Proposed Revision to Eight Plan Format

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Policy Paper Series # 18
1994
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Proposed Revision to Eight Plan Format
Tariq Banuri

The recent changes in the world economy have coincided with a fundamental rethinking of the approach towards economic development. Included in this is the shift towards privatization, deregulation, liberalization, and decentralization. Pakistan has taken the lead in many areas by introducing policy and institutional changes. However, the impact of these changes have not yet tricked into the planning process. As a result, planning has become divorced from policy making, which has led to a perception that it is an irrelevant and inconsequential activity.

In the Eighth Five Year Plan, it should be our intention to bring relevance and momentum back into the planning process, by making it more responsive to and more connected with the overall environment. The following pages describe how this shift could be brought about. This description includes changes needed at two different levels, structural and sectoral. The sectoral level corresponds to the conventional focus of development plans, namely to such sectors as industry, agriculture, education, health, and others.

The structural section focuses on cross-cutting areas or goals, which have the potential of determining performance of virtually every sector of the economy (industry, agriculture, health, education, etc.), and indeed of the macro economy in general. It includes such concerns as policy perspective, institutions and management, consolidation and rehabilitation, and critical cross-cutting sectors. The structural level fills the space between the two conventional focuses of development planning, namely the macroeconomic generality and the sectoral detail.

The explicit introduction of these concerns is a departure from conventional practice. At both macroeconomic and sectoral levels, the focus of earlier plans was on infrastructure. Structural concerns were either ignored or subsumed under other considerations. However, the new and emerging professional consensus is that structural concerns hold the key to better overall performance, and that should be made the explicit targets of economic policy. In other words, the objective is to give equal priority to structural and sectoral objectives.

Structural Issues

This will be accomplished by adding a new section in the Plan document, with the following chapters:

- Rationalization of economic policy (including economic incentives, and regulations);
- institutional development and management reform (including resource-use efficiency, equality of opportunity, public-private partnership);
- consolidation and rehabilitation (including the provision of external economies to private investment, i.e. physical and social infrastructure); and
- critical areas (environment, women’s role in development, narcotics).

Each of these chapters will aim to bring out interim goals and targets in the area, and link these to financial allocations and other instruments of government policy. The revised table of contents, which results from this amendment is given in Annex I. Some idea of the content of the chapters in the structural section can be gleaned from the discussion below of the sectoral chapters.

It should also be emphasised here that this new focus is the result of new thinking that identifies a modified role for the government in the economy. In contrast to earlier approaches, which saw the government as the main (or even the only) vehicle for economic changes in a country, the new
approaches view the government as a catalyst, a manager, and a motivator. In keeping with this view, the objective of policy is no longer on what the government could accomplish on its own, but on how it could induce other economic agents to act in concert for the pursuit of the collective national interest. These agents include, in addition to government officials, business managers, workers, investors (both local and foreign), NGOs, and common households. Inducing other agents requires the use of economic incentives, institutions for monitoring and engendering cooperation, training and skill development, information dissemination, provision of infrastructure, maintenance of stability, and the removal of obstacles through example or analysis. The exercise of economic planning should not only be consistent with this revised goals, it should actively seek to help bring it about, in other words to help the government step into its new role.

**Sectoral Chapters**

Although the broad goals outlined in the structural chapters cut across the conventional sectoral goals and targets, the conventional sectoral focus will also continue to be maintained. This will be taken up in Part III of the Plan. It is necessary, however, that the existing sectoral chapters to revised to take account of the broader focus of the Plan. In addition to ensuring the internal consistency of the Plan, the explicit introduction of structural themes into the sectoral chapters will help by providing basic material for incorporation into the structural chapters.

The revised format for the sectoral chapters is given below. Detailed guidelines on selected individual chapters are provided in Annex II. While the overall format should be used by all sectoral chapters, the detailed guidelines are meant to be illustrative rather than definitive, and should be supplemented or modified as appropriate. The format is as follows:

1. Policy perspectives
2. Management issues
3. Consolidation and rehabilitation
4. Landmarks of the 8th Plan
5. Targets and allocations

The sectoral chapters should begin, as in the past, by identifying the main national goals in the sector, and key obstacles in the achievement of these goals. However, some changes would still be needed. As far as goals are concerned, the tendency in the past was to focus exclusively on inputs (e.g. number of schools or hospitals, length of roads, etc.). Given the shift towards a broader notion of planning, it is important that the sectoral chapter give an idea of the output goal (e.g. nature, distribution, and quality of education in the country, rates of infant, maternal and overall mortality; ease of movement within the country etc.). Examples are given in Annex II.

Similarly, not much attention was given in the past to obstacles arising from the policy environment, or from; institutional or managerial weaknesses. The only obstacles considered explicitly were financial, infrastructural or technological. One reason may have been the assumption that policies or institutions were entirely in the hands of the government, and therefore the identification of these obstacles amounted to an admission of failure. Also, the earlier focus made sense in a period when plans sought mainly to build infrastructure, mobilise resources and to acquire new technologies.

All this is clearly inappropriate. For one thing, it is clear that policy reform and institutional changes requires concerted and sustained effort. Far from being an admission of failure, the recognition of policy and managerial weaknesses is the first step towards the achievement of success. More importantly, development planning has to try to affect the overall policy environment in addition to allocating resources for physical investment. It is necessary, therefore, that an attempt to made to identify as clearly as possible the obstacles arising from other areas. Again, some examples are provided in Annex II.
Policy Perspective

The achievement of national objectives needs concerted action by government agencies, the private sector, and the NGOs or other voluntary collective organisations. The objective of planning is not that the government should build factories, or schools, or hospitals, or some such, but that the country as a whole use its resources efficiently for the satisfaction of social needs. This can be done both through direct investment and economic incentives. Economic policies provide incentives to individuals (both within and outside the government) and institutions to act in particular ways. The extent to which these actions further the national goals, economic plans could be said to be internally consistent. Planning should facilitate the achievement of such internal consistency by having a multiple focus--on policies as well as physical investment. Indeed, physical investment will be ineffective and wasteful if its impact is offset by the nature of incentives provided by specific economic policies as well as the overall policy environment. Therefore, sectoral plans must henceforth include the following questions:

- What are the economic policies (including taxes, tariffs, subsidies, and government expenditures) that affect economic activity in the selected sector?
- What is the effect of these policies on overall economic activity? Do they aid or impede the achievement of plan objectives?
- What is the policy environment (i.e. whether policy making is systematic or ad hoc, whether it is transparent or opaque, and whether governmental pronouncements are correlated with governmental action) pertaining to the sector?
- How can economic policies help in the achievement of plan objectives? In other words, how could the incentives provided by the government (as well as the market) be made to coincide with policy goals?
- What specific policies are needed? What kind of reform of the overall policy environment is required?

In addition to being reported in the relevant sectoral chapter, the recommendations of all the sectoral chapters on policy issues will be synthesized in a chapter, in Part II, on the rationalization of economic policy. The synthesis chapter will focus on the inter-linkages between policies pertinent to different sectors, as well as on the overall policy environment.

Management Issues

Complementary to the policy perspective is the managerial one. Just as the policy perspective focuses on the incentives provided by the system to individual investors, the managerial perspective looks at incentives provided to individuals within a hierarchy. More importantly, it looks at the provision of social services not in terms of the infrastructure, but in terms of the motivation and management of a large number of individuals. For example, the problem in education can be viewed not as the deficiency of schools (or even to teachers), but one of motivating and managing more than a million individuals to provide quality education to their students. The managerial perspective allows attention to be focused on the problems of motivation, organisation, skill levels, responsiveness and accountability, centralisation and decentralisation, and others. The traditional concerns of infrastructure and materials can then be subsumed under those of management and motivation. The school building may not be and end in itself, but a means to the end of inducing qualified individuals to move to the specific location. The management perspective allows attention to be focused on the following:

- Decentralisation verses centralisation: namely what is the best mechanism for ensuring that qualified individuals apply themselves to the required tasks. In some case, a decentralised system is the most appropriate, in other not. In either case, the obstacles to the replacement of an existing (centralised) system, with a new (decentralised) one will have to be explored. These will include vested interests, mechanisms of financial and
substantive accountability, changes in the nature of public involvement needed, changes in
skills and training.

- **Governmental reform**: Many policies are likely to be ineffective today, because existing
governmental systems are incapable of handling them. For example, the doubling of school
enrolment in the next five years will require improvements in the system of school
administration; a doubling of the tax base will similarly need a radical improvement in the
system of tax administration. Other examples could be given. If government agencies are
viewed as organisations, it would be necessary to analyse the need for and dimensions of
organisational reform.

- **Maintenance** and operation versus catching up. In the past, the bulk of the attention was
given to the elimination of backlogs (in the number of schools, teachers, factories, roads,
etc.), rather than to the maintenance or management of services already available. This
explains the exclusive preoccupation with infrastructure, and the almost total neglect of
management. The result is that infrastructure is not maintained after being built--roads
deteriorate, school buildings remain unoccupied, hospitals are filthy, unhygienic, and
unhealthy, and industrial units remain inefficient and uncompetitive despite years of
operation. Indeed, appropriate attention to quality may create a situation in which there is
enough incentive for investors to eliminate the backlog on their own.

- **Quality** versus quantity: This is a corollary of the previous point. The conventional view was
what could be called a "mass production" approach to development, in which the quantity
of a (standardised) good or service was all that mattered, and quality was assumed to take
care of itself. The experience of the last half century has taught us that quality is objective
to be pursued independently, that inattention to quality is inequitable and regressive in
nature, and that the exclusive focus on quantity actually has led to the deterioration of
quality. There is now a need for a "Japanese production" approach, in which quality is itself
a managerial objective.

- **Information dissemination**: Given the conventional emphasis on backlog elimination,
information was not given enough importance. The new shift towards management
requires attention to the role played by information, including information systems,
information technologies, and communication.

- **Monitoring and accountability**: The new approach requires investment in systems of public
accountability. This pertains not only to accountability of government agencies, but also of
private sector organisations, NGOs, civic groups and others. The need is to encourage and
strengthen independent, efficient, and legitimate institutions of accountability.

- **Human resource development**: The managerial approach will help identify the critical
needs for human resource development. One example of the shift that will be produced is
that a management focus places emphasis on "housekeeping" skills, which have often
been neglected in the past. The result of the neglect is that these skills are under-rewarded
and therefore not produced in the appropriate quantity or quality. Examples include
secretarial skills, nursing, hospital management, information managers, and others.

- **Integration** versus fragmentation: Conventional planning focused on fragmented goals. For
example, the chapter on agriculture was often independent of the one on water; industry
was viewed independently of environment, education, energy, or infrastructure. This needs
to be corrected to the extent possible. The managerial perspective can help provide an
integrated view of, say, industrial development, which takes into account the changes in
the supply of energy, education and skills, and the underlying environmental conditions.

The sectoral chapters will, therefore, have to begin once again by describing the key institutional
features of the sector, including the systems of management and organisation. This may include a
discussion of the various items listed in the previous paragraph. This should then be made the
basis of identifying critical bottlenecks, and the outlining of the need for change, which in turn can
help in the rational allocation of public resource.
Once again, the individual sectoral recommendations will be synthesized into a chapter in Part II, entitled, Institutional development and management reform. This chapter will such topics as privatization, decentralization, administrative reform, monitoring, and information management.

A specific problem as regards management issues is to facilitate the access to services of the rural populations. One possibility might be to consider rural growth poles, in which the government would invest by providing basic services: school, BHU, post office, telephone junction, electricity, running water, sewerage disposal and treatment, agricultural services, and government administrative offices. Further spreading could be managed by the communities themselves. This could be linked with incentive to communities to manage the services themselves.

**Consolidation and Rehabilitation**

This section, will cover the traditional concerns with backlogs and infrastructure. However, these can now be seen in the true perspective. Instead of being the exclusive focus of development planning, it will fit into a larger vision of economic changes, indeed as a mechanism for inducing change rather than an end in itself. Indeed, the infrastructure, both social and physical, can be viewed as the provision of external economies to the private and voluntary sectors. It will therefore have to seek justification in terms of its catalytic effects, rather than on its own terms.

**Landmarks of the 8th Plan**

In this section, the sector chapters will identify the key achievements to be made during the eighth Plan, including not only the additions to infrastructure, but in terms of policy and institutional reform, management systems, information systems, and finally in terms of output targets. This will be similar to existing portions of the Plan chapters.

**Targets and Allocations**

This section will provide details of the Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP), by giving physical targets, financial allocations, and phasing.
Annex I

Planning Commission Eight Five Year Plan, 1993-98
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Sectoral Wise Issues

Industry Goals
In this area, the social objectives is, first, that the investment rate increase to the highest possible level, subject to the condition that the investment is in the most productive areas, that the environment is not degraded, inequality or other political problems are not exacerbated, crimes or otherwise unacceptable social behaviour is not encouraged, and dependence is not created on a single resource, market, or trading partner (especially if any of these is unpredictable in nature).

Policy Perspective
The industry chapter must outline the nature of economic policies that face the individual investor (local or foreign) investor. Conventional analyses focused on static incentives: i.e. whether an investor could expect to make a reasonable profit, given today's prices and today's policies. But the real issue is the dynamic one, i.e. whether they can make a reasonable profit over a reasonable time horizon. While unpredictability cannot be eliminated altogether, policies must help create confidence in the investor that she or he will not be made to suffer unfairly. This require a combination of three elements: a predictable macroeconomic and micro political environments, and international competitiveness.

Macroeconomic predictability includes the stability of the economy (fiscal discipline, monetary and price stability, and commodity price stability), as well as that of the policy environment (i.e. the existence of stable, long-run oriented policies instead of ad hoc or arbitrary ones, and an absence of frequent policy shifts). What this does is to ensure the investor that she or he will suffer only if they guessed wrongly about the economic fundamentals, but not because someone changed the rules of the game arbitrarily.

Micropolitical unpredictability means the instability that results when the investor has to clear not to the requirements of the economic system, but to the unpredictable demands of various individuals in the system. Many potential foreign investors express the concern that the favourable slant of government policy in Pakistan is not enough of an incentive, because public announcements often do not change the behaviour of the individual official in charge of implementing the policies. Reasons could include bureaucratic rigidities, lack of clarity in policies, absence of proper supervision and monitoring, or simply incompetence or corruption. Thus, the income of the investor becomes dependent on the moods or the qualities of individual officials--and these are often unpredictable. Such micro-instability makes macroeconomic stability ineffective. These issues, however, spill over into the discussion of institutions and management in the next section.

The first two issues ask whether if an activity is profitable today, it will continue to be profitable tomorrow. However, it also needs to be asked whether the activity is profitable at all. The best mechanism for measuring this is to analyse whether the activity is internationally competitive. This requires that the real exchange rate be consistent with underlying cost structure in the economy.
**Management Issues**

In this context, management pertains both to the internal management of the industrial units, and to systems of monitoring and regulation. The first requires identification of critical skills, increasing market orientation, especially to international markets, secretarial and housekeeping skills, information management, and other. Monitoring and regulation requires the establishment of effective and legitimate public institutions of accountability. It may require investment in the existing institutions (CLA, State Bank, EPAs, CCIs, etc.), and in promotional institutions (PIB, EPB, etc.). The strengthening of institutions can include reform of the governance structure, incentive structure, training and skill development, information dissemination, and the provision of infrastructure where appropriate.

Particular attention needs to be paid to the issue of environment. Mechanisms for monitoring the environmental impact of new investment as well as of existing industry will have to be strengthened or created. In addition to conventional institutions (EPAs), we need to think about involving Chambers of Commerce and Industry, DFIs, EFB, PIB, and engineering colleges and universities.

**Consolidation and Rehabilitation**

This section will correspond to much of what is already in the plan, but give it a broader frame of reference. A major component here is the provision of external economies to the sector, in the form of schools, roads, energy, water, and other inputs. The purpose here too is to create a predictable environment where the individual can plan his or her investment without fearing that shortfalls in energy supplies or a literate labour force in the future will offset any short run gains.

The remaining two sections will be as in the past.

**Agriculture**

**Goals**

The broad objective of policy and planning in the agriculture sector continues to be that of maximizing yield, subject to environmental and other safeguards. Unlike industry, where the government had been a major investor itself, the government’s role in agriculture had always been that of a catalyser and information dispenser. In this sense, agricultural policy can provide a guide for other policies. Like the other chapters, however, the one on agriculture too was prepared in a somewhat fragmented fashion. For example, concerns about education, the environment, and water were often treated separately. This may need to be corrected.

**Policy Perspective**

Again, start with the policy scenario faced by the agriculturist. The focus should be on both, the short run effect of policies, and the long run effect of the policy stance. If the policy is responsive to short run pressures, the incentive is one of manipulating the policy maker instead of taking it as a datum. The idea is to create macroeconomic stability for the individual farmer, without creating micro-or marco-political unpredictability.

Other policy issue pertain to the effect on environment, particularly with regard to the excessive use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers; the interaction between water and agriculture (especially at the farm level, with regard to waterlogging and salinity, and in terms of the need for modifying the educational or extension programmes); the inability to take advantage of emerging market opportunities (of high quality products, biodynamic products, new products, and so forth), or emerging global opportunities (e.g. in biotechnology as a result of the
biodiversity convention); the short run orientation of the research programme (i.e. mainly on yield maximization); and the inability to bring together various disciplines, departments, and groups in addressing problems in agricultural development.

**Management Issues**

Management issues in agriculture pertain mainly to the organization of the major government agencies that provide services to the agricultural sector. These include agriculture extension, research, supplies, and machinery. Each of these needs to shift from a bureaucratic orientation towards a service orientation. This may require alternative forms of governance, e.g. by making the agencies more responsive formally to local farmers' groups; experimenting with market competition in the supply of services; making them financially autonomous; and so forth.

The integration of agriculture and water has been talked about for quite some time, but the obstacles to such integration are still not properly understood. There may be a need to introduce the integration at the level of college and university education, in order to bring up a cadre of professionals who can integrate the two fields of expertise in their own work.

Proper attention to environmental conservation also require investment in management and institutions. These may go beyond the normal preoccupations of the environmental protection agencies, and may have to be integrated into the normal functioning of agriculture departments. This would require investment in training as well as organizational structure.

**Consolidation and Rehabilitation**

This section will correspond to much of what is already in the plan, but give it a broader frame of reference. A major component here is the provision of external economies to the agricultural sector, in the of educational institutions, water, other inputs, research, technological and market information. The purpose here too is to create a predictable environment in which the individual farmer can plan his or her activities in accordance with the best technical advice, and without the fear that future shortages in supplies or advice could offset any short run gains.

The remaining two sections will be as in the past.

**Education**

**Goals**

The goals of education sector must be spelled out in terms of outputs rather than inputs. Given the existing situation, these include universal literacy, equalisation of educational opportunities, and the upgrading of the quality of education. For these purposes, it may be useful to start with the perception of the educational process as an interaction between teachers and students, rather than as the provision of school buildings and equipment. Contrary to the supply orientation of earlier plans, this would help focus on the demand side of the process. The question to be asked is how to ensure that there is a teacher around, say, every 20 to 30 students, that the teacher is motivated to give the best of his or talents to the teaching process, that the teachers and students (or parents) are able to get support for their activities (finances, buildings, books, equipment). This is problem of management, incentives, and institutions.

**Policy Perspective**

The section should begin by describing the policy scenario that faces the teachers, the parents, the potential authors of textbooks, the potential investors in schools, the potential donors, and the NGOs. Do the parents have any incentive to seek quality education for their children? Do the authors have any incentive to produce quality textbooks? Do the teachers have any incentive or
motivation to stay in school? Do college students have any incentive to learn, as opposed to engaging in political violence? And so on.

This focus can help clarify the complex inter-linkages between education, market opportunities, recruitment policies of the government, community organization, and so forth. If the policy environment is not conducive to the appropriate incentive structure, the Plan should identify mechanisms of introducing policy reforms.

Privatization of higher education is proceeding apace. This needs to be combined with an appropriate policy package, which includes, subsidy, incentives for charitable contribution, and most importantly, monitoring and rating of the quality of education in private schools.

Finally, policy should encourage rather than discourage both voluntary and commercial private initiatives. In both cases, however, the link should be maintained with the value of the output. Public resources should be invested in areas that the user regard as the most valuable—as expressed in willingness to pay, or as willingness to contribute voluntary labour.

Management Issues

When all is said done, the educational problem is one of motivating and managing a workforce numbering one million. At the moment, this is being done in an extremely inefficient manner. Alternative mechanisms might include those of decentralization, involvement of NGOs, school rating systems, dual or multiple fee structures, and so forth.

Financing of education is always a serious problem, especially in a society where half the population is in the school age group. For this reason, innovative forms of financing have to be considered, including local financing, combinations of full fees and scholarships, better management of scholarships (e.g. through local governments, based on aggregate income and other criteria), charitable donations, alumni motivation, and so forth.

Management initiatives will need to distinguish carefully between primary, secondary and tertiary education, all of which need different institutional structures. Direct parent involvement may be feasible in primary education, but not necessarily in higher education.

Teacher training is an important issue. However, the focus of teacher training in the past has been on quantity not quality. As a result, it is not clear whether teacher training in its existing form should be closed down altogether. If an alternative form of training, focusing on quality, responsibility, and relevance, is needed, its institutional and policy features will have to be identified quite clearly.

Management systems of schools, colleges or universities is also viewed as being responsive neither to the needs of students, nor those of teachers, nor indeed of the society as a whole. Students' concerns about job placement, advanced education, social status, need to be built into management structures; so do those of teachers' concerns regarding career, status, protection of rights, incomes, and so forth.

Consolidation and Rehabilitation

This section will correspond to much of what is already in the plan, but give it a broader frame of reference. A major component here is the provision of external economies to the educational sector, in the form of teacher training institutions, buildings and equipment of educational institutions, research, technological and market information (both, for potential investors or NGOs, as well as for parents of school children). The purpose here too is to create a predictable environment in which the student, the parent, the teacher, and the author can plan his or her
activities over a sufficiently long time horizon, in accordance with the best technical advice, and without the fear that future unanticipated changes in economic or political direction could make such calculations irrelevant.

The remaining two sections will be as in the past.

Health Goals

Health is concerned not only with the treatment of illnesses. It pertains to the broader health of the population. The goals of health planning is to increase life expectancy, reduce infant and maternal, and morbidity and mortality in general. It needs to bring in not only curative systems but also preventive health systems (i.e. environmental health). These targets need to be given to every health institution in the country, instead of conventional targets of numbers of patients attended and medicines dispensed.

These goals can be addressed in a number of ways: By improving the quality of air and water (and thus reducing the incidence of respiratory and intestinal disorders); by increasing the quality of health education amongst the populace; by increasing the accountability of medical personnel through malpractice or other legal recourses; by making public health official responsible not for dispensing inputs, but for monitoring and reporting outputs; by decentralising decision making; by involving the communities directly into staffing, management, and educational decisions; by encouraging public research and monitoring of health systems delivery.

Policy Perspective

Once again, the chapter needs to begin with the policy scenario faced by the various agents involved in health management. Public health officials are not monitored; doctors and hospital administrators cannot be evaluated on the basis of their output; there is no system of public accountability of health officials; there is no incentive whatsoever to attend to curative health; medical school students have no incentive to learn about community health, preventive health, environmental health, mass health education, and so forth; indeed, students have no incentive to acquire high quality education; citizens have no incentive to support and maintain accountability systems (e.g. research and analysis), because they do not benefit from them; the medical profession has no incentive to maintain internal accountability; there is no incentive to become nurses, who are critically needed today.

The emphasis in health care could shift to the removal of these policy and institutional obstacles, rather than an exclusive preoccupation with increasing the number of poorly equipped hospitals, or badly trained doctors. A specific issue may be the use of economic incentives to encourage entry into the nursing profession.

Management Issues

Some of the management issues have been indicated in the previous paragraph. Specifically, decentralization and autonomy of health institutions, coupled with some form of public accountability (local governance, malpractice legislation, rating systems, links to output targets) may be needed. Medical schools may also need to be governed by local boards, and some of the rating system devised.

Public health needs to be seen as a broader responsibility than the provision of tap water and the removal of sewage from the immediate vicinity. Its management needs to be upgraded, and its performance linked to output targets.
Distinction has to be made between primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of systems delivery. The managerial demands of the three levels may differ substantially from each other in the same manner as in the case of education.

Education and training in hospital management needs to be introduced as a specialization in management schools as well as in medical schools.

**Consolidation and Rehabilitation**

This section will correspond to much of what is already in the plan, but give it a broader frame of reference. A major component here is the provision of external economies to health sector, in the form of educational institutions, buildings and equipment, research, technological and market information (for doctors, potential investors or NGOs, as well as the community at large). The purpose here too is to create a predictable environment in which the doctor, the nurse, the hospital manager, the investor, the donor, the citizen, can plan his or her activities over a sufficiently long time horizon, in accordance with the best technical advice, and without the fear that future unanticipated changes in economic or political direction will make such calculations irrelevant.

The remaining two sections will be as in the past.