches the 204 for the 'TIME' dimension, on which scores ranged from 103.2 to 289.5. Thus, the table reveals that clients are as likely to be dissatisfied with housing policy agencies because of the number of trips required to obtain a given service as with the length of time taken to obtain the service. Relatively high scores were however, registered for the 'quality' and 'information' dimensions respectively. The former had a mean score of 228 with scores ranging from 158.4 to 278.9, while the latter had scores ranging from 146.6 to 275.0, with a mean of 211. This means that the HPOs were more effective, at least from the point of view of their clients, on these two dimensions than on the others.

TABLE 6.1: EFFECTIVENESS SCORE BY AGENCY.

| AGENCY | EFFECTIVENESS DIMENSION | | | | | | CODE |
	TIME	TRIPS	COST	QUALITY	INFORM	TOTAL	
1. TPH LIMBE	239.5	242.9	220.8	244.5	214.1	1161.8	2
2. LANDS LIMBE*	207.5	196.1	216.0	207.5	181.3	1008.4	1
3. SURVEY LIMBE*	200.1	211.2	168.0	229.7	214.9	1023.9	1
4. HEALTH LIMBE	210.7	228.5	212.6	242.9	192.7	1087.4	2
5. D.O. LIMBE	226.2	236.8	242.8	266.7	205.6	1178.1	2
6. COUNCIL LIMBE	142.9	135.7	169.0	171.3	167.9	786.8	1
7. SONEL LIMBE	224.0	232.0	156.0	222.9	204.0	1039.1	2
8. SNEC LIMBE	206.5	212.5	173.5	229.3	177.7	999.5	1
9. TPH KUMBA	257.4	248.9	226.6	251.0	219.1	1203.0	2
10. LANDS KUMBA	191.5	225.0	172.1	234.0	275.0	1097.6	2
11. SURVEY KUMBA	247.5	246.0	186.0	248.0	217.5	1145.0	2
12. HEALTH KUMBA	271.7	269.5	260.6	260.8	217.5	1280.1	2
13. D.O. KUMBA*	237.1	227.3	243.9	237.1	192.1	1137.5	2
14. COUNCIL KUMBA	127.5	126.6	115.9	191.4	182.4	743.8	1
15. SONEL KUMBA	107.3	110.0	76.1	158.4	157.2	609.0	1
16. SNEC KUMBA	110.0	107.3	80.6	169.2	146.6	613.7	1
17. TPH BAMENDA	171.9	131.2	163.3	181.5	150.0	797.9	1
18. LANDS BAMENDA	197.0	221.0	206.8	231.2	212.6	1068.6	2
19. SURVEY BAMENDA	224.0	219.0	174.2	212.6	262.0	1091.2	2
20. HEALTH BAMENDA	200.0	234.3	220.6	250.1	225.1	1280.1	2
21. D.O. BAMENDA	248.2	236.6	225.2	261.3	231.5	1202.8	2
22. CO'NCIL BAMENDA	231.4	219.0	161.2	243.8	175.6	1031.0	1
23. SONEL BAMENDA	121.8	118.9	65.5	193.0	215.5	714.7	1
24. SNEC BAMENDA	103.2	112.7	84.4	190.5	206.2	697.0	1
25. TPH MBENGWI	289.5	284.2	279.1	278.9	284.2	1415.9	2
26. LANDS MBENGWI	242.2	215.8	227.8	273.7	263.3	1222.8	2
27. SURVEY MBENGWI	257.7	237.7	242.1	268.4	268.3	1274.2	2
28. HEALTH MBENGWI	247.3	247.4	242.2	247.3	257.9	1242.1	2
29. D.O. MBENGWI	271.2	254.5	281.8	241.5	250.0	1299.0	2
30. CO'NCIL MBENGWI	257.8	268.4	242.2	231.4	226.4	1226.2	2
31. SONEL MBENGWI	125.0	100.1	143.9	225.0	193.9	787.9	1
32. SNEC MBENGWI	161.7	123.2	138.6	192.5	169.4	785.4	1
TOTAL	6557	6480	6019	7287	6758	33101	
MEAN	204	202	188	228	211	1035	
RANGE	103.2- 289.5	100.1- 284.2	65.5- 281.8	158.4- 278.9	146.6- 275.0	609 - 1415.9	

* Did not return questionnaire.

MODES AND EXTENT OF IOR AMONGST THE HPOs:

This study operationalizes interorganizational relations in terms of the contacts agencies in a common policy field make with one another (see chapters 3 and 4). Specifically, IOR was measured in terms of the number of: a) letters written/received; b) the number of meetings/committees attended by an agency head or his/her representative(s); and c) the number of times agencies exchanged resources during the three-year period covered by the study. For the present purpose, these exchange activities are alluded to as modes of interorganizational relationships.

Table 6.2 shows the extent to which each of these modes was utilitized during the said period. A scan of the table reveals that, of the modes of IOR studied, the exchange of letters was the most popular. An average of 582 official letters changed hands in the field during the said period. The second most popular mode was meetings/committee participation. On the average, each agency participated in 504 meetings or committees dealing with housing and related issues during the three-year period ending June 1988. A distant third along these lines was the joint execution of projects/programmes or other forms of cooperative ventures. As the table reveals, the average number of occasions on which such activities occurred is eighty-eight (88). The exchange of personnel, which took place forty-eight (48) times on the average, emerged as the fourth most important mode of IOR in the field. This was closely followed by the exchange of equipment, which occurred forty-four (44) times on the average. With an an average of twelve (12), the borrowing/lending of infrastructure surfaced as the sixth most popular mode of IOR amongst the sampled agencies. The joint utilization of resources occurred very

TABLE 6.2: INTERORGANIZATIONAL INTERACTION BY MODE BY AGENCY

MODE OF INTERORGANIZATIONAL INTERACTION

AGENCY	LETTER	MEET	INFRASTURE	EQUIPMENT	STAFF	CO-OP.	SHARE	TOTAL	CODE
1. TPH LIMBE	1086	1910	0	36	85	3	30	3150	2
2. LANDS LIMBE *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. SURVEY LIMBE*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. HEALTH LIMBE	0	55	0	145	118	5	0	323	1
5. D.O. LIMBE	947	183	95	150	100	540	100	2115	2
6. COUNCIL LIMBE	3536	51	0	24	36	31	9	3687	2
7. SONEL LIMBE	321	1390	0	3	0	0	0	1714	2
8. SNEC LIMBE	117	0	0	0	0	0	0	117	1
9. TPH KUMBA	926	2112	35	15	20	51	0	3159	2
10. LANDS KUMBA	779	345	0	0	0	0	98	1222	1
11. SURVEY KUMBA	857	1257	0	6	9	51	0	2180	2
12. HEALTH KUMBA	17	2	4	0	0	0	0	23	1
13. D.O. KUMBA*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. COUNCIL KUMBA	305	84	17	20	15	0	0	441	1
15. SONEL KUMBA	57	87	0	1	0	0	0	145	1
16. SNEC KUMBA	81	0	0	0	0	0	0	81	1
17. TPH BAMENDA	629	653	0	5	15	10	0	1312	1
18. LANDS BAMENDA	479	1215	72	38	0	359	45	2208	2
19. SURVEY BAMENDA	194	1044	0	30	0	750	0	2208	2
20. HEALTH BAMENDA	170	54	0	0	0	0	0	224	1
21. D.O. BAMENDA	1040	920	0	0	153	485	0	2598	2
22. COUNCIL BAMENDA	717	76	0	54	83	5	0	935	1
23. SONEL BAMENDA	262	39	0	0	0	0	0	201	1
24. SNEC BAMENDA	60	22	0	15	9	6	0	112	1
25. TPH MBENGWI	2247	1056	3	36	21	35	0	3398	2
26. LANDS MBENGWI	241	252	73	114	36	82	0	798	1
27. SURVEY MBENGWI	1170	54	2	44	0	0	0	1270	1
28. HEALTH MBENGWI	66	16	0	0	110	0	0	192	1
29. D.O. MBENGWI	404	183	0	267	0	4	0	854	1
30. COUNCIL MBENGWI	1131	385	54	282	578	36	0	2466	2
31. SONEL MBENGWI	13	51	0	0	0	0	0	64	1
32. SNEC MBENGWI	32	5	3	17	0	0	0	65	1
TOTAL	16 884	14 625	358	1 288	1 405	2 551	184	38 191	
MEAN	582	504	12	44	48	88	6	1 317	
RANGE	0 - 3536	0 - 2112	0 - 95	0 - 282	0 - 578	0 - 540	0 - 100		

* UNRETURNED QUESTIONNAIRES

seldom in this field. In fact, the average number of times this ever happened during the study period, as the table shows, was only six (6).

HYPOTHESIS TESTING:

According to the central hypothesis of this study, interorganizational relationship (IOR) is positively associated with organizational effectiveness (OE). That is, we expect that 1) IOR will be related to OE; and 2) the relationship will be positive, thus, if two groups of organizations, A and B operate in a common policy field, and say, group A interacts more often relative to group B, ceteris paribus, A will be more effective than B, and vice versa.

To find out if expectation (1) is supported by empirical evidence, the Chi-square test for independence was applied to the data on IOR and OE. Tables 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5 present the 2 x 2 crosstabulations of these data and the resultant Chi-square values. Expectation (2) was teased with the help of the signs associated with the gamma values for the tables. The relationship between IOR and OE is examined, first, with OE defined in terms of client satisfaction; second, with OE as environmental adaptability (see chapters 3 and 4, for more on these variables), and finally, as a combination of client satisfaction and environmental adaptability, that is, 'total effectiveness' (for how this index was computed, see Chapter 4).

Interorganizational Relations and Client Satisfaction:

Table 6.3 shows the client satisfaction scores of the HPOs divided into two main groups, A and B, representing respectively, agencies that ranked 'low' and those that ranked 'high' in terms of the number of contacts made during the study period. For the purpose of this study,

TABLE 6.3: CLIENT SATISFACTION BY I.O. CONTACTS*

CATEGORY OF CONTACTS

	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
CLIENT SATISFACTION			
BELOW AVE.	11	1	12
	(64.7)	(8.3)	(41.4)
AVERAGE+	6	11	17
	(35.3)	(91.7)	(58.6)
TOTAL	17	12	N=29

CHI-SQ.: 7.03833   GAMMA: 0.910

*percentages in parentheses.

agencies scoring below the average or mean effectiveness score of all agencies surveyed were considered as 'low' and those with scores equal to or above average were placed in the 'high' category.

According to the table, of the 29 agencies studied, 17 ranked 'low' and 12 ranked 'high' in terms of the number of contacts made. Only 6 or 35% of the 'low contact' agencies compared to 11 or 91% of the 'high contact' ones scored 'above average' on the 'client satisfaction' scale. As hypothesized, therefore, organizations making more contacts were more likely than those making less, to satisfy their clients.

The computed Chi-square of 9.22, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level indicates that organizational effectiveness,

measured in terms of client satisfaction, and IOR, measured in terms of interorganizational contacts, are indeed related. The positive sign associated with the gamma value of 0.91 reveals that this relationship is positive. The magnitude of the gamma value suggests that the relationship is a strong one. (Recall, gamma ranges from -1 to +1). A subsequent section deals with the strength of this association in more detail.

Each of the seven modes of contacts, letter writing, official meetings, infrastructure, equipment, and staff exchange, cooperative ventures and resource sharing, independently, also relate positively to organizational effectiveness, measured in terms of client satisfaction. Table 6.7 summarises the 2 x 2 contingency tabulation results for the various modes of interaction.

As the table reveals, not only is organizational effectiveness, as indicated by client satisfaction, positively related to each of the modes of interaction of interest here, in all but three cases (letters written/received, infrastructure exchange, and the joint use of resources), the relationship is strong and statistically significant at at least the 0.05 level.

Interorganizational Relationships and Environmental Adaptability:

In this study, environmental adaptability is intended to gauge how well (heads of) housing policy organizations (HPOs) recognize and deal with the environment in which they operate. Operationally, this entailed eliciting information on attitudes of HPO heads regarding: 1) the extent to which they insist on official building rules/regulations or standards (Table 6.4); 2) how appropriate each perceives these standards (Table 6.5); and 3) the extent to which each views contacts with other agencies important to his agency's operations (Table 6.6).

TABLE 6.4: RIGIDITY IN IMPLEMENTING STANDARDS:

EXTENT HPO INSIST	FREQUENCY	% OF TOTAL
Always	1 6	55.2
Sometimes	1 2	41.4
Never	1	3.4
TOTAL	N=29	100.0

Table 6.4 reveals that more than half (16 or 55.2%) of the twenty-nine (29) agency heads studied insist that housing be built strictly according to official standards. Only two (2 or 6.9%) of the HPO heads thought the

TABLE 6.5: PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS OF STANDARDS:

PERCEPTION	FREQUENCY	% OF TOTAL
V. Appropriate	12	41.4
Somewhat Ap'riate	15	51.9
Inappropriate	2	6.9
TOTAL	N=29	100.0

standards were inappropriate given their socio-economic context. According to Table 6.5, as many as twelve (12 or 41.4%) of the heads perceived the standards as 'very appropriate' given conditions prevailing in the areas in which they operate. Gleaning from Table 6.6, it would appear that only a few of the heads of HPOs in Cameroon appreciate the importance of interorganizational contacts to

TABLE 6.6: PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF IOR:

SCORES	FREQUENCY	% OF TOTAL
0	1	3.4
1	1	3.4
2	0	0.0
3	0	0.0
4	1	1.0
5	0	0.0
6	1	3.4
7	4	13.8
8	0	0.0
9	3	10.3
10	4	13.8
11	2	6.9
12	7	24.1
13	13	0.0
14	5	17.2
TOTAL	N=29	100.0

organizational functioning. In fact only five (5 or 17.2%) of the sampled agencies viewed such contacts as 'very important'.

TABLE 6.7: AGENCIES SCORING AVERAGE+ ON THE CLIENT
    SATISFACTION SCALE BY CATEGORY BY MODE OF CONTACT.

| MODE OF CONTACT (DEP. VAR) | CATEGORY OF CONTACT | | GAMMA | CHI-SQUARE |
	LOW [ALL IN CAT.] (% OF ALL IN CATEGORY)	HIGH [ALL IN CAT.] (% OF ALL IN CATEGORY)		
LETTER	8 [17] (47.1)	9 [12] (75.0)	0.54	2.26406
MEETING	8 [19] (42.1)	9 [10] (90.0)	0.93	6.19579**
INF'TURE EXCH.	12 [23] (52.2)	5 [6] (83.3)	0.64	1.90470
EQUIP. EXCH.	11 [22] (50.0)	6 [7] (85.7)	0.71	2.79237**
STAFF EXCH.	11 [22] (50.0)	6 [7]	0.71	2.79237*
CO-OP. ACTS	12 [24] (50.0)	6 [6] (100.0)	1.00	4.26471**
SHARING	14 [25] (56.0)	3 [4] (75.0)	0.40	0.51319

NOTE:
D.F. =1 in all cases.
**Significant at the 0.05 level.
*Significant at the 0.10 level.

As expected, and as far as the sampled agencies are concerned, IOR is positively related to OE, operationalized in terms of environmental adaptability (see Table 6.8). The Gamma value associated with this table is however only 0.223 and not statistically significant (at alpha=0.05). Thus, the relationship may be interpreted as weak at best.

TABLE 6.8: ENVIRONMENTAL ADAPTABILITY BY I.O. CONTACTS*

CATEGORY OF CONTACTS

	LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
ENV'TAL ADAPTABILITY			
BELOW AVE.	9	5	14
	(52.9)	(41.7)	
AVERAGE+	8	7	15
	(47.1)	(58.3)	
TOTAL	17	12	N=29

CHI-SQ.: 0.35810   GAMMA: 0.223

*percentages in parentheses.

When each mode of contact is separately considered, both a positive and statistically significant (alpha=0.05) relationship surfaces between the exchange of equipment and environmental adaptability. Table 6.9 summarizes these results. A cursory examination of the table reveals some rather surprising negative, albeit, statistically insignificant relationships. In particular, the joint use of resources is negatively associated with organizational effectiveness, measured in terms of environmental adaptability (gamma=-0.5849). That the relationship is not statistically significant at the 0.05 or 0.1 level, suggests it is not only weak, but could have occurred by chance.

TABLE 6.9: AGENCIES SCORING AVERAGE+ ON ENVIRONMENTAL ADAPTABILITY SCALE BY CATEGORY BY MODE OF CONTACT.

MODE OF CONTACT (DEP. VAR)	CATEGORY OF CONTACT		GAMMA	CHI-SQUARE
	LOW [ALL IN CAT.] (% OF ALL IN CATEGORY)	HIGH [ALL IN CAT.] (% OF ALL IN CATEGORY)		
LETTER	6 [17] (35.3)	9 [12] (75.0)	0.69	4.44139**
MEETING	9 [19] (47.4)	6 [10] (60.0)	0.25	0.41865
INF'TURE EXCH.	11 [23] (47.3)	4 [6] (66.7)	0.37	2.11746
EQUIP. EXCH.	9 [22] (40.9)	6 [7] (85.7)	0.79	4.26929**
STAFF EXCH.	10 [22] (45.5)	5 [7] (71.4)	0.50	0.80705
CO-OP. ACTS	12 [24] (50.0)	3 [5] (60.0)	0.20	0.16571
SHARING	14 [24] (56.0)	1 [3] (25.0)	-0.58*	1.32710

NOTE:

D.F.=1 in all cases.
**Significant at the 0.05 level.
*Unexpected negative relationship.

FURTHER TESTS:

To confirm the above results, regression analyses were employed. First, the total number of contacts, the independent variable, was regressed on the dependent variable, 'total effectiveness', comprising the combined score for 'client satisfaction' and 'envirionmental adaptability'.

Table 6.10 shows the analysis of variance (ANOVA) summary of the results obtained. The F-value associated with these results is 5.564, significant

TABLE 6.10: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE FOR TOTAL CONTACTS

Vs. TOTAL EFFECTIVENESS

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUMS OF SQ.	D.F	MEAN SQ.	F_o
Regression	257516.52	1	257516.5	5.564**
Residual	1249676.52	27	46284.3	
Total	1507193.04	28		

Note:

r=0.41335; r^2=0.17086;   Adjusted r^2=0.14015;   S.E.=215.13790

b=0.08068;   Constant=943.25027.

**Significant at the 0.05 level

at the 0.05 level. Thus, there is as high as a 95% probability that interorganizational interaction is related to organizational effectiveness at least in the case of the organizations examined. The correlation coefficient (r) of 0.413 indicates that the relationship is in the hypothesized direction and clearly supports the results obtained

earlier when 'client satisfaction' and 'environmental adaptability' as dependent variables were used separately. The r^2 value of 0.17086 reveals that about 17.1 percent of the variance in the 'total effectiveness' of an HPO is accounted for by the number of contacts it makes with others.

Second, each of the independent variables was regressed on the dependent variable. Table 6.11 presents a summary of the results obtained. Again, as the table shows, the hypothesized direction of the relationship is maintained in all cases. However, the relationship is statistically significant in only three of the eight cases. The three cases are, 'AWARENESS', 'EQUIPMENT EXCHANGE' (both significant at the 0.05 level) and 'MEETS/COMMITTEE', (significant at the 0.10 level). At this point one can start addressing three important concerns of the study. These concerns are: 1) the relative importance of the independent variables, taken one at a time, in predicting the 'total effectiveness' of a housing policy organization; 2) the relative importance of each variable when used to predict 'total effectiveness' along with the other independent variables in a single model; and 3) the nature and strength of the relationship between each independent variable and the six different variables comprising 'total effectiveness', the main dependent variable of this study. To address these concerns is to attempt to fulfill the second objective of the study namely, "to isolate environmental variables that facilitate or inhibit organizational effectiveness in the housing policy field . . ." (p. 6).

TABLE 6.11: SUMMARY RESULTS FOR BIVARIATE REGRESSIONS WITH 'TOTAL EFFECTIVENESS' AS DEPENDENT VARIABLE.

VARIABLE	b (SE)	r (SE) [t]	r^2	d.f.	signi-ficance	adj. r^2
AWARE	87.42674 (42.39902)	.36885 (.17888) [2.062]**	.1360	27	.049	.104
LETTER	.06456 (.05727)	.21200 (.18808) [1.127]	.0449	27	.270	.010
MEET	.12648 (.06545)	.34859 (.18038) [1.933]*	.1215	27	.064	.089
STAFF	.55029 (.38872)	.26286 (.18568) [1.416]	.0691	27	.168	.035
EQUIP	1.19881 (.54085)	.39240 (.17702) [2.217]**	.1539	27	.035	.123
SHARE	1.46311 (2.1531)	.12967 (.19080) [.680]	.0168	27	.503	.000
INFRA'TURE	2.2157 (2.1531)	.25260 (.1862) [1.356]	.0638	27	.186	.029
COOP	.2576 (.2290)	.21186 (.1881) [1.126]	.0449	27	.270	.010

NOTE:
*SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.10 LEVEL
**SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.05 LEVEL.

The first concern was dealt with by comparing the correlation coefficient (r) associated with the bivariate models linking the dependent variable (DV) and each of the independent variables (IV). The higher the absolute r-value, the stronger the linear association between the IV and the DV (Norusis, 1985). Thus, if X_1 and X_2 are two IVs, and say, the bivariate model containing X_1 has a higher absolute r-value than that containing X_2, it is concluded that X_1 is a better predictor of the DV. Some may object to the basis of this comparison and conclusion. Damodar Gujarati (1978: 109-110), for instance, in recommending the use of the adjusted r^2 for this purpose cautions that

". . . in comparing two regresion models with the same dependent variable but differing number of X variables one should be very wary of choosing the model with the highest R^2."

However, in the present case, the number of independent variables are the same, that is, the models being compared are all bivariate. Furthermore, the same DV is used in each case. Thus, the use of the absolute r-values as a basis of comparison is justified. It would have however, as shall be seen shortly, made no difference which of the values, r, r^2 or adjusted r^2, was used in making the comparison in this study. In other words, the rank-order structure of the variables remains unaltered regardless of the coefficients employed in the comparison.

A perusal of Table 6.11 reveals that the exchange of equipment is the strongest predictor of the "total effectiveness' of an agency in the housing policy field at least in the setting of this study. The correlation coefficient associated with the bivariate model linking the two variables is 0.392. Thus, the coefficient of determination, r^2 is 0.154, which means that the exchange of equipment amongst agencies operating in a common policy field accounts for approximately 15 percent of the variation in their effectiveness. With an absolute r-value of 0.369, awareness emerges as the second most important IOR variable in the study in terms of its ability to predict O.E. The r^2 of 0.136 associated with this variable means that about 14 percent of the variation of a housing policy agency's 'total effectiveness' is accounted for by the extent to which its head is knowledgeable of the heads of other agencies also involved in the housing policy administration process. Meetings and committees, as a single variable, account for about 12 percent of the variation in a housing agency's 'total effectiveness'. This makes the variable the third most important of

the regressor variables considered. The others in order of importance are, 'staff exchange' (r=0.263), 'infrastructure exchange' (r=0.212), and 'joint resource use' (r=0.130).

The relative importance of each variable in predicting effectiveness while accounting for the presence of the other independent variables, the second concern, is far more complicated than may be apparent at first glance. This study does not pretend to fully address it. Future research efforts will do well to tackle this issue. Presently, by way of laying the foundation for these efforts, a multiple regression model containing all the independent variables and the dependent variable of interest in the study is developed. Thus, any statement about any given regressor variable is contingent upon the others in the model. For example, a statement about the effects of say, the exchange of information on the dependent variable, organizational effectiveness, is made taking into account the fact that other modes of IOR such as the exchange of human resources also affect the variable.

Tables 6.12, 6.13, and 6.14 present the results of the multiple regression model containing all the independent variables and the dependent variable of the study. These variables for convenience sake, have been collapsed into five.[2] The single dependent variable is "total effectiveness", and the forward stepwise multiple regression procedure was used in selecting the variables (see chapter Four for a discussion of this procedure).

Gleaning from Table 6.12, the five regressor variables simultaneously account for approximately 31 percent of the variation in 'total effectiveness'. The ANOVA table (6.10) shows that the model

TABLE 6.12: SUMMARY RESULTS FOR THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION
MODEL:

MULTIPLE R	R-SQUARE	ADJ. R-SQ.	STD. ERR.
0.55479	0.30779	0.15731	212.98064

---

is.statistically significant at the 0.10 level.[3] This implies that the
probability of at least one of the five regressors not contributing
significantly to the model is only about 10 percent.

TABLE 6.13: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

FOR THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODEL.

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUMS OF SQ.	D.F	MEAN SQ.	F_o
Regression	463895.71	5	92779	2.045*
Residual	1043297.325	23	45360.75	
Total	1507193.03	28		

Note: *Significant at the 0.10 level.

Table 6.14 suggests several findings. Comparing the partial correlation
coefficients[4], the interorganizational exchange of material

resources (MATREX) such as equipment and infrastructure, appear to be the strongest predictor of 'total' organizational effectiveness, at least among the variables included. Next in line is the exchange of information (INFOEX) variable with a partial correlation coefficient of 0.37716 compared to 0.37806 for MATREX. The weakest association (-0.06579), taking into account the presence of all the other regressors, was registered for the exchange of personnel (STAFFS) and the dependent

variable. This, and the sharing or joint use of resources (SHARES), which also had a negative association (-0.1792) with the dependent variable, controlling for the other variables in the model, are not in line with the expectations of this study. Can it be that when all the modes of interorganizational relationships examined here are employed simultaneously by an agency, these two modes will actually inhibit the agency's 'total effectiveness'? This question will be addressed later. For now, it is in order to explore the relationships between the dependent and independent variables of the study (see Chapter 4). Table 5.12 shows that thirteen of the thirty-two paired relationships in this study are statistically significant at either the 0.05 or 0.10 level. The statistically significant paired relationships are depicted in figure 6.I.

TABLE 6.14: SUMMARY RESULTS FOR VARIABLES

IN THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATION.

VARIABLE	B	SE B	BETA	CORR.	PT. CORR	PARTIAL	T	SIG. T
COOPS	.1994	.2446	.1639	.2119	.1414	.1675	.815	.4234
STAFFS	-.1528	.4831	-.0730	.2629	-.0549	-.0658	-.316	.7547
INFOEX	.0738	.0378	.3519	.3475	.3388	.3772	1.953	.0631*
SHARES	-2.1895	2.5052	-.1941	.1297	-.1516	-.1793	-.874	.3912
MATREX	1.2410	.633	.4874	.4003	.3398	.3781	1.958	.0624*
(CONST.)	899.47629	62.9120					14.297	.0000

* Significant at the 0.10 level.

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As the arrows indicate (see Fig. 6.1 below), 'awareness', 'meetings', 'staff exchange' and 'equipment exchange', all have significantly positive impacts (r=0.38, 0.39 and 0.31 respectively), on an agency's

effectiveness on the 'time' dimension. Effectiveness on the 'trips' dimension is affected by the number of meetings/committee on
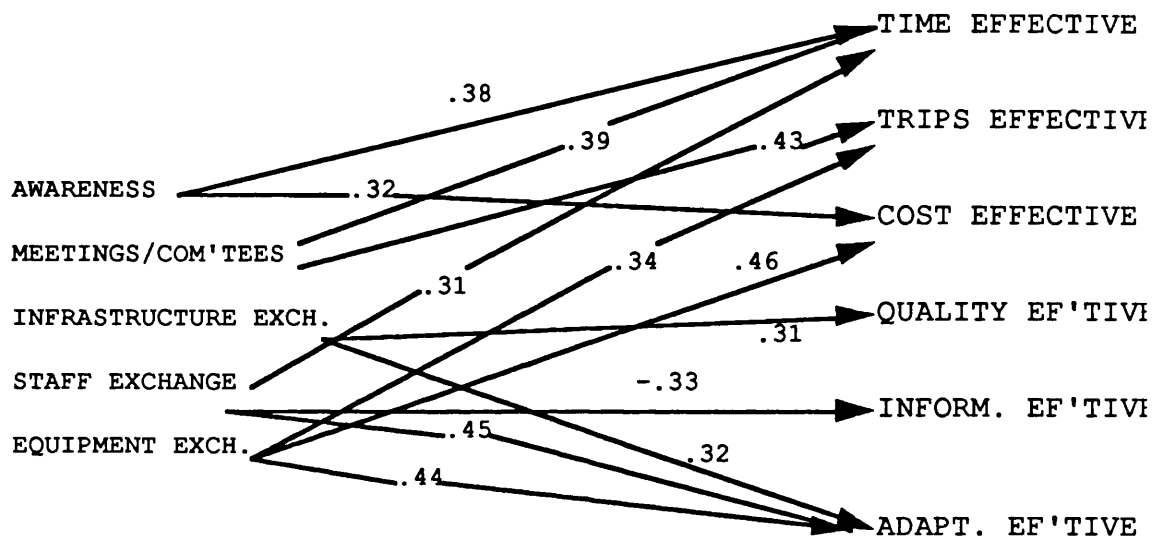
FIGURE 6.I:

DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF ZERO-ORDER
        SIGNIFICANTLY RELATED IOR & OE
VARIABLES.

which an agency is represented (r=0.43) and the number of staff it exchanges (r=0.34). Awareness also has a significantly positive impact (r=0.32) on the effectiveness dimension, 'cost'. So too does the exchange of equipment (r=0.46). Only 'infrastructure exchange' has a statistically significant impact on an HPO's performance on the quality dimension. 'Staff exchange' and an agency's performance on the 'information' dimension have an unexpected negative and statistically significant relationship (r=-0.33). An agency's performance in terms of environmental adaptability is affected by three of the independent variables: 'infrastructure exchange', 'staff exchange', and 'equipment exchange'.

TABLE 6.15: PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR D.V's & I.V's

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	INDEPENDENT VARIABLE								
	AWARES	LETTERS	MEETS	SPACES	STAFFS	EQUIPS	COOPS	SHARES	CONTACS
TIMEFS	.3771*	.2227	.3873*	.2082	.3143+	.4042*	.1803	.0720	.4382*
TRIPEFS	.2892	.1861	.4305*	.2088	.2403	.3368+	.2185	.1551	.4367*
COSTEFS	.3231+	.2933	.2436	.2966	.2604	.4568*	.1771	.2180	.4122*
QUALEFS	.2261	.0882	.2881	.3105ˉ	.1277	.2559	.1812	.2042	.2825
INFOEFS	-.0376	.0129	.0559	-.1000	.3313+	-.0565	.2622	.0107	.0553
ADAPTS	.2362	.2606	.1432	.3178+	.4478*	.4418*	.1876	.0870	.3397*
TOTEFS	.3689*	.2120	.3486ˉ	.2526	.2629	.3924*	.2119	.1297	.4134*

*Significant at p< =.05
+Significant at p< =.10

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The preceding portion of this chapter has presented the main findings of the study. In the present portion, these findings are interpreted and discussed. The discussion proceeds in the following order.

The results of the analysis of client evaluation of HPOs are examined in the next section. Next, attention is focused on environmental adaptability and related findings. Following this is a discussion of findings resulting from the analysis of the various modes of IOR. Finally, the results of the hypothesis tests are discussed.

Client Evaluation of HPOs:

Analyses of the data on client satisfaction produce both insightful and intuitively appealing results. Among the five possible sources of client discontent with HPOs, cost emerged as the most important. This finding appears logical considering the fact that the income of the average Cameroonian has not kept abreast with the rising cost of basic necessities such as housing and related services. One reason for this is the fall, since 1982, in the price of oil, the country's main export. In some cases, incomes have fallen sharply. For example, the fall in world prices for cocoa, coffee and cotton, the country's main export crops has resulted in a drastic reduction in farmers' incomes. During the data gathering phase of this study, to illustrate, the price of cocoa was slashed from 420 CFA francs to 250 CFA francs per kilogram[5] (Derick, 1989). Following this, according to West Africa, December 11-17, 1989: 2072, was a 40% drop in the prices of coffee (from 440 CFA frs/kg to 175 CFA frs/kg for top grade) and cotton (from 140 CFA frs/kg to 95 CFA frs/kg).

Apart from this, cost has always been an important variable in housing. In fact, there is hardly any discussion, especially, of contemporary housing strategies in developing nations that does not mention the issue of cost. Cost recovery and the related issue of affordability are, for instance, central concerns in current World Bank-sponsored housing projects such as sites-and-service and squatter upgrading (see for example, Van der Linden, 1986; Payne, 1984; and Laquian, 1983, for more).

Also logical is the finding that next after cost, the number of trips that must be made to and from housing policy agencies, and the length of waiting period required, to obtain necessary services and/or

goods from these agencies, were the most likely sources of discontent amongst the clients. It is easy to understand why residential developers in the country are unlikely to be satisfied with HPOs in this connection when one considers the fact that the agencies in question constitute part of a highly centralized decisionmaking system (see Chapter Five). Thus, decisions regarding some of the most crucial elements of housing such as land, are made in the national capital, Yaounde. This is where, for instance, land titles are issued. Resulting from such a highly centralized system characterized by an excessive number of hierarchical levels, are unnecessary delays such as the average residential developer in the country must endure. One needs to only interact with anyone who has ever attempted to carry out a residential development project in the country to appreciate this problem. When asked if he started building before his building plan was approved (item 13 on the client questionnaire), a respondent, retorting in the affirmative, went on to rationalize his action with the fact that there are "undue delays (involved) in processing building plans" in the country[6].

In addition, delays may also be accentuated by the unavoidable difficulties involved in locating building sites that are imprecisely defined due to the fact, as mentioned in Chapter Four, that most streets in the country are either nameless or unmarked or both.

Furthermore, because of lack of communication in the bureaucracy, local housing policy agencies are usually unable to say with any certainty when a given task will be completed. This is especially the case if the task in question involves input from the center. For instance, the client seeking formal entitlement to his parcel of land in most cases has to make several unnecessary visits to the Lands Department in both his/her local area and the national

capital, Yaounde. These visits are considered necessary to reduce the magnitude of problems such as delays resulting from bureaucratic incompetence and corruption on the part of HPO agents. One respondent alludes to these problems when he writes:

> Poor quality of technicians especially those who do not even know what they are supposed to do, especially those who are money-minded and only look for ways to make additional money not permitted by the state.[7]

Others in the field (e.g. Van der Linden, 1986) have also identified these as some of the problems inhibiting institutional functioning in developing nations.

The results of the analysis in connection with client satisfaction reveal that clients were least likely to be discontented with HPOs because of the quality of service delivered or the amount of information they received prior to seeking the service. This does not mean that all the agencies performed very well on this dimension. In fact, a closer examination of the data reveal that the two parapublic agencies, SONEL and SNEC included in the study systematically improved their scores on these two dimensions. This was more so in the case of information dissemination to clients. Both agencies, the researcher gathered, occasionally circulate leaflets containing information about their services. This is understandable considering that the said agencies have profit motives. This is reflected in their consistently poor performance on the 'cost' dimension. It is however surprising that despite their profit motive, the agencies also did poorly on the 'time' and 'trips' dimensions. One of the interviewees highlights and hints at an explanation for this paradox in the following comment.

> I would like that our SONEL and SNEC companies have many qualified personnel in order to attend to their customers on time and on public holidays. . . . The costs of water and electricity are very high.

Perhaps by employing less qualified, hence lowly-paid workers, as the interviewee implies, the agencies hope to increase their profit margins.

The consequences of unqualified employees may include the unnecessary delays experienced by clients.

Environmental Adaptability:

In the context of this study, environmental adaptability has to do with the implementation of the rules and regulations or standards governing residential development. To what extent are these standards rigidly interpreted by authorities in less developed countries (LDCs)? This question is central to contemporary discussions of housing in these countries. This is because, among other reasons, it is directly related to the crucial issues of cost, not only in the limited sense of fees and service charges employed in this study, but also in the more general sense, which includes the costs of land, building materials, and labour. In the housing field, it is common knowledge that as standards rise, so too do costs. Given the inappropriateness of these standards because of the fact that they either date back to colonial times or have been recently borrowed from more advanced nations (Wakely et al., 1976; Mabogunje et al, 1978; Choquil, 1985; Drakakis-Smith, 1981; Turner, 1972; Lim, 1987), it is paradoxical that authorities insist that they must be strictly respected. The efforts of agents attempting to scale down these standards as a means of achieving affordability in housing in LDCs particularly, in sites-and-services and similar schemes, are often frustrated by such rigidity on the part of authorities in these countries. In a sites-and-services scheme in Senegal for instance, local policymakers insisted that high construction standards be maintained (White, 1985). High minimum standards have been insisted upon in areas of residential development ranging from plot sizes to sanitary services, and in countries as far apart as Zambia (AFSC, 1975), and Philipines (Laquian, 1983). Rodell and Skinner (1983) observed similar attitudes amongst authorities in

Kenya and Tanzania. Consistent with this is one of the the present study's main findings. According to the finding, more than half (16 or 55.2%) of all (29) heads of HPOs examined rigidly insist that official housing standards be strictly adhered to. This phenomenon cannot be easily explained. However, three reasons, the type and level of education of the HPO heads; an attempt to duplicate conditions prevailing in advanced nations; and the nature of the country's housing policymaking system, are apparent.

<u>Type and Level of Education of HPO Heads</u>. Although no item on the questionnaire was aimed at eliciting biographic information such as the level and type of education of respondents, background checks on the subjects revealed some very interesting results. For example, it was not unusual to find an HPO head with only a secondary school education (11th or 12th grade) and two years of in-service, technical training. Very few had any formal training in (Public or Development) administration. Thus, first, there is a lack of understanding of the fact that the standards upon which they insist are antiquated. Second, there is an absence of the integrity and sense of judgment necessary for dealing with complex matters such as residential development. Finally, because of their level of education, most of these HPO heads occupy inferior positions within the bureaucracy.8 This in turn makes them feel obligated to rigidly interpret any rules such as official housing standards originating from within the superior ranks of the system.

<u>An Attempt to Duplicate Standards Prevailing in Advanced Nations.</u> This reason is closely tied to the foregoing. It is possible that because most of the housing policymakers in the country have been educated in more advanced nations, they may attempt to duplicate housing conditions that have been adopted in those countries by

requiring HPO heads to strictly enforce standards. Even when the policymakers have not benefited from a training programme in an advanced nation, it is likely that he/she has attended a local one based on a model borrowed from a developed country. Nde Fidelis Chendi (1988: 8) commenting on the type of personnel commonly found in the Cameroon's housing policy field notes that

> Except for the skilled and technical staff trained locally in
>
> technical schools, all the architects and planners are trained
>
> in foreign countries.

The local technical schools themselves, it must be noted, are tailored after models prevailing in advanced nations. In this connection, but in reference to developing nations in general, Patrick Wakely and associates (1976: 8) note that the local professional schools

> . . . have been closely modelled on, and often maintain affiliation
>
> with, those of Europe and North America, but do not appear to
>
> have come to grips with the unprecedented task that face them
>
> in their own cities.

Thus, the typical housing policymaker in the country has a view of housing that is out of touch with local realities.

The Nature of the Country's Housing Policymaking System:

The fact that the country's housing policymaking system, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, is highly centralized has an important bearing on housing policy implementation. Flexibility, as may be expected of heads of HPOs in the country, is not a characteristic of a centralized decisionmaking system such as a classical bureaucracy. As discussed in Chapter Two, decisions in such a system are perceived as commands that have to be strictly adhered to. Given this, it may be possible to understand why HPO heads strictly

interpret official standards despite the fact that the latter are incompatible with local conditions.

Modes and Intensity of interorganizational Interaction:

The most utilized mode of interorganizational relations (IOR) as uncovered in this study is letter writing. This was followed by meetings and committees, cooperative endeavours, staff exchange, the exchange of equipment, infrastructure exchange; and the sharing of resources, in that order.

The rank-order structure surfaced for these indicators is identical to that discovered by David Rogers (1974). Based on this, Rogers developed a cumulative scale of IOR. According to the scale, less intense forms of IOR usually precede more intense ones. Similarly, in the present study, meetings/committee participation for instance, is preceded by a less time consuming, less costly, hence, less intense form of IOR namely, letter writing. Along the same lines, a more intimate mode of IOR, the joint use of resources emerged as the least utilized of all the modes examined. One utility of this finding therefore, is that it provides some support for Rogers' cummulative IOR scale.

The Link Between Interorganizational Relations and Effectiveness:

The major finding of this study is that interorganizational relations (IOR) causes organizational effectiveness (OE). The notion of causation here is not derived solely from the statistical analysis conducted above. In fact as Kendall and Stuart (1961: 219) point out:

A statistical relationship, however suggestive, can never

establish causal connexion: our ideas of causation must come

from outside statistics, ultimately from some theory or other.

Theory constitutes the basis for inferring causality in the present case. In Chapter One it was theorized that interorganizational relationships improve effectiveness by enabling organizations to expand their resource bases, reduce the chances of waste, effort duplication, and conflict, and by reinforcing their ability to deal with indivisible problems and uncertainty. The literature suggesting and supporting this theory was introduced in Chapter Two and extensively discussed in Chapter Three.

The present finding is consistent with Van de Ven's (1980), one of the few that has examined interorganizational relationships and effectiveness.[9] He found a strong positive association between organizational effectiveness and such IOR variables as mutual dependence, awareness, communication, and resource exchange. It would appear, according to the present findings, and as others (e.g. Mulford, 1984; Rogers, 1974) have suggested, that more intensive interorganizational relationships tend to have a stronger correlationship with organizational effectiveness. Equipment exchange, for instance, was found to be one of the two modes of IOR that had a significant (at the 0.05 level) positive relationship with organizational effectiveness in a bivariate model. The other was meetings/committee participation which was however significant only at the 0.10 level. Thus, in a bivariate situation, a more intense mode of interorganizational interaction, equipment exchange emerged as a better predictor of organizational effectiveness. This was the case in the multivariate model as well. Equipment exchange and meetings/committee participation, as modes of IOR, emerged respectively as the first and second best predictors of organizational effectiveness. Further support is provided by the fact that the exchange of tangible resources such as equipment and infrastructure

(MATREX) was stronger than the exchange of intangible resources such as information (INFOEX) in predicting effectiveness.

This study also reveals that, at least for the agencies investigated, the relationship between IOR and client satisfaction is stronger than that between it and environmental adaptability. This suggests that changes in the intensity of interaction among organizations are likely to affect the way the organizations are evaluated by their clients than the way they interpret policies. This makes sense both intuitively and logically. As suggested above, client dissatisfaction is likely to result from a lack of sufficient and proper IOR -- a situation which may give rise to unnecessary delays in delivering necessary services to clients. Rigidity in the interpretation of standards for policy implementation however, may be a product of biographic factors such as type and level of education of the implementor.[10]

One of the unexpected relationships found in this study is the negative one between staff exchange and (total) organizational effectiveness. This is possibly a spurious relationship caused by a problem in the research design. While there was an item aimed at eliciting information on the frequency of staff exchange by the HPOs, none was intended to determine the purpose for which the staff were borrowed. Thus, it is possible, because of the possibility of organizations belonging to multiple interorganizational networks, that an agency could borrow staff from within the housing policy field to use in a different field. In the case of an outbreak of a disease for instance, the Health Department, which also participates in housing policy administration, may borrow staff from other HPOs to help in immunization drives. By so doing, the Health Department's effectiveness in the medical policy field is increased but one can

expect to see its effectiveness, along with that of the other HPOs, in housing policy administration decrease.

The other unexpected negative relationship was between 'information' and effectiveness. It is true that by providing clients with information concerning how they may go about obtaining a given service they are enlightened. However, when such an information package is being compiled, it is unlikely that any mention is made of such things as the unofficial sums of money the client must spend and the other problems he/she must endure. Thus, an informed client, expecting the process to be as simple as the information package described but discovers otherwise, is more likely to be disappointed with the agency than one who was never informed.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The intent in this chapter was to examine the empirical link between interorganizational relations and organizational effectiveness. Initially, the concern was with addressing the third question of the study, "how, and to what extent, do organizations within the housing policy system in Cameroon interact with one another in fostering the country's housing policy objectives?".

In this connection, letter writing emerged as the most utilized of all the modes of interorganizational relations examined. This was followed by participation in meetings/committees, the exchange of personnel, the borrowing and lending of equipment, the exchange of infrastructure, and the joint use or sharing of resources; in that order. Only the first three of these modes were used frequently. Use of the others was very infrequent. In fact, one of the modes, resource sharing, was seldom used. As evident from this finding, organizations

appeared less likely to utilize more intensive modes of IOR. In a way, the finding provides some support for Rogers' (1974) cumulative IOR intensity scale, which suggests that because of the cost and commitment involved in more intense modes of IOR, they are less likely to be used.

Because effectiveness was operationalized in terms of an organization's ability to: 1) satisfy its primary beneficiaries or clients and 2) adapt to its environment, the organizations' performance on each of these dimensions was evaluated.

Along these lines, cost emerged as the most likely of the reasons for client discontent with the HPOs examined. A possible explanation proffered for this phenomenon is the fact that at the time of the study Cameroon, the study's setting has been facing hard economic times -- a situation that had resulted in a sharp fall in the income of the average Cameroonian. Another finding in this area is that clients were just as likely to be dissatisfied with an agency because of the number of trips they must make in order to obtain a given service, as they were because of the length of time it took the agency to deliver the service. The quality of the service and/or the information (the agencies) made available to them prior to their seeking the service however did not appear to be so much of a concern amongst the clients. That HPOs did not do well, from the clients' point of view, was explained by plausible problems ranging from corruption to bureaucratic bottlenecks in the country's housing policymaking system. The country's highly centralized institutional structure with its excessive hierarchical levels may tend to compound this problem.

Some surprising results surfaced when the organizations' ability to adapt to their environment was examined. For instance, an astonishing majority (16 or 55.2%) of all (29) heads of HPOs examined

stated that they rigidly interpret official rules and regulations (standards) guiding residential development in the country. Three possible reasons were suggested for this phenomenon. First, it is likely that the heads of HPOs do not have the type and/or level of education necessary for performing the duties required of them. Second, there may be an attempt on the part of HPO heads, influenced by their educational background, to duplicate standards prevailing in the advanced world. Finally, it may be due to the type of decisionmaking structure in which the HPO heads function. The kind of flexibility necessary for a rational interpretation of housing policy is not a characteristic of the type of centralized decisionmaking systems such as the one in question.

The next concern was with exploring the link between interorganizational relations and organizational effectiveness. In this regard, the hypothesis of a positive relationship between interorganizational relations and organizational effectiveness was confirmed. Stated otherwise, agencies that interacted more frequently on the average, did better on the effectiveness scale than those that did not. When the dependent variable was broken up into its two major components of 'client satisfaction' and environmental adaptability, the hypothesized positive relationship was stronger for the former (see Table 6.3) than for the latter (see Table 6.8). The fact that client satisfaction was more likely than environmental adaptability to be a product of interorganizational interaction was suggested as a possible explanation for this. When the independent variables were examined in a single model to determine how they were each related to the dependent variable, some interesting results surfaced. In two cases, these results were contrary to expectation. The exchange of staff and the sharing of resources, respectively, had a negative association with organizational effectiveness. This might

have resulted from housing policy agencies borrowing resources from the housing policy field and utilizing them in other policy fields since HPOs are also likely to belong to other interorganizational networks. This may improve organizational effectiveness in the recipient policy field while negatively affecting effectiveness in the housing policy field. The study design did not account for this possibility.

The most important finding of this study is that a positive relationship indeed exists between interorganizational relations and organizational effectiveness. That two contrary relationships surfaced when individual IOR variables were examined should not be seen as contradicting the theoretical basis of the study. Apart from the possible reasons suggested for this phenomenon, it must be understood that a comprehensive theory of organizational effectiveness will certainly contain many more independent variables. The present study examined only seven.

CHAPTER SIX NOTES

1. Although only 29 agency heads responded the questionnaire, clients evaluated all 32 HPOs.

2 Meetings, committees and the exchange of letters were combined to form the variable, information exchange (INFOEX); the exchange of infrastructure and equipment were combined to form the variable, material resource exchange (MATREX); and the other variables remained the same but changed names: cooperative ventures or the joint execution of task became COOPS; the joint use of resources became SHARES; and the exchange of personnel became STAFFS.

3. Although social scientists routinely accept a probability of 0.05 for rejecting the null hypothesis, it must be pointed out that the level at which a hypothesis may be rejected depends on the nature of the question being addressed.

4. 307.23 frs CFA approximately equals US $1.00.

5. Voluntary comment on a completed questionnaire. Respondent's exact words in quote except word in parenthesis, which is researchers'.

6. These are usually civil servants in category 'C' or 'B' of the public service, or contract and other officers in category 6,7, or 8.

7. Specifically, Rogers (1974) discovered that IOR proceed from agency head or director acquaintances to director interaction, information exchange, resource exchange, overlapping boards and finally, formal written agreements between agencies.

8. See note 6 above. The civil service categorization scheme goes up to A2 with varying indices. For contract officers and the private sector, the highest level is 12, also with varying indices.

9. Van de Ven dealt specifically with perceived effectiveness.

10. Heads of HPOs, who are largely responsible for implementing the country's housing policy, are mostly technicians.

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7.INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING PERSPECTIVE.

INTRODUCTION:

In the introductory chapter it was asserted that this study has far-reaching implications for: 1) planning in less developed countries (LDCs); 2) housing policymaking in its setting, Cameroon; and 3) research and theory-building efforts in institutional development (ID) and interorganizational relations (IOR).

The main purpose of this concluding chapter is to highlight the most important of these implications. The chapter has three secondary aims having to do with the study as a whole. The first is to discuss the study's major accomplishments. Highlights of these accomplishments permeate the entire chapter. The second is to examine its limitations with a view to identifying important areas in need of further research. The final one, which is preceded by the second at the end of the chapter, is to summarize and conclude the entire study.

The discussion has a cautiously prescriptive element attached to it as it is permeated by suggestions aimed at improving institutional effectiveness in LDCs in general, and housing policy administration in Cameroon in particular. The need to be cautious stems from the fact that planning, unlike say, chemistry, is not an exact science: it does not have universal laws. Thus, an action that has one effect in one environment may have an opposite effect in another.

IMPLICATIONS OF STUDY:

It is becoming gradually recognized that in addition to noninstitutional factors such as lack of physical/human capital, and uncertainties in the global economy, administrative and institutional weaknesses are major impediments to development in less developed countries (LDCs). Thus, currently, ". . . the administrative factors involved in development have a greater prominence than they have had for very many years" (Wallis, 1989: 175). Despite this recognition, there exist a paucity of knowledge on the subject. In view of this, the World Bank devoted its 1983 issue of "World Development Report" to issues of management improvement in LDCs. In a similar vein, the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) commissioned a study entitled, "Managing Urban Development: Services for the Poor" in 1984.

That issues of institutional development (ID) are currently "close to the top of the development policy agenda" (Wallis, 1989: 175), underscores the significance of the present study. In terms of contributions, the study breaks new grounds in the field by empirically verifying hitherto statistically untested assumptions about the relationship between interorganizational relations (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE). A major achievement of the study along these lines is the confirmation of the hypothesized positive association of the two variables. Perhaps more important in the same vein is the empirically supported connection made between a development policy organization and its environment. These findings have several implications for development policymaking in LDCs. The focus of this discussion is turned next to an examination of the most pertinent of these implications. Following this are specific suggestions

for improving effectiveness in the housing policy field in Cameroon, the setting for the study.

Organization-Environment Relations: Implications for Planning in LDCs.:

In introducing this study, it was asserted that: 1) the nature of the relationship between organization-environment relations and effectiveness in the development policy field may be a) direct, b) inverse or c) neutral; and 2) that these relationships have different implications for development policymaking. That is, for example, confirming (a) suggests that one way by which the effectiveness of a development policy organization can be improved is by intensifying the organization's interaction with its environment. Conversely, confirming (b) would imply that the same effect can be realized by discouraging such interaction. However, confirming (c) would imply that such interaction should neither be discouraged nor encouraged, that is, the planner should simply adopt a passive approach in dealing with the environment. Such passivity has predominated development planning practice in the past and manifests itself in efforts that have relied indiscriminately on Western models. Thus, as Michael McKinney (1986: 154) contends, although, in a different context,

> Since it is generally true that responding passively or in an ad hoc fashion to environmental forces is common organizational practice, it follows that actively examining the environment is the first step in employing an environmental perspective toward planning. This means that environmental assessment is a primary part of the planning process, not an ancillary ingredient.

The positive, and in fact, causal relationship between the development policy organization and its environment depicted in this

study is in line with McKinney's contention and suggests that the planner can no longer afford to ignore the environment of the organization in which he/she functions or hide from its inescapable presence. However, simply recognizing it is not enough. He must seek to understand it. This constitutes a first step on the part of the planner in the direction of freeing himself of the dogmatic assumptions and unquestionable acceptance of extant planning models borrowed from the West. It also suggests that the development planner must seek to encourage and/or intensify organization-environment relations, especially interorganizational interaction, as a means of improving effectiveness in any policy field with which he may be concerned. Incorporating notions of organization-environment relations and effectiveness adds to the reality of organizational functioning and moves the planner further away from his stereotypical value-free technocratic role.

> In other words, this stance compels the planner to more fully
>
> acknowledge a relationship with the larger society and to reject
>
> a laboratory-like view of his or her role (McKinney, 1986: 152).

Dealing with an organization's environment from a policy perspective entails identifying the organization's relevant environment. For the present purpose, and in the case of a development policy organization in particular, this environment comprises, other organizations with which the organization operates in the development policy field, authorities and/or institutions contolling the resources it needs in order to function, and its clients or primary beneficiaries.

Authorities/Institutions Controlling Vital Resources:

Included are, the government and central administrative bodies, which control such vital resources as funds, staff and equipment the organization needs in order to function. The government or state should be seen as comprising politicians of some sort, be they military officers or civilians (cf. Wallis, 1989), while central administrative bodies include ministerial departments located at national headquarters and having authority over provincial, regional or divisional branches. The study reveals that these authorities and institutions, in one way or another, impede IOR hence effectiveness in the development policy field. In particular, it was demonstrated that the inability of divisional agencies in the housing policy field (in Cameroon) to meaningfully interact with one another was a function of the fact that only vertical interaction, in which the agencies are compelled to be loyal exclusively to their superiors at the national capital, was encouraged. Similarly, their inability to be effective was linked to the fact that, while official housing policy objectives implied client satisfaction and environmental adaptability,[1] government actions implied otherwise. In fact government action in this area tend to favour members of the middle- and upper-income classes to the exclusion of the poor.

In the context of the present study, this is dangerous. In proposing 'client satisfaction' as an appropriate indicator for gauging the effectiveness of public organizations, it was argued that it is not in the interest of the state in LDCs to ignore any social group. This is because every social group, to varying degrees, and at one time or another, is capable of posing a real or potential threat to national stability. Implicit in this line of thinking is a rejection of the "theory of passive marginals", which views the poor as socially fragmented

and political inactive (Nelson, 1979). Instead, the opposing theory, the "theory of the active or radical marginals", which holds that while the poor may be initially disunited and politically inactive and conservative, over time, economic and social deprivation and frustration tend to produce increasingly radical behaviour and growing class cohesion (Ibid).

Cases in which such radical behaviour and class cohesion have been externally manifested abound in recent history. Examples include the revolutions in Mexico, China, Vietnam, Cuba, and Algeria, which have been traced to discontent amongst the poor in these countries (Randall and Theobald, 1985). The recent coup that brought Sergent Samuel Doe to power in Liberia also falls under the same genre. In the housing field, the poor have exhibited formidable force in places as far apart as Latin America, where they usually organize mass land invasion activities; and Ibadan, Nigeria, where they have been successful in preventing the state from clearing their residential units under the guise of 'slum clearance' (Gilbert and Ward, 1982).

The political awareness of the poor in LDCs has also been attested to by their increasing participation in voting in recent years. Joan Nelson (1979), one of those who have exposed the theory of the radical marginals, has presented evidence in support of this. She noted that during the presidential elections in Turkey in 1973, at least 60% of the eligible voters in each of the low-income districts of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir actually voted. In Caracas, Venezuela 76% of the eligible voters in poor neighbourhoods cast ballots in 1963; and in India 67% of an identical group voted in 1967 (p.132).

Apart from internal political factors such as these, recently, there has also been external pressure on LDCs to attend to the needs of the poor of all strata. For example, at the "United Nations Seminar of

Experts on Building Codes and Regulations in Developing Countries"
held in Tallberg and Stockholm, Sweden from March 17 to 24, 1980, it
was recommended that

> Governments should institute, on a continuous basis programmes to
> improve gradually or step-by-step the quality of life of the least
> advantaged members of society, so as to ensure that the total population
> can achieve an acceptable standard of living within a reasonable period
> of time (UCHS, 1981:1).

In a similar vein, the United States Congress ordered the country's
international organs such as the Agency for International Development
(AID) to concentrate their efforts on increasing the incomes and
productivity of the poor in LDCs (Rondinelli, 1985).

The need to deal with such multiple, and sometimes conflicting,
demands in LDCs underlines the problematic nature of the
environment in which the development planner operates. Again, this
is no justification for the environment to be ignored. Rather, the
planner must take steps towards its improvement. One way of doing
this is to constantly scan the environment, uncover the various
demands, prioritize them and for practical reasons, deal with them in
order of their urgency. This order is likely to change over time. Thus,
at one time the need to deal with the demands of say, the poor, may
be more urgent than the need to deal with those of other social groups.
In fact, there is evidence suggesting that this strategy has been
employed in the past, albeit, to a limited extent. For instance, Alan
Gilbert (1981: 657) observed that in Venezuela, during election
periods the state not only relaxes land invasion regulations and
controls but actually services more squatter settlements and increases
services in others. In India, Geoffrey Payne (1977) observed that
whenever there has been discontent amongst residents of low-income
areas which vote for the majority ruling Congress Party,
improvements to the physical environment of such areas have been

ordered despite the fact that their existence is in violation of the state's master plan.

The development planner must further seek to educate authorities in the headquarters on the advantages of encouraging inter-agency interaction at the local level. One such advantage is that the positions and power the authorities jealously guard can be enhanced if the local agencies placed under their jurisdiction become more effective. A central theme in this study is that one way of attaining this goal is by encouraging these agencies to interact with their counterparts in the field.

The planner's objective in short, should be to make stakeholders (in this case, politicians and central authorities) aware of the benefits likely to accrue to them when they cooperate in realizing objectives compatible with the contemporary notion of development in LDCs.[2] This is because unless stakeholders in any given policy appreciate real or potential benefits, their cooperation is highly unlikely.[3]

Other Organizations in the Development Field:

These are the institutional actors with which any given organization operates in the development policy field. The complexity and magnitude of the development puzzle has necessitated the establishment of numerous such institutions. Thus, one problem the development planner must deal with in any given situation is linking these institutions into structures compatible with the common objective of unravelling the puzzle. In addition to effectiveness, a primary goal of creating and/or encouraging such linkages as argued[4] and supported by empirical evidence[5] in this study, is efficiency. The latter has to do with the amount of resources expended in realizing any given objective or goal. The fewer the resources, the better. The

importance of this to development cannot be overstated. One prominent actor in the international development arena contends that:

> Economic progress in any society requires that resources be used
> efficiently by organizational units in both public and private
> spheres (World Bank, 1982: 35, first published, 1981).

This statement was made in a report of World Bank proposed strategies for accelerating development in Sub-Saharan Africa.

> The central theme of the report is that more efficient use of
> scarce resources -- human, capital, managerial and technical,
> domestic and foreign -- is essential for improving economic
> conditions in Africa (p. v).

The same theme is pervasive throughout this study. In fact one major accomplishment of the study is that it provides empirical evidence supporting the contention that effectiveness can be improved by pursuing efficiency-ameliorating strategies such as the exchange, and/or joint use, of scarce resources in the development field. Therefore, the development planner will do well to adopt such strategies as a means of coping with the resource-scarce environment in which he operates.

Clients or Primary Beneficiaries:

The essence of satisfying clients of public organizations in LDCs was stressed in Chapter Three and has been reiterated throughout the study. Basically, since the public sector plays a pervasive role in these countries[6], every member of the society is a client of at least one public organization. Thus, pursuing an objective aimed at satisfying clients of public organizations translates into an attempt to satisfy, to some degree, every member of the society. This, in turn, translates into an attempt to ensure national stability.

For the clients, their satisfaction level with any given organization depends on the extent to which the organization has addressed their concerns. However, these concerns cannot be understood unless a proactive, as opposed to a reactive, approach to planning is adopted. This means that rather than simply react to the demands of the people, the development planner must scan, monitor and analyze these demands in advance. An example of this strategy is consumer surveys common in the business sector. The client survey conducted as part of the present study falls under the same rubric. Active and probing activities such as this are crucial for effective planning. Common sense dictates that it is difficult at best, and impossible at worst, to understand people's concerns without asking them.

Results surfaced in this study reveal for example that (high) cost is an important concern amongst clients of housing policy organizations in Cameroon. This is very consistent with contemporary realities characteristic of LDCs -- declining incomes for agricultural and other products, lack of income generating avenues, and so on. A reasonable planning response to this inevitably includes adopting cost-reduction strategies in housing.

In this connection the World Bank (1982: 115, first published, 1981), for example, echoes the recommendation of many in the field (see e.g. Turner, 1977; Payne, 1984; Van der Linden, 1986) in the following words:

> . . . standards should set a minimum level of service that
>
> can be achieved over time. Interim measures would
>
> be standpipes and aqua privies, instead of fully developed
>
> sanitation or water systems.

This introduces into the picture the issue of standards, which is also central to the present study. It was noted, for instance, that unrealistically high standards were employed in implementing housing policies. The relevant environment the planner must endeavour to deal with here is the state, which as observed in Chapter Five, has ideological, political and economic reasons for upholding such high standards. A strong case for employing lower, more realistic standards in implementating development policies in LDCs has been presented by contemporary students in the field such as John F.C. Turner (e.g. 1972) who argues that the standards currently adopted cannot be achieved given the existing inventory of resources.

SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING HOUSING POLICY ADMINISTRATION IN CAMEROON:

This section makes specific suggestions deemed capable of improving effectiveness in the housing policy field in Cameroon. In doing so, it is recognized that institutional reform (IR) or administrative reform (AR) is a complex matter[7]. That complexity arises from the fact that in a developing nation such as Cameroon even the most well-reasoned institutional development (ID) strategy can be prevented by formidable obstacles. For instance, in the housing policy field as it has been stressed throughout the discussion, different parties have an interest in maintaining the status quo, however ineffective it might be from a development planning point of view.[8]

However complex and seemingly insurmountable these problems may be, is not a sufficient justification for their being ignored. Researchers and institution builders must be relentless in their efforts to improve the situation considering, as argued

throughout this study, the indispensable role institutional capacity plays in the development process. With this in mind, the following seven actions are being recommended for Cameroon's housing policy field.

First, resource constraints dictate the need to reduce the cost of delivering, and obtaining, housing and related services. One way of doing this is by reducing the number of public institutional actors directly involved in the residential development process. Certainly, the complex nature of housing entails some degree of functional fragmentation. However, this fragmentation ought to be limited. In this connection, and for a start, it is suggested that the efforts of the D.O.'s Office and those of the local Lands Department be coordinated such that someone in need of a land certificate, and an attestation of land ownership has to contact only one of the two agencies. Similarly, the efforts of the local departments of Health, Town Planning and Housing, and the Local Council need to be coordinated at the policy formulation stage with the implementation role assigned to one of them, preferably, the latter. Thus, the Local Council's housing office should be staffed with individuals competent enough to verify building plans for their compliance with construction, health, and other rules/regulations in force.

Second, resource constraints also spell a need for 'scaling down' the requirements for building plans. The current requirements of detailed professional drawings is unnecessary and inconsistent with the economic conditions prevalent in the country. For most categories of low-income buildings, simple neat sketches capable of guiding craftsmen in the execution of their tasks will do. Elements of the building such as foundation depth, and septic tanks can be standardized (at no cost to effectiveness) based on regional

characteristics such as geology and topography. Such standardized sketches can then be made available for copying to potential developers or local builders.

Third, there is a need to draw Divisional Heads of housing policy organizations (HPOs) from more superior ranks, preferably Category 'A', within the bureaucracy. These should be individuals with at least Bachelor's or equivalent degrees, with a good knowledge of administration, gained either through experience or education or both. In fact, such individuals already exist in the country but are confined to mostly 'high status' but 'inactive' roles in the central administration at the national headquarters. Based on personal conversations the researcher had with some of them, they are willing, if given the opportunity, to take up more active decisionmaking roles at the divisional level or other so called external services of their ministry. The rationale for staffing such crucial positions as Divisional Chief of Service with high-ranking functionaries was discussed in Chapter Five. In a nutshell, this will go a good way in alleviating problems of ineffectiveness stemming from: 1) the inability of technical, low-level staff to make crucial administrative decisions; 2) extant power disparities given that agency heads in the housing policy field range from senior civil servants (Category 'A') such as D.O.s to junior ones (Category 'C') such as some divisional agency heads of the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing.

Fourth, that a positive relationship exists between inter-organizational interaction and effectiveness from both an intuitive and empirical perspective suggests that such interaction must be encouraged. Initially, this may only be achieved by requiring, through mandates from superiors in the central administration or organizational headquarters, HPOs to interact with their peers. This

will mean fully encompassing in the housing policy field, such agencies as SONEL and SNEC, which have hitherto, been seen, and seen themselves, at best as peripheral, and at worst, non-, members of the field. In the process, and by way of moving toward securing voluntary interaction, actors within individual agencies should be made to realize the benefits of such interaction.

A more specific recommendation having to do with interorganizational interaction has to do with the exchange of vital resources such as equipment. The present study found this to be a very strong predictor -- in fact, the strongest of all the variables studied -- of effectiveness. This finding is of particular significance in the case of Cameroon, where difficult economic times had necessitated the government to liquidate necessary equipment as service vehicles. Currently only a few ministerial departments possess service vehicles. A majority depend on clients for transportation to carry out routine tasks such as site inspection. It is to understand that such arrangements not only make it difficult for the not-well-to-do to be effectively served, but also for housing policy agents to fair-mindedly execute their tasks. To reduce the magnitude of this problem, field agencies must be encouraged and if necessary, required to jointly utilize the few service vehicles in operation. One way of doing this is by operating a central transport service for each interorganizational network. This service can then be charged with the responsibility of storing, maintaining, and availing agencies in the network of, service vehicles, on a daily of half-daily basis.

Fifth, HPOs should be located within as close proximity to one another as possible. Although as stated in Chapter Five no attempt was made in this study to determine the effect of such proximity on effectiveness, intuition suggests that this can be a means of

encouraging IOR. Unequivocally the close proximity of HPOs translates to significant savings to clients in terms of the financial costs and time involved when these agencies are sparsely located.

The fact that buildings are unnumbered and most streets in the country either unnamed or named and not sign-posted or both, was highlighted in Chapter Four and advanced in Chapter Six as a plausible explanation for unnecessary delays on the part of HPOs in executing some of their tasks. Therefore, as a sixth recommendation, the naming, sign-posting of street names, and numbering of buildings especially within the nation's urban centres must be made a top priority. It is impossible to overstate the importance of this to housing/urban development policy administration. For example, building control agents will be able to more easily locate sites of ongoing new building and alteration projects. Also, housing service delivery agents will benefit as they will be able to readily locate any building for which service has been requested. Furthermore, the government will benefit as this will facilitate national censuses and housing surveys. Perhaps most important of all, from a researcher's perspective, this action will go a long way in facilitating social research in the country.

Finally, the Building Plan Register (kept by local services of Town Planning and Housing and Local Councils) should contain more detailed information on the building and developer. Such information, which is currently missen from the registers include, the exact location of the building in terms of street address, building and/or lot number; and the local contact (mailing) address (e.g. place of employment) of developer. With regards to the latter, in the case of an absentee landlord, similar information on the caretaker should be entered in the register and indicated accordingly. It goes without saying that such detailed information is impossible to obtain unless the sixth recommended action above has been taken. The availability of such information facilitates locating either the building and/or its owner whenever there is a need to do so.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH:

So far the discussion has been limited largely to the study's implications for development planning. In this section an attempt is made to explore its implications for contemporary and future research in the field of interorganizational relations (IOR).

One reason for undertaking the present study was to attempt to contribute to the existing body of knowledge in IOR. To do so in any meaningful way, it was necessary to examine what was already in stock as far as this body of knowledge is concerned. Particularly, it was important to find out what previous researchers had identified as gaps in need of filling.

There was general consensus that better measurement and more complete methodologies were badly needed. In this respect, Joseph Molnar (1984) for example, challenged future researchers to adopt not only quantitative but also qualitative approaches, which he extolls for the insights they provide. He also suggested the use of archival and available records as unobstrusive measures of IOR activity. While time constraints prevented the present study from benefiting fully from the latter, the suggestion to complement the quantitative with qualitative strategies was strictly adhered to. It will be advisable for future research endeavours to take full advantage of the wealth of information on IOR contained in organizational records and archives. Such information complemented with information elicited through interviews may be used for instance, to test the proposition that locating organizations in common policy fields within close proximity to one another encourages IOR. Along similar lines, the information may be useful in gauging the relative importance of various IOR variables when employed simultaneously to predict

effectiveness. Finally, and especially with archival sources or organizational records, future researchers may be able to account for not only number of say, letters exchanged but also the contents of such letters. Further, archival and more extensive interviews will greatly improve future research by providing information on how borrowed resources are utilized by borrowing agencies. Recall, it was speculated in the previous chapter that the negative association between 'staff exchange' and effectiveness might have been a function of the fact that participating agencies borrow resources from the housing policy field to use in other fields. Knowledge of the validity of such speculations will go a good way in promoting understanding of IOR and its effects.

A common criticism that has been levied against IOR research (see e.g. Ryan, 1984; Wells, 1984) is that it lacks direct application to societal problems. Society, such critics contend, is unlikely to benefit from these efforts unless researchers pay more attention to meaningful problems that contribute directly to societal needs. A recognition of this criticism is one reason the present study elected to focus on housing, one of the most urgent problems in LDCs in particular, and the world at large. An important achievement of the study in this respect is the fact that it has immediate and future practical or policy implications.

Previous work in the field has been almost exclusively in the West and their focus has generally been on health agencies and community development organizations. Consistent with the suggestion of Wells (1984), who perceives enormous benefits to the field if attention could be shifted to organizations in different fields and especially in different cultural settings, this study deals with the housing policy field in a developing nation.

It is also worthwhile reiterating that although methodological problems plague most areas of social thought, they tend to be almost insurmountable in the field of IOR. This problem was noted in Chapter Four, and stems from the fact that the field is in a relatively inchoate stage of empirical and theoretical development. The need to develop appropriate methodologies for investigating phenomena in this vital area of social science especially, with respect to LDC settings, remains largely unanswered. Other unanswered needs abound. McKinney (1986: 164) concluded his study for example, by reminding researchers in the field that as far as the concept of effectiveness goes, "there is no agreement on the general approach to employ" in its measurement. "Additionally, there is minimal data on the impact on the ultimate beneficiary" of the services provided (p. 164). In this regard, the entire design developed and employed in this study, especially as presented in Chapter Four, can be perceived as a modest attempt to address these shortcomings. More specifically, the study has developed 1) a conceptual framework for analyzing IOR (in the housing policy field) (see Chapter Three); and 2) a client-satisfaction-based indicator of effectiveness for public policy organizations, in LDCs (see Chapter Four).

Apart from IOR researchers, it is hoped that social researchers in LDCs will benefit from this study especially, the data gathering methods employed and reported in Chapter Four. Admittedly, however, it is difficult to predict the extent to which strategies that worked in one LDC will be useful in another. This is because research in such turbulent settings remains an art rather than a science.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF STUDY:

This section swings the reader rapidly through every chapter of, and brings to a close, the entire study. The seven chapters comprising the study deal respectively with 1) major issues of study; 2) major changes that have occurred in thinking about improving institutional performance in LDCs (or institutional development); 3) the conceptual framework of the study; 4) methodological issues; 5) the interorganizational context of housing policy administration in Cameroon, the setting of the study; 6) data analysis and pertinent findings; and 7) the implication of the findings for development planning practice, housing policy administration in Cameroon, and research in IOR in particular, and social research in LDCs in general.

The first chapter introduces major issues of the study. The issues include the underlying premise of the study, the research problem, the aim, focus, major questions, central hypothesis, and design of the study. The study is based on the premise that, for housing policy in LDCs to be successful, greater attention must be paid to the institutional channels through which the policy is administered. Thus, housing policy failures in LDCs are seen as a product of ineffective housing policy organizations (HPOs), which is the main problem of concern. To address this problem, the study focussed on the interorganizational context of housing policy administration as opposed to individual organizations in the field. The rationale for this is that the responsibility for housing policy administration resides not with a single organization, but with several organizations operating simultaneously in a common policy field. Thus, unless the context in which these organizations interact is properly understood and accordingly dealt with, any attempts to remedy internal problems of individual agencies are unlikely to have any significant positive

implications for housing policy. The study revolves around four central questions dealing with the types of institutions participating in the housing policy field in Cameroon, the interorganizational structure of the country's housing delivery system, the types, and extent of interorganizational relations (IOR) and organizational effectiveness (OE) in the housing policy field. Further, the chapter introduced the study design, which included two sets of questionnaires administered respectively to heads of HPOs and their clients. Finally, it vividly examined the theoretical reasoning underlying the study's central hypotheses; the theoretical and empirical hypotheses; the key concepts of the study; and the operationalization scheme for these key concepts.

Chapter 2 reviewed the shifting perspectives that have characterized the field of institutional development (ID). Institutional development, according to the chapter, refers to "planned, systematic and integrated activities undertaken on a continuous basis to strengthen the institutional capacity for development policy administration" (p.20). The chapter revealed that ID has evolved through three major distinct phases, which may be chronologically ordered as: 1) "Classical Administrative Reforms (1950s - mid-1960s)"; 2) "Institution Building (mid-1960s - mid-1970s)"; and 3) "Institutional Development (mid-1970s - Present)". A major argument advanced in the chapter is that, rather than being spontaneous, shifts in the ID enterprise have mirrored major changes in organization theory. This is the field of inquiry from which ID has traditionally drawn its inspiration. Following the review, the chapter began inquiring into the nature of the relationship between organization-environment relations and organizational effectiveness. This inquiry continued at the theoretical and conceptual levels in Chapter Three, and at the empirical level in the remainder of the study.

Most of the changes in the ID field, according to the chapter, were necessitated by changes in thinking about development. The current meaning of development encompasses far more than simply a rise in a country's gross national product (GNP). It includes other important dimensions such as the redistribution of the benefits accruing from economic growth, the alleviation of poverty and unemployment, among other things. The chapter concluded that although as a theoretical model, institutional development (ID) holds immense promise for generating changes in accordance with these contemporary development objectives, it has not been adequately operationalized to be of significant utility to development planners. This serious shortcoming, indicative of the dearth of research aimed at developing a unified ID theory, is held in the chapter as a rationale for the present study.

Chapter 3 developed a conceptual framework for understanding organization-environment relations in the housing policy field in LDCs. It began by conceptualizing the organizational environment in terms of interorganizational relationships (IOR); then as "the society at large"; and as the resources at the disposal of an organization; and finally, as the network of interorganizational relationships within a common policy field. The latter conceptualization of the organizational environment approximates that employed in the study. For this reason, it was accorded more attention. The difficulties involved in conceptualizing the organizational effectiveness construct were underscored. The difficulties, according to this chapter are aggravated by the fact that the field of I.O.R. is in an early stage in its development. Organizational effectiveness was discussed first, in terms of the goal model, then, in terms of the resource-control model, and finally, in terms of the multiple constituency model. The review

found all three models inadequate in dealing with the research questions. An alternative model was thus, developed. The model incorporates an inherent, but largely ignored indicator of organizational effectiveness namely, client satisfaction. Finally, the links between IOR and OE were explored. Enough theoretical evidence was found to suggest that this relationship is positive. But the question was considered too intricate to be settled at the theoretical level alone. Empirical evidence was deemed necessary for a more convincing case.

Chapter 4 dealt with the strategies employed in bringing forth this evidence. The chapter began by outlining the five major phases of the study, which include reviewing of the relevant literature, descriptively analyzing the interorganizational context of housing policy administration in Cameroon, constructing a general profile of institutions participating in the housing policy field in the country, developing and administering two survey instruments, and statistically determining the link between IOR and OE. This was followed by a discussion of the research design. The chapter also made a case for the qualitative approach to data analysis, which was seen as complementing the quantitative approach. Other important issues discussed the data collection strategies and data analysis techniques used. Difficulties encountered at the data collection phase ranged from an absence of sampling frames, imprecise or no addresses, which made it extremely difficult to locate members of the sample. Based on this experience, it is clear that research in LDCs require a little creativity on the part of the researcher. The chapter terminated by underscoring the fact that by creating and utilizing the strategies discussed, the study makes an original and promising contribution to the field. Researchers studying IOR in LDCs will certainly find the strategies useful.

picture of the changes that have taken place within the channels through which housing is delivered in the country. Apart from a concern with the various institutions involved in the residential development process, the chapter was interested in isolating factors deemed antithetical to IOR and effectiveness in the housing field in the country.

Chapter 6 quantitatively analyzed the empirical data and discussed the main findings of the study. At the heart of the chapter is an empirical examination of the link between IOR and OE. The questions dealt with relate to the nature and strength of the association. A positive association was found.

Chapter 7, the final chapter, contains recommendations stemming from the study's findings. Initially the chapter discussed institutional weakness as a major obstacle to development in LDCs. The study's implications for development planning were then presented. Following this, were specific recommendations aimed at improving housing policy administration in study setting, Cameroon. This was then followed by a discussion of the implications of the study for contemporary and future research in IOR and I.D. Suggestions for further research were sandwiched in the entire discussion but largely, in the section that discussed research implications.

Conclusion:

This study resulted from an interest to promote understanding of the effect of IOR on effectiveness and improve institutional effectiveness in LDCs. This led to an enquiry into the state-of-the-art of IOR, organizational effectiveness (OE), and institutional development (ID). The enquiry was followed by the development of a theoretical model, the formulation of theoretical hypotheses and the identification of key concepts. Further, the key concepts were operationalized,

leading to the formulation of empirical hypotheses. The next step comprised data collection. Following this was the data analysis phase. The last step in the research loop was isolating the study's pertinent findings, reporting the same, and determining their implications for theory, theory-building, research in IOR in particular, and planning practice and research in LDCs in general. The loop is thus closed (see Figure 1, Chapter One). We began with an interest in a specific problem namely, institutional weaknesses in LDCs. We explored the issues surrounding the problem. In the process, we raised more questions than we answered. Despite this, we reached some conclusions, and formulated a set of remedies based on these conclusions. The utility of these remedies cannot be determined now. This task inevitably belongs to the future. What is known at this stage is the fact that the study has generated interest in further research by raising more questions than it has been able to adequately address. This, from the author's point of view, is the source of its most obvious strength.

CHAPTER 7 NOTES

1. The housing element of the National Five-Year Development Plan for instance, states as an objective, the provision of affordable housing to members of all income brackets. It also articulates an intention to support the promotion of indigenous building materials. The former implies client satisfaction and the latter, environmental adaptability. It would be recalled these constitute the measures of effectiveness in the study.

2. See Chapter Two for a discussion of the contemporary notion of development in LDCs.

3. See Chapter Five for more on this.

4. See Chapter Three.

5. More on this appears in Chapter Six.

6. Most formal organizations -- from hospitals to banks -- are operated by the government in most of these countries. Usually these institutions are operated either as full government establishments or paratatals.

7. See Chapter Two or Summary of the study for a definition of administrative reform and institutional development as used in this context.

8. See Chapter Five for more.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRES

Dear Sir,

This is a questionnaire comprising part of a study of Cameroon's housing policy. The study is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a University of London Ph.D. in Planning Studies. As head of an agency playing a fundamental role in housing development in the country, you have been selected to participate in this investigation. Your careful treatment of the questions contained herein is highly appreciated.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:
Please answer the following questions by placing a mark in the boxes corresponding with the most appropriate answers. In some cases, you may respond by entering the needed information in spaces provided. The information you are required in most cases deal with issues that go back three years. Therefore, in order to provide only the most accurate information, it is suggested that you please refer to your records (e.g. mail registry, letter files, telephone bills, or telephone logbooks, transport vouchers, cancelled checks, etc.) whenever necessary. PLEASE LEAVE BOX OR LINE FOR YOUR AGENCY BLANK unless advised otherwise.

ABBREVIATIONS USED:
1) N/A = not applicable. 2) SNEC = national water corporation. 3) SONEL = national electricity corporation. 4) Q = question.

PART I:

1. Are you familiar with each of the following in your administrative area:

	YES	NO	N/A
a) Divisional chief, Town Plan'g & Housing	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b) Divisional chief, Lands?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
c) Divisional chief, Surveys?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
d) Divisional chief, Public Health?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
e) Prefect (divisional officer)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
f) Mayor or Municipal Administrator?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
g) Chief of Center, SONEL?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
h) Chief of Center, SNEC?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

2. How many telephone calls have you or your representative made to each of the following during the last three years:

	No. of 'phone calls in last 3 yrs.
a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?	------
b) Divisional service, Lands?	------
c) Divisional service, Surveys?	------
d) Divisional service, Public Health?	------
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?	------
f) Urban or Rural Council?	------
g) SONEL Regional Center?	------
h) SNEC Regional Center?	------

1

3. How many telephone calls have you or your
   representative received from each of the
   following during the last three years:

                                                             'Phone calls
                                           Rec'd last 3 yrs.

   a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?   ------
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
   c) Divisional service, surveys?   ------
   d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   ------
   g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
   h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

4. How many letters have you received from each of
   the following during the last three years:

        No. of letters
        Rec'd last 3yrs.

   a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?   ------
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   ------
   d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   ------
   g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
   h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

5. How many letters have you written to each of the
   following during the last three years:

        No. of letters
        written last 3yr

   a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?   ------
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   ------
   d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   ----÷--
   g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
   h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

6. How many times have you or your representative
   met with representatives of each of the fol-
   lowing agencies during the last three years:

        No. of times
         met

   a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?   ------
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   ------
   d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   ------
   g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
   h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

7. Which of the following agencies are you required
   (by decree, mandate, etc.) to keep informed of
   the activities of your agency in relation to
   housing issues:
   a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?   [ ]
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   [ ]
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   [ ]
   d) Divisional service, Public Health?   [ ]
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   [ ]
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   [ ]
   g) SONEL Regional Center?   [ ]
   h) SNEC Regional Center?   [ ]

8. HOW many times during the last three years
   has your agency made use of infrastructure
   (e.g. meeting rooms, office/storage space,
   etc.) belonging to each of the following:

   **No. of Times
   your agency
   used others'
   infrastructure**

   a) Divisional service, Town Planning & Housing?   ------
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   ------
   d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   ------
   g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
   h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

9. How many times during the last three years has
   your agency made use of indoor equipment (e.g.
   copy machines, typewriter, blue print machine,
   etc.) belonging to each of the following:

   Times in last 3yrs
   your agency used
   others' indoor
   equipment

   a) Divisional service, Town Planning & Housing?   ------
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   ------
   d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   ------
   g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
   h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

10. How many times during the last three years has
    your agency made use of outdoor equipment (e.g.
    service vehicles, survey/levelling instruments,
    etc.) belongin' to each of the following:

    Times in last 3yr
    your agency used
    others' outdoor
    equipment

    a) Divisional service, Town Planning & Housing?   ------
    b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
    c) Divisional service, Surveys?   ------
    d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
    e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
    f) Urban or Rural Council?   ------
    g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
    h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

11. How many times during the last three years has
    your agency made use of personnel belonging to
    each of the following:

    **Times in last 3yr
    your agency used
    others' pers'nel**

    a) Divisional service, Town Planning & Housing?   ------
    b) Divisional service, Lands?   ------
    c) Divisional service, Surveys?   ------
    d) Divisional service, Public Health?   ------
    e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   ------
    f) Urban Rural Council?   ------
    g) SONEL Regional Center?   ------
    h) SNEC Regional Center?   ------

12. How many times during the last three years has
    each of the following agencies made use of your
    infrastructure (e.g. meeting rooms, office/storage
    space, etc.)?

    Times others use
    your agency's
    infrastructure i
    last 3 years

    a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?   -----

3

Times others· used
your agency's infra-
structure in last 3yr

b) Divisional service, Lands? -----
c) Divisional service, Surveys? -----
d) Divisional service, Public Health? -----
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)? -----
f) Urban or Rural Council? -----
g) SONEL Regional Center? -----
h) SNEC Regional Center? -----

13. How many times during the last three years has | Times others used
each of the following made used of your indoor | your agency's indoor
equipment (e.g. copy machine, typewriter, blue | equipment in last
print machine, etc.)? | 3 years

a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing? -----
b) Divisional service Lands? -----
c) Divisional service, Surveys? -----
d) Divisional service, Public Health? -----
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)? -----
f) Urban or Rural Council? -----
g) SONEL Regional Center? -----
h) SNEC Regional Center? -----

14. How many times during the last three years has | Times others used
each of the following used your agency's out- | your agency's out-
door equipment (e.g. service vehicle, survey/ | door equipment in
leveling equipment, etc.)? | last 3 years

a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing? -----
b) Divisional service, Lands? -----
c) Divisional service, Surveys? -----
d) Divisional service, Public Health? -----
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)? -----
f) Urban or Rural Council? -----
g) SONEL Regional Center? -----
h) SNEC Regional Center? -----

15. How many times during the last three years has | Times others used
each of the following made use of your agency's | your pers'nel in
personnel? | last 3 years

a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing? -----
b) Divisional service, Lands? -----
c) Divisional service, Surveys? -----
d) Divisional service, Public Health? -----
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)? -----
f) Urban or Rural Council? -----
g) SONEL Regional Center? -----
h) SNEC Regional Center? -----

16. How many times during the last three years has | Times your agency
your agency and each of the following made | and others have
joint use of resources (not belonging to you | made joint use
or the other agency) in the last three years? | of resources

a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing? -----
b) Divisional service, Lands? -----
c) Divisional service, Surveys? -----
d) Divisional service, Public Health? -----
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)? -----
f) Urban or Rural Council? -----
g) SONEL Regional Center? -----
h) SNEC Regional Center? -----

17. How many times during the last three years
    has your agency been represented in a forum
    (e.g. meeting, committee, etc.) dealing with
    matters relating to housing (e.g. property
    right disputes, zoning law violations, etc.)?   ------

18. How many projects/programmes has your agency   **Projects/program's**
    and each of the following jointly implemented   **your agency & other**
    during the last three years?   **implemented (3-yrs)**

    a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Housing?   -----
    b) Divisional service, Lands?   -----
    c) Divisional service, Surveys?   -----
    d) Divisional service, Public Health?   -----
    e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   -----
    f) Urban or Rural Council?   -----
    g) SONEL Regional   Center?   -----
    h) SNEC Regional Center?   -----

PART II: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HOUSING POLICY:

As an official whose functions include the implementation of housing
policy, you are guided by certain official guidelines such as laws,
decrees, and so on dealing with land development for housing and/or
the delivery of services such as water and electricity to residential
property.

	Never	**Some-times**	**Always**	**N/A**
19. a) To what extent do you insist that these official guidelines be adhered to by persons or parties involved in the development of land for housing?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

	Not Appropriate	**About Appropriate**	**Appropriate**
b) How appropriate in your opinion, are these official guidelines given the social, economic, and cultural conditions of your area of jurisdiction?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

20. How important are the contacts with each
    of the following to the work of your
    agency in relation to land development
    for housing:

	Not important	**Somewhat important**	**Very important**
a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g & Hous'g?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b) Divisional service, Lands?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
c) Divisional service, Surveys?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
d) Divisional service, Public Health?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
f) Urban or Rural Council?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
g) SONEL Regional Center?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
h) SNEC Regional Center?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

GENERAL COMMENTS:

.

                    T H E   E N D

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING!

                          5

2. Client Questionnaire

Congratulations! As part of a study of housing policy administration in Cameroon in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree at the University of London, you have been selected to participate in a survey of housing policy agencies in your town. Housing policy agencies are the public and para-public institutions you had to deal with in order to complete your building project. These agencies are responsible for among other things, the granting of building permits, the certification and attestation of land ownership, and the approval of building plans, as well as the provision of utilities such as water and electricity.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:
The following questions ask you to please indicate your level of satisfaction with the quality of service you received from the housing policy agencies in your town. You may respond to some of the questions by selecting the answer choice that best describes your level of satisfaction with the agency in question. Others may require that you fill in the answers in spaces provided.

SECTION I: CLIENT SATISFACTION:
In order to complete your building project it was required of you to seek some necessary services from housing policy agencies. Some of the most important of these agencies are listed below. How satisfied are you with each given:

	SATIS-FIED	SOME-WHAT SAT'FIED	UNSATIS-FIED	N/A
1. The length of time it took to render the necessary service(s).				
a) Divisional service, Town Plan'g and Housing?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b) Divisional service, Lands?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
c) Divisional service, Surveys?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
d) Divisional service, Public Health?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
f) Urban or Rural Council?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
g) SONEL Regional Center?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
h) SNEC Regional Center?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
2. The number of trips you had to make in order to obtain the service:				
a) Div'nal service, Town Plan'g/Hsing?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b) Divisional service, Lands?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
c) Divisional service, Surveys?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
d) Div'nal service, Public Health?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
f) Urban or Rural Council?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
g) SONEL (Regional Center)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
h) SNEC (Regional Center)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
3. The net cost of the service rendered:				
a) Div'nal service Town Plan'g/Hsing?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b) Divisional service, Lands?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
c) Divisinal service, Surveys?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
d) Divisional service, Public Health?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
f) Urban or Rural Council?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
g) SONEL (Regional Center)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
h) SNEC (Regional Center)?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

4. The quality of service (based e.g. SATIS- SOME-   UNSA-   N/A
   on how you were treated by agency's FIED WHAT   TISFIED
   staff, staff's competence, etc.)   SAT'FIED
   rendered:

   a) Div'nal service, Town Plan'g/Hsg? [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   d) Divisional service Public Health? [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   g) SONEL (Regional Center)?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   h) SNEC (Regional Center)?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]

5. The amount of information made availa-
   ble to you concerning the service
   prior to your seeking it:

   a) Div'nal service, Town Plan'g/Hsg? [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   b) Divisional service, Lands?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   c) Divisional service, Surveys?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   d) Div'nal service, Public Health?   [ ]
   e) Prefecture (Divisional Office)   [I   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   f) Urban or Rural Council?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   g) SONEL (Regional Center)?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   h) SNEC (Regional Center)?   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]

SECTION II: THE BUILDING PROJECT:
Questions in this section deal with issues relating to a few important
rules and regulations governing the construction of residential buil-
dings in the country. Please respond either by choosing the most ap-
propriate answer from the given range of choices or where necessary,
by providing a more accurate answer.

6. Who drew your building plan?   a) professional architect   [ ]
                                     b) draughtsperson   [ ]
                                     c) other (plse explain)   [ ]
                                     ....

7. Answer if only (a) above was not
   checked. Did professional archi- a) Yes   [ ]
   tect endorse plan?   b) No   [ ]

8. Did any inspector visit the site
   of your building project during
   construction?   a) Yes   [ ]
                                      b) No   [ ]

9. Has your building been construc-
   ted strictly according to the
   approved building plan?   a) Yes   [ ]
                                     b) No   [ ]

10. Answer if (a) above was not chec-
    ked. What alterations were made to
    the approved plan?   a) room sizes reduced   [ ]
                                    b) window sizes reduced   [ ]
                                    c) setback distance reduced [ ]
                                    d) distance between build-
                                        ing & adjacent property
                                        reduced   [ ]
                                    e) distance between buil-
                                        ding & pit latrine or
                                        soakaway pit reduced   [ ]
                                    f) other alterations

                                        (plse explain) ....
                                        ....

2

11. Which of the following constitutes the most important source of funding for your building project?

a) Savings (bank)   [ ]
b) Savings (njangi/ meeting, etc.)   [ ]
c) Other (plse. explain)...........
....

12. What type of agent was responsible for the construction of your building?

a) Building constr. company (contract) [ ]
b) Local builder (you or your representative supervised)   [ ]
c) Other (plse. explain) ....
....

13. Did you start building before the building plan was approved?

a) Yes   [ ]
b) No   [ ]

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE FORM FOR BUILDING PERMIT APPLICATION

YOU INTEND TO BUILD...
(explanatory notes)

Whatever is the title of land occupancy you hold for your plot, before undertaking the works for whatever your intended buildings are (housing or else), **You must obtain a Building Permit!**

The same is required before erection of fences or any alteration to existing buildings: enlargement, addition of storey(s), modification of fronts or of the internal arrangement...

Please note—**There is no exception to this Rule!**

Make your application filling page 1 of the present form, and complete it by attaching a dossier according to the directives given below.

The application and the accompanying dossier must be made in 3 copies. It may occur that the representative of the Area Council ask you to increase this number. Follow this advice: it is given to you in the only purpose to enable him to simultaneously consult the different administrative services concerned with your project, and therefore reduce the period of inquiry.

You will be granted the building permit by the Chairman of the Area Council on which area of jurisdiction the works will be performed. That the reason why you must bring or send your application to the said Chairman, who will acknowledge receipt of it.

Attention: Make sure all the required particulars are in your dossier. Doing so, you will avoid any delay, since the period of inquiry only begins when the dossier has been completed.

Remark: In most of the cases, the building permit gives rise to only one decision from the administration. However, in the case of important building programs, it is wise to avoid for applicants the premature spendings which are meant by the study of detailed projects. This is the reason why the decision may be taken in two successive stages:

— the **Preliminary Agreement**, which guarantees that the program suits with the town planning regulations,

— the definitive agreement (**Building Permit**), which completes the precedent one in comparison with the building rules.

For any enquiries—direct yourself either:

— to the Area Council, or

— to the Provincial Service of Town Planning and Housing.

They have been appointed to assist you, and they will advise you usefully.

COMPOSITION OF YOUR DOSSIER

The composition of your dossier varies according to

— the importance and the purpose of the intended buildings.

and according as you apply for:

— the **Building Permit**, or

— the **Preliminary Agreement.**

Three cases may occur:

1—If you intend:

— to build 1 or 2 buildings to be used mainly for housing, **»**

— to erect dependences or fences, or

— to alterate the fronts or the internal arrangements, or

— to enlarge, or to add storey(s) to existing buildings,

You do not apply for preliminary agreement, you immediately apply for:

the Building Permit *(see note b)*

2—If you intend to build, to add storey(s), to enlarge or to alterate:

— one or several buildings to be used mainly for housing, composed of a total of 3 to 25 apartments, or

— one or several buildings for any other use than housing (commerces, industries, offices, etc.) in one performance, without spacing out works,

You have a choice between two procedures. You apply either for:

the Preliminary Agreement *(see note a)* **or the Building Permit** *(see note b)*

3— If you intend to build:

— one or several buildings to be used mainly for housing (commerces, industries, etc.) to be realized in different stages,

You compulsorily apply for:

the Preliminary Agreement *(see note a)*

Note (a)—**Preliminary Agreement:** Attach to the present application form particulars No. 1 and 2 indicated below. You will supply particulars No. 3 and 4 later on, when you have been granted the preliminary agreement.

Note (b)—**Building Permit:** Attach to the present application form particulars No. 1 to 4 indicated below.

PARTICULARS FOR DOSSIER

Particular No. 1—**Site Plan,** drawn to a scale of 1/2500, 1/5000 or 1/10000 (in lieu, an extract of the existing Master Plan, if any), indicating the North, the access roads and the different surveyed landmarks enabling the technicians to localize the plot.

Particular No. 2—**Block Plan,** with measurements, drawn to a scale of 1/500 or 1/200, and indicating clearly:

— the North, the contour-lines, the main trees to be reserved or fallen down,

— the boundaries of the plot, and its surface in square metres,

— any public or private, intended or existing access roads, with their walls and their axis,

— the different networks for water supply, drainage, sewage, electricity and telephone,

— the location of buildings to be constructed, destroyed or reserved, on the plot of the applicant as well as on the adjacent plots.

Particular No. 3—**Descriptive and Estimative Note** of intended works, indicating especially the gross surface of the floors, per building and per storey.

Particular No. 4—**Detailed Building Plans,** drawn to a scale of 1/100 or 1/50 (underground, groundfloor, storeys, all front elevations and the corresponding sections). These plans must show:

— the purpose of the different quarters, the water supply system,

— the location of exits for rainfall water, used household water, sewage system, indicating wells and pits, reservoirs, toilets, septics tanks, chimneys and air passages.

Remarks:

1— In certain cases, extra particulars are required according to the regulations in force (e.g. industrial buildings, unhealthy or dangerous establishments, etc.) Don't forget to attach these indispensable documents to the present application.

2— All the particulars for the dossier must be presented folded in the same standard size as the present form (210x297 mm), and clearly stamped with the name, the address and the approved seal of the technician who has drawn them (Architect, Engineer, designer, ...).

---

1. **MAIRIE DE**
   AREA COUNCIL

(Délai d'instruction: 1 semaine)
(Period of inquiry: one week)

La présente demande a été reçue ce jour de
The present application has been received today from M

qui en a reçu récépissé/*who has been given a receipt of it*

Observations
Comments

No.

Reçu le
Received on the

Transmis le
Dispatched on the

Avec avis/*with advice:*
☐ Favorable
Favourable
☐ Défavorable
Unfavourable

Le Maire,
The Chairman,

Sceau du Service
Stamp of the Area Council

---

2. **SERVICE PROVINCIAL DES DOMAINES** *(Délai d'instruction: 1 semaine)*
   PROVINCIAL SERVICE OF LANDS *(Period of inquiry: one week)*

La présente demande a été reçue ce jour de
The present application has been received today from M

qui en a reçu récépissé/*who has been given a receipt of it.*

Observations
Comments

No.

Reçu le
Received on the

Transmis le
Dispatched on the

Avec avis/*with advice:*
☐ Favorable
Favourable
☐ Défavorable
Unfavourable

Le Chef de Service
The Chief of Service

Sceau du Service
Stamp of the Service

---

3. **SERVICE PROVINCIAL DU CADASTRE** *(Délai d'instruction: 1 semaine)*
   PROVINCIAL SERVICE OF SURVEYS *(Period of inquiry: one week)*

La présente demande a été reçue ce jour de
The present application has been received today from M

qui en a reçu récépissé/*who has been given a receipt of it.*

Observations
Comments

No.

Reçu le
Received on the

Transmis le
Dispatched on the

Avec avis/*with advice:*
☐ Favorable
Favourable
☐ Défavorable
Unfavourable

Le Chef de Service
The Chief of Service

Sceau du Service
Stamp of the Service

---

4. **SERVICE PROVINCIAL DE LA SANTE** *(Délai d'instruction: 1 semaine)*
   PROVINCIAL SERVICE OF HEALTH *(Period of inquiry: one week)*

La présente demande a été reçue ce jour de
The present application has been received today from M

qui en a reçu récépissé/*who has been given a receipt of it.*

Observations
Comments

No.

Reçu le
Received on the

Transmis le
Dispatched on the

Avec avis/*with advice:*
☐ Favorable
Favourable
☐ Défavorable
Unfavourable

Le Chef de Service
The Chief of Service

Sceau du Service
Stamp of the Service

---

5. **SERVICE PROVINCIAL DE L'URBANISME ET DE L'HABITAT** *(Délai d'instruction: 1 semaine)*
   PROVINCIAL SERVICE OF TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING *(Period of inquiry: one week)*

La présente demande a été reçue ce jour de
The present application has been received today from M

qui en a reçu récépissé/*who has been given a receipt of it.*

Observations
Comments

No.

Reçu le
Received on the

Transmis le
Dispatched on the

Avec avis/*with advice:*
☐ Favorable
Favourable
☐ Défavorable
Unfavourable

Le Chef de Service
The Chief of Service

Sceau du Service
Stamp of the Service

---

6. **MAIRIE DE**
   AREA COUNCIL

Vu les observations des différents services vista ci-dessus,
Minded of the comments of the above different Services,

(1) le PERMIS DE CONSTRUIRE
    the BUILDING PERMIT

solicité est
applied for is

(2) l'ACCORD PREALABLE
    the PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT

DÉCISION DU MAIRE
DECISION OF THE CHAIRMAN

ACCORDE
GRANTED

REFUSE
REJECTED

(1) et (2)
and

(1) **Rayer les mentions inutiles**
    Delete where unapplicable

Date ....

A ....

Le Maire,

DÉCISION
DECISION

Sceau de la Mairie
Stamp of the Area Council

Application for Building Permit Form

VOUS VOULEZ CONSTRUIRE...
(Notice explicative)

Quel que soit le titre d'occupation que vous possédez pour votre terrain, et avant de commencer les travaux pour quelque bâtiment que ce soit (habitation ou autre). Vous devez obtenir un **Permis de construire!**

Il en est de même pour les clôtures et les modifications que vous voulez apporter aux constructions existante: agrandissement, surélévation modification des façades ou de la distribution intérieure.

N.B. — **Cette règle n'admet aucune exception!**

Rédigez votre demande à la page 1 du présent formulaire et complétez-la par un dossier selon les indications figurant ci-dessous.

La demande et le dossier l'accompagnant doivent être établis en 3 exemplaires. Il est possible que le représentant de la Mairie vous demande d'augmenter ce nombre. Suivez ce conseil: il est formulé dans le seul but de faciliter les différents services administratifs...

Le permis de construire vous sera délivré par le Maire de la Commune sur le territoire de laquelle seront exécutés les travaux. C'est pourquoi vous devez déposer ou adresser votre demande au Maire, qui vous en donnera un accusé de réception.

Remarque: Dans la majorité des cas, le permis de construire donne lieu à une décision unique de la part de l'administration. Cependant, à l'occasion de programmes de construction importants, il est normal d'éviter aux demandeurs la dépense prématurée que constitue l'établissement de projets détaillés. C'est pourquoi la décision peut être prise au regard de l'application des réglements de construction.

— l'**Accord Préalable**, qui garantit la conformité du programme avec les prescriptions d'urbanisme,

— l'**Accord définitif (Permis de Construire)**, qui complète le précédent au regard de l'application des règlements de construction.

Pour tous renseignements, adressez-vous:

— soit à la Mairie,
— soit au Service Provincial de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat.

Ils sont faits pour vous aider, et vous conseilleront utilement.

COMPOSITION DE VOTRE DOSSIER

La composition du dossier varie selon:

— l'importance et la destination des constructions projetées,
— la nature des travaux que vous envisagez.

et selon que vous demandez:

— le **Permis de Construire**, ou
— l'**Accord Préalable**

Trois cas peuvent se présenter:

1 — Vous voulez:

— construire 1 ou 2 bâtiments à usage principal d'habitation, ou
— édifier des annexes ou des clôtures, ou
— modifier les façades ou la distribution intérieure, ou
— agrandir, ou surélever des bâtiments existants

Vous ne faites pas de demande d'accord préalable, vous demandez tout de suite

le **Permis de Construire** *(voir note b)*

2 — Vous voulez construire, agrandir, surélever ou modifier:

— 1 ou plusieurs bâtiments à usage principal d'habitation comportant au total de 3 à 25 logements, ou
— 1 ou plusieurs bâtiments à un autre usage que l'habitation (commerces, industries, bureaux, etc) en une seule opération sans échelonnement des travaux.

Vous avez le choix entre deux procédures. Vous demandez:

l'**Accord Préalable** *(voir note a)* ou le **Permis de Construire** *(voir note b)*

3 — Vous voulez construire:

— un ou plusieurs bâtiments à usage principal d'habitation comportant au total 26 logements ou plus, ou
— un ou plusieurs bâtiments à un usage autre que l'habitation (commerces, industries, bureaux, etc) avec réalisation par tranches successives.

Vous demandez obligatoirement

l'**Accord Préalable** *(voir note a)*

Note a) — **Accord Préalable** désigné à la présente demande les documents N 1 et 2 indiqués ci-dessous. Vous ne fournirez les documents N 3 et 4 que plus tard lorsque vous aurez obtenu l'accord préalable.

Note b) — **Permis de Construire** joignez à la présente demande les documents N 1 à 4 indiqués ci-dessous.

PIÈCES DU DOSSIER

Pièce N° 1 — **Plan de situation** établi à l'échelle de 1/2500 à 1/5000 ou 1/10000 (éventuellement en extrait du Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme) indiquant le Nord, les voies d'accès et les points de repères permettant de localiser le terrain

Pièce N° 2 — **Plan de masse** côté à l'échelle de 1/200 ou 1/500, indiquant:
— le Nord, les courbes de niveau et les principaux arbres conservés ou abattus,
— les limites du terrain et sa superficie en mètres carrés,
— les côtés d'accès aux voiries, avec leur largeur et leur tracé,
— les différentes distances d'éloignement, d'abstention et de téléphone,
— les emprises des bâtiments à construire, à démolir et à conserver, sur le lot du demandeur ainsi que sur les lots voisins.

Pièce N° 3 — **Notice descriptive** et estimative des travaux projetés, indiquant notamment la surface globale des planchers par bâtiment et par niveau

Pièce N° 4 — **Plan des travaux**, à l'échelle de 1/100 ou 1/50 (sous-sol, rez-de-chaussée, étages, les élévations de toutes les façades et les coupes correspondantes)

Ces plans doivent préciser:
— la distribution des différentes pièces, le mode d'alimentation en eau,
— la distribution d'eaux de pluie, des eaux ménagères et des matières de vidange avec indication des puits, réservoirs,
— l'emplacement des raccordements au réseau,
— W.C. fosses septiques, des conduits de fumée et de ventilation

Remarques:

1 — En certains cas, des pièces complémentaires sont exigées par la réglementation en vigueur (ex bâtiments industriels, établissements insalubres ou dangereux, etc) N'oubliez pas de les joindre à la présente demande.

2 — Toutes les pièces du dossier doivent être présentées (plans au format du présent formulaire (210 x 297mm) et comporter de manière claire le nom, l'adresse et le visa homologue de l'homme de l'Art qui les a établies (Architecte, ingénieur, projeteur en bâtiment, etc)

RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN

PAIX — TRAVAIL — PATRIE

MINISTÈRE DE L'URBANISME ET DE L'HABITAT

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

PEACE — WORK — FATHERLAND

MINISTRY OF TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING

DEMANDE DE PERMIS DE CONSTRUIRE
APPLICATION FOR BUILDING PERMIT

DEMANDEUR
APPLICANT

TERRAIN
LAND or PLOT

•Nom et prénoms (ou raison sociale)
Full name of applicant (or trade mark) }

•Adresse complète
Full address } .... Tel:

•Nom et autorisation du propriétaire (s'il est autre que le demandeur)
Name and agreement of the owner (if other than the applicant) } .... M ....

Adresse: .... Tel: .... Signature

•Cadastre: section, numéros des parcelles
Land sections and plots numbers }

•Le terrain est-il situé dans un lotissement ?
Is the plot located in a layout ?
•Si le terrain est situé dans un lotissement:
If the plot is located in a layout:
— Appellation du lotissement ....
Name of the layout } .... Oui □ Non □
Yes No
— Arrête autorisant le lotissement ....
Legal text permitting the layout }

•Servitudes publiques ou privées grevant le terrain
Private or public regulations on the plot }

ÉTUDE DU PROJET ET FINANCEMENT DES TRAVAUX
PROJECT STUDIES AND BUILDING WORKS FINANCING

•Montant approximatif des travaux (non compris achat du terrain, voirie, branchements, honoraires d'architecte)
Rough estimate of the works (land acquisition, access road, public networks connections, architect costs not included) } .... Frs

•Mode de financement envisagé
Foreseen financing system } □ personnel
self financing □ avec prêt
with loan } .... Frs

•Nom de l'organisme préteur
Name of the loan organisation } .... •Montant du prêt
Amount of the loan } .... En date du .... Frs
due to the

•Nom et adresse de l'Architecte responsable des travaux
Name and address of the architect in charge of the works } M .... Signature:

NATURE DES TRAVAUX *NATURE OF THE WORKS*	AFFECTATION DU BÂTIMENT *PURPOSE OF THE BUILDING*	UTILISATION DES LOCAUX *DESTINATION OF THE QUARTERS*
(Marquez d'une croix les cases utiles dans chaque colonne)	(Cross the applicable square in every column)	
•Construction neuve *New building* □	•Usage d'habitation *Use for housing* □	•En cas d'usage d'habitation *In case of use for housing* — Nombre de logements *Number of apartments* ....
•Surélévation Addition *Adding storeys* Exhaussement □	•Usage industriel *Industrial use* □	
•Modification de façades *Alteration of fronts* □	•Usage commercial *Commercial use* □	•Occupation personnelle *Applicant's use* □
•Modification intérieure *Internal alteration* □	•Usage de bureaux *Office use* □	•Location *To be rented* □
•Annexes ou clôtures *Dependencies or walls/fences* □	•Usage agricole *Agricultural use* □	•Vente *To be sold* □
•Je sollicite *I apply for*	•Usage public *Public building* □	•Autres usages d'habitation *Other use than housing* □

(1) { le **PERMIS DE CONSTRUIRE**
the **BUILDING PERMIT** }

(1) { l'**ACCORD PRÉALABLE**
the **PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT** }

•Je déclare que le présent dossier comprenant les pièces 1 à 4 (3 à 4 selon cas voir page 4)
I hereby declare that the present application including the particulars 1 to 4 (3 to 4 see full p page 4)

•Je dresse le présent dossier comportant les pièces 1 à 4 (3 à 4 selon cas voir page 4)
the attached dossier including the particulars 1 to 4 (3 to 4 see full p page 4)

Signature

(1) { Rayez la mention inutile
Delete where inapplicable }

(1) { J'ACCORD PRÉALABLE
the PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT }

(2) { Précisez propriétaire, mandataire ou locataire
Precise owner, representative or tenant }

Timbre fiscal
(Fiscal Stamp)

19

APPENDIX C: CORRESPONDENCE

1. Letter of introduction from research supervisor

2. Letter of introduction from the Governor, South West Province

3. Letter of introduction from the Governor, North West Province
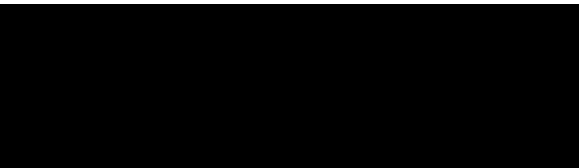
11th May 1989

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Mr. Ambe Njoh is a Ph.D. student carrying out fieldwork as part of his

research of a case study of housing policy in Cameroon. As supervisor

of his research I would appreciate every courtesy which you can extend

to him.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Mattingly, BSCE, M.A., AICP.

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
PAIX—TRAVAIL—PATRIE

PROVINCE DU SUD-OUEST

SERVICES DU GOUVERNEUR

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
PEACE—WORK—FATHERLAND

SOUTH WEST PROVINCE

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

RECEIVED 27.7.89 DATE JOSO FAKO DIVISION

No. 1252 ,A/G/GSW.2/
SG/CASC

Buea, the _____ 19____
le

Subject : _____
Objet

Y/Ref.: _____
V/Ref.

O/Ref.: _____
N/Réf.

The Governor of the South West Province
Le Gouverneur de la Province du Sud-Ouest

To M. TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN
à

This is to introduce bearer, Mr. Njoh Ambe, holder

of London University College Identity Card N° 0057 0 1560 9

to you for any assistance he may require from you.

He is in short conducting a research on Housing and

Planning System in Cameroon as compared to other parts of

the world.

Please give him your utmost assistance in that regard.

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace Work Fatherland

NORTH WEST PROVINCE
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

ADMINISTRATIVE & LEGAL DIVISION

BUREAU OF COORDINATION & REGULATION
B A M E N D A

Ref. N°. 3255/L/E/GNW.93/CAB.

REPUBLIC DU CAMEROUN
Paix Travail Patrie

PROVINCE DU NORD OUEST

CABINET DU GOUVERNEUR

BAMENDA, the ___17 AUG 1980___

SUBJECT:-   INTRODUCTION OF A Ph. D. STUDENT
ON FIELD RESEARCH WORK.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.
-=-=-=-=-=-=-=-=-=-=-=-

I, the undersigned, Governor of the North West
Province do hereby certify that Mr. AMBE Njoh holder of
London University College Identity Card N°. 0057 0 1560
9 is a Ph. D Student carrying our field work as part of his
research of a case study of housing policy in Cameroon.

In introducing him to you, I wish to call upon you to
assist him with the necessary information to enable him
effectively defend his thesis please./-