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Turning the management occupation into a profession

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The separation of ownership from management and the accumulation of a defined body of relevant knowledge that can be acquired at universities and other academic institutions have strengthened the claim of management to be a profession. This claim is not new. In 1912, following the establishment of graduate business education programmes at several business schools in the United States, Brandeis, a social reformer, claimed that management " should be, and to some extent already is, one of the professions ".[2] Since then the issue has been raised at sporadic intervals, and more forcefully recently as a result of growing preoccupation with ethical business performance.

What, then, are the attributes of a profession, and has the management occupation advanced far enough to take its place among the recognised professions such as medicine or law? The following article, in which the discussion is restricted to business management in market economies, attempts an answer to these questions.

While it has traditionally been held that a professional is a person who possesses the necessary technical competence to perform his function effectively, this view is considered too narrow by many of the established professions. Several scholars have recently put forward what they consider to be the prerequisites of a profession.[3] Furthermore, several management institutions have begun to explore the issue in earnest. In 1972, for example, the World Council of Management (CIOS), at its World Congress in Munich, set up a working party whose function was to establish criteria for professionalism and to examine ways by which such professionalism could be enhanced. At the following World Congress held in Caracas in 1975 the working party presented

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[2] Louis Brandeis: *Business: a profession* (Boston, Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1933), p. 1.

[3] See Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills: *Professionalization* (Englewood Cliffs (New Jersey), Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 10; " Is American business becoming professionalized? ", in Edward Tiryakien (ed.): *Sociological theory values and sociocultural change*, Essays in honor of Pittrim A. Sorokin (New York, Harper and Row, 1967), pp. 121-145; and John Edds: " Who says management is a profession? ", in *Business Quarterly* (London (Ontario)), Winter 1972, pp. 47-48.

its findings and made certain recommendations regarding the prerequisites of a profession. These prerequisites corresponded fairly closely to those proposed by other interested parties and can be classified under three major heads:

I. Members of a profession subordinate self-interest to the client interest and the social interest.

II. A profession is based on a systematic body of knowledge that is held in common and lends itself to application.

III. Membership of a profession should depend on the observance of certain rules of conduct or behaviour.

Without going into the soundness or otherwise of these criteria, the following pages will consider the degree to which business managers fulfil or are committed to them with a view to answering the question whether management is or can ever become a profession.

I. Management and the broader interest

While the major objective of business in a market economy is still often considered to be the generation of profits for venture capital,[1] there is growing evidence that this notion is changing. Managers are becoming increasingly aware that the survival and growth of the enterprise they manage are only possible so long as the enterprise caters to the needs of all its clients and all the various claimants on its activities. These are its own employees, the consumers or users of its products, its owners and shareholders, the State and society at large. Profit maximisation as an end in itself to the exclusion of the interests of other claimants can generate hostility on the part of employees, more state intervention and alienation of consumers and various social groups, impeding the growth of the enterprise and threatening its very existence. As the enterprise develops and a clearer distinction emerges between ownership and management, so does the concept of profit maximisation begin to give way to a " survival and growth " concept, which implies responsibility towards various clients including but not restricted to the owners. It is the extent to which a manager is able to comprehend and apply the latter type of concept that determines whether he meets our first criterion for professionalism.

Many managers, however, feel that comprehension is one thing and application is another. For the issues are complex and guidelines for the practice of the profession (we must assume, provisionally and for the sake of argument, that management *is* a profession) are not crystal clear. Let us therefore examine the issues involved in greater detail.

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[1] See for example Paul Donham: " Is management a profession? ", in *Harvard Business Review* (Boston (Massachusetts)), Sep.-Oct. 1962, pp. 60-68; and Milton Friedman: " The social responsibility of business is to increase its profits ", in *New York Times Magazine*, 13 Sep. 1970.

The professional manager and the employee

The professional manager, it is hypothesised, should be non-discriminatory in his employment policies, and should provide his employees with training opportunities for self-development, with adequate remuneration and with a safe and satisfying working environment.

These are reasonable propositions and many managers are only too willing to improve their performance in that direction. In certain areas they have done so effectively, while in others success has been elusive. It is safe to say that more and more managers are handling issues such as employment policies and physical working conditions in a professional manner. Thus, as a result of the changing social climate and in compliance with new and enlightened legislation, discrimination based on race, sex, religion or social status is on the wane in many organisations. Similarly, there has been an over-all reduction in the rate of accidents per worker over the past 20 years which cannot be attributed solely to prodding by the legislative power. For in many countries legislation has either been too general to be meaningful or has been so detailed as to become cumbersome. Furthermore, in most cases, the services established to enforce it have been neither large enough nor effective enough. For example, in 1972 there were only some 500 inspectors in the United States to cover 4,100,000 firms dispersed throughout the country. The fact that accidents have not multiplied in proportion to the expansion of economic activity can be explained in part by the fact that managers, far from remaining indifferent, have by and large assumed the role of primary guardians of healthy and safe conditions at the place of work.

Where professionalism has been lagging—and the profession has not come forward with ready solutions—has been in the areas of remuneration, career building and job satisfaction. One cannot help feeling that managerial behaviour in these fields owes more to trial and error than to the self-assured approach of a professional who is confident of the outcome of his action. Two recent phenomena have contributed to the complexity of these issues. First, there has been a change in the composition of the workforce: more young workers are joining it, and their career outlook is very different from that of young workers some 20 years ago. Second, the rise in living and educational standards and the change in societal patterns in many countries have induced a change in the value system of employees. Work is no longer regarded primarily as a means of livelihood. Instead, it is assessed in terms of its contribution to an aspired-to quality of life. This new situation calls for a new style of management.

In the area of wages and fringe benefits, many managers are struggling in the face of mounting inflation to find a formula that ties wages to increased productivity on the one hand to the cost of living on the other, and is also accepted as equitable. Many, too, are unable to comprehend, let alone reconcile, what appear to be conflicting goals, with younger workers wanting more now and older workers opting for better pension schemes.

In the field of career building, a manager is faced with the problem of matching an individual's career aspirations with the career paths in his organisation. Both are in a constant state of flux. Individuals' aspirations rise and fall depending on the prevailing employment opportunities. Furthermore, many people appear unable to make a definitive career choice early in their working lives and therefore itch for a mid-career change.[1] The organisation itself has its fortunes tied in many respects to the state of the economy and to its ability to compete effectively. This in turn affects the career paths it can offer. In addition, rapid changes in technology have rendered many occupations obsolete or have considerably and continuously modified the job content. A solution to this dilemma lies perhaps in establishing self-appraisal schemes for employees, in assessing career paths within a certain time horizon, in providing career counselling services and in linking the training effort and, if possible, remuneration schemes to career development. At present few organisations can boast of a professional outlook in this field. Training is regarded in many cases as an end in itself or as a remedy for all ills and not as a means of facilitating career advancement or change.

It is particularly in the field of job satisfaction that many managers feel more like amateurs. Most of the current thinking in this field is based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs [2] and on Herzberg's hygiene factors.[3] In essence, it is claimed that once an individual has satisfied his basic physiological and security needs he seeks to fulfil his " higher echelon " needs. These have been described as recognition and self-actualisation, and the notions of job enlargement and job enrichment (as well as participation) have been advanced as means of satisfying them. While management literature has been increasingly dominated by writings on the need for job enrichment and enlargement, actual work in this field has not kept pace with the intellectual zeal, despite growing evidence of dissatisfaction and of hostility to menial or repetitive work. In contrast to Europe, particularly Sweden and Norway, where group production methods and new forms of work organisation have involved hundreds of thousands of workers, the number of workers involved in job enrichment schemes in the United States has been under 20,000 [4] and very few well documented cases have been reported from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. Many managers are not convinced that job enrichment is a primary reason for satisfaction at work, and remains so in the long run. Research carried out by the ILO in 1974 [5] showed that among the

[1] George Kanawaty: " Career development: the concept and issues ", in ILO: *Career planning and development*, Management Development Series No. 12 (Geneva, 1976), pp. 3-5.

[2] Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard: *Management of organizational behavior : utilizing human resources* (Englewood Cliffs (New Jersey), Prentice-Hall, 2nd ed., 1972), pp. 22-40.

[3] Ibid., pp. 54-58.

[4] Charles Myers, in James McKie (ed.): *Social responsibility and the business predicament* (Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1974), p. 339.

[5] ILO: *Perception of social responsibility by managers in the Asian and Pacific regions : a survey of findings* (Geneva, 1974; doc. MESRMA/MD35.7), pp. 11 and 23.

225 top managers interviewed in five Asian and Pacific countries (India, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand and Sri Lanka) only some 10 per cent rated job enrichment as the factor most conducive to satisfaction at work. By contrast some 50 per cent rated wages as the primary factor in job satisfaction. There are also those managers who feel that the Taylorist interpretation of division of labour has proved its worth, and that to discard the conventional for the untried would be imprudent. Some managers would in fact like to innovate in this way but are restrained by lack of know-how, uncertainty as to the feelings of their workers and the unions, or inability to measure increased satisfaction and to assess its impact on productivity.

The principle of participation and involvement of workers in decision-making is, on the other hand, gaining more acceptance, although the machinery needed to make it more workable and effective is yet to be established in most organisations. Thus the same ILO research quoted above found that over 70 per cent of the managers interviewed favoured participation. However, the issue at present is not whether workers should or should not participate (after all, more than 40 countries have already introduced legislation requiring one form or another of workers' participation), but to what extent and how they should participate. This is still being debated. The sooner it is realised, however, that in essence participation is more a behavioural attitude than a statutory imposition, the better it will work. As such, real involvement requires a change of attitudes and managerial styles as much as it requires the training and education of workers. Careful preparation for participation and sincerity and openness in its implementation are signs of mature professionalism in management.

The professional manager and the consumer or user

There was a time when the successful business manager was commonly portrayed as a maverick who outdid his competitors in influencing consumers' or users' preferences by various means, including such dubious ones as advertising that grossly overrated the product, attractive packages hiding mediocre quality, meaningless warranties, built-in obsolescence and hidden charges. Nowadays the picture has changed considerably, particularly in the more developed countries. Several factors have contributed to this.

First, as consumers change their life style and value system they become more sophisticated in their judgement of the products or services they purchase. Furthermore, they are becoming better organised. At present it is estimated that consumer movements exist in no fewer than 50 countries.[1] These movements have initiated various activities ranging from consumer education and self-help programmes to lobbying business and government for increased consumer protection. Second, governments have intervened in many countries to safe-

[1] ILO: *Study guide on consumer protection ; a new field of international concern* (Geneva, 1973), p. 4.

guard consumers' interests; they have done so either by regulating certain activities—e.g. through legislation requiring proper labelling and quality control of certain products (as in the case of the control exerted by the Food and Drug Administration in the United States)—or by encouraging increased competition and curbing monopolistic tendencies. Third, whether as a result of these pressures or independently, many managers are now handling their marketing policies and their relations with consumers in a professional manner, and the way is open for others who would like to follow suit. This involves:

(a) Meeting consumer needs and preferences, particularly in special situations where an enterprise enjoys a monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic position as is the case with respect to certain industries in many developing countries. This requires active market research and effective product development.

(b) Accepting responsibility for accurate product information. This includes proper marking and labelling, and truthful advertising.

(c) Accepting responsibility for satisfactory product performance, in other words assuming pre- and after-sales accountability for quality standards, giving meaningful warranties and guarantees and establishing service or maintenance schemes.

(d) Setting reasonable and proper pricing policies, avoiding price fixing or taking advantage of exceptional circumstances to realise abnormal profits.

(e) Opening a dialogue with consumers and their organisations. The manager may act individually in respect of his own enterprise or collectively as a member of an industrial or commercial organisation of employers. Several employers' organisations have established codes of good practice or even encouraged legislation aimed at increasing consumer protection.

The professional manager and ownership

In a market economy there are few who question the legitimacy of profits, but how much profit and how it will be used are topical problems for a professional manager.[1] Irrespective of the type of ownership, owners expect managers to provide the maximum possible return on their venture capital and to increase the value of their holdings. As corporations grow in size a cleavage develops between professional managers and owners. Moreover, ownership in many cases may be dispersed in the hands of a vast number of shareholders who change continuously and with whom the manager has no direct line of contact. A professional manager, then, looks at profits not only as a return on investment to the owner or owners but as an indicator of his own performance, and as a means of ensuring the enterprise's survival and growth. In a sense, the loyalty of a professional manager tends to be more to

[1] Keith Davis and Robert Blomstrom: *Business and society: environment and responsibility* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 3rd ed., 1975), p. 241.

the firm than to its owners. Hence the emphasis of the " reward to owners " concept has changed from securing a " maximum " profit to a " fair ", " adequate " or " reasonable " profit which enables a manager to meet the interests of the other claimants on his business (i.e. employees, consumers, the State and society) without alienating present or potential owners or discouraging them from further investment. While most managers, particularly of large enterprises, have developed this outlook, they still have to be able to arbitrate present and future (and at times conflicting) interests of their various clients. In this the management profession has not been forthcoming with any guidance for its members, leaving them at the mercy of increased but varying pressure from one group or another.

The professional manager and the State

The relations between an undertaking and the State differ from one country to another. In some cases government is looked upon as responsible for creating a climate that induces an organisation to prosper and grow. In certain cases it acts like a referee who intervenes to enforce social responsibility as the need arises. In many countries, however, particularly in developing countries, governments play a more active role; they participate, for example, in the production of goods and services, if only to accelerate development and serve national priorities. This gives a certain influence to the State derived not only from its legislative and control powers but also from its acting as a consumer, supplier, competitor or financier to business.

Certain managers have adopted the philosophy of " less government in business and more business in government ". They have lobbied against any government intervention or to secure favoured terms for their organisations on a variety of issues ranging from tariff protection to relaxation of environmental standards. Some have sought to find loopholes in various laws or regulations to serve their best interests. That sort of behaviour is a setback to professionalism. What, then, is the role of a professional manager? Is it merely and passively to abide by the law of the land? No, he should seek active participation in business law enactment by making his views heard individually or through his association. He should seek active participation in various government schemes such as those for revitalising the economy, combating inflation or assisting depressed areas. In several countries (e.g. Mexico and Indonesia) tripartite commissions have been set up composed of government, manager and worker representatives to examine these and other issues, and more managers are finding this to be an excellent means of applying the managerial, technological and research talent at their disposal to assist the government in better achieving its social and economic objectives.

The professional manager and society at large

While some people may argue that the production of goods and services constitutes in itself a service to society, managers are increasingly being called upon to participate in a vast array of community and social services. This participation has taken several forms including contributions to education and literacy programmes, employing the socially underprivileged and the handicapped, rendering social and health services to the community and promoting family planning programmes (a vivid example of which is the programme undertaken by Japanese business some time ago).[1] Other programmes involve welfare activities, donations to charity, relief funds in cases of natural disaster such as floods or earthquakes, as well as full participation in community and rural development schemes (some Indian firms have been very active in this latter field). In addition, managers are now held responsible and in several cases even legally accountable for environmental protection, including conservation of resources and control of pollution. Gone are the days when air and water were considered free goods to business, and when pollution control was therefore considered an unnecessary expense.

As a member of the community and society at large, a professional manager cannot remain aloof to such demands. But while many managers tend to meet their responsibilities in this direction, many of the activities in these fields appear to be undertaken in response to an explicit request and sometimes pressure rather than as a spontaneous gesture based on conviction. Taking the initiative in this field is a sign of growing professionalism.

II. Management based on a body of knowledge

If a manager is to be able to practise his profession, he must be backed by a systematic body of knowledge that lends itself to application and permits him to serve the various client and social interests outlined above.

One can look at the contribution of management knowledge to the advancement of the profession at two levels: the existence and transmission of this knowledge to a manager through formal or non-formal education, and the application and applicability to the organisation of the knowledge gained by the manager.

Professional and formal education in management

It is gratifying to note that management is now a subject in its own right and that it is taught at universities and other institutes of higher learning. The number of business schools is increasing rapidly and higher business education is opening its doors to graduates of various other disciplines such as the natural or social sciences. Graduate business schools differ in their approach to management education. Some emphasise traditional functional areas such as marketing, production or financial management, while others place more emphasis on quantitative methods, organisational behaviour and policy

[1] See Toshinobu Kato and Takeshi Takahashi: " Family planning in industry: the Japanese experience ", in *International Labour Review*, Sep. 1971, pp. 161-179.

formulation. The method of transmitting the knowledge itself varies from an inductive approach, whereby each area of knowledge is explored in depth, to a deductive approach whereby cases from actual business experience are examined with the accent on interdisciplinary assessment and problem-solving.

There are those who feel that business education has succeeded in providing the potential manager with the necessary tools for a more sophisticated practice.[1] Others feel that moral issues have not yet received the attention they deserve.[2] There is no doubt that business education can do much more than it is doing to further the cause of professionalism by inculcating in the potential manager a sense of trusteeship towards his various social clients. In most business schools today, moral and social issues of business are treated, if at all, as a separate item of the curriculum. There is still an overemphasis on analytical approaches to solving problems, with economic efficiency, productivity or maximisation of profit as the yardstick of success. Business schools either permit a student to select a number of optional courses from which he might or equally might not select those dealing with social issues, or force him into a pattern of required courses leaving it to him to integrate and reconcile what may appear as conflicting goals. To quote an example, a course in organisational behaviour may emphasise the need for job enlargement, whereas a course in production management may put the case for further subdivision of labour.

Few business schools, if any, integrate the issue of job enrichment and " group production methods " into traditional production management courses, or include components of appropriate technology. Few business schools teach marketing that does not induce planned obsolescence, or a " throw-away " spirit, and fewer still balance economic profit and loss with social audit in their management accounting curricula.

Clearly the goals and curricula of formal business education need to be reconsidered if future managers are to be instilled with the notion of a business that is outward-looking and based on a systematic and consistent body of knowledge.

Non-formal education and training

Much of what has been said about formal education applies to non-formal education and training programmes. Many of the training courses appear to seek maximum impact in terms of short-run economic efficiency alone. Management development institutions need to re-examine the goals and methods of their training programmes so that the interests of the various social clients of the enterprise are given a balanced treatment. Intertwining economic and social issues in the training process is the logical approach.

[1] Kenneth Andrews: " Toward professionalism in business management ", in *Harvard Business Review*, Mar.-Apr. 1969, pp. 49-60.

[2] Edgar Schein: *The problem of moral education for the business manager*, paper prepared for the Seventeenth Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, Chicago, August 1966.

For example, it is logical and desirable to inject the subject of ethical advertising into an advertising course, and job enrichment into a methods study course.

A promising means of obtaining a balanced treatment of the subject-matter, of creating sensitivity and response among practising managers and developing their ability to manage professionally is to open a dialogue between a manager and the various social clients or groups in a certain economic and cultural setting. Similarly, in assessing training needs, management development institutions would do well to take full account of the social clients' views and interests.

Applying the knowledge

Even as education and training move ahead in the direction outlined above, the difficult task remains of making socially oriented programmes operational. Inherent in the present-day running of enterprises are well established systems of control that find their quantitative justification in terms of profit or productivity. To inject into these systems, and for that matter into the decision-making machinery of everyday operation, new controls based on values catering for various social groups is not easy, but it is necessary.

Let us take the case of a manager who, mindful of his social responsibilities, decides to introduce a system of social budgeting and social audit. It may sound relatively easy to collect information and to take corrective measures on such issues as discriminatory recruitment policies, safety standards or pollution control. But compliance with a given law may not in itself always constitute a vigorous social action; for example, compliance today with car emission controls for a car manufacturer may become a violation tomorrow as stricter controls are introduced. What then are the norms by which both budgeting and evaluation of performance are to be judged? What are the norms for a manager eager to increase consumer satisfaction, or to improve the quality of working life for his employees? The answer is that the norms are in many cases a matter of value judgement that are likely to differ from one enterprise to another and from country to country unless there is a concerted effort by the profession to set them up.

Another difficulty in application is that middle management has not always shared the enthusiasm of top management for socially oriented programmes,[1] so that conviction on the part of the manager at the top must be coupled with a serious effort to lay down policies and procedures for implementing these programmes. Unless the systems of control within an enterprise, including rewards and penalties, are reviewed accordingly, it may be difficult to translate intentions into actions; persuasion is anyway more difficult where no sanctions or rewards are involved.

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[1] Raymond Bauer: " The corporate social audit: where does it stand today? ", in *Personnel* (New York), July-Aug. 1973, pp. 16-18.

III. Membership of the profession

Many professions lay down criteria for admission and some (such as medicine and law) set standards of performance and conduct that must be observed by their members, with a view to preserving and enhancing the profession's standing.

While in many countries one is not permitted to practise an established profession without having been formally admitted to it by means of certification or examination, and in the cases mentioned one's conduct is regulated in terms of adherence to the profession's code, in contrast management is wide open to any person with or without adequate preparation, knowledge, experience or sense of social responsibility. And yet managerial decisions affect the economic and social well-being of millions of people around the world. Has not the time come to examine more critically the standards of proficiency needed for managers to practise their profession, and to restrict admission and practice to those who can meet pre-set proficiency requirements and abide by a certain code of behaviour?

Managerial rules of conduct

In recent years efforts have been made by certain organisations to set up codes of management behaviour and ethical conduct.[1] Among these may be mentioned the codes developed by the British Institute of Management (BIM), with some 45,000 members, by the Rationalisierungs Kuratorium der deutschen Wirtschaft (RKW), an organisation claiming 9,000 corporate and individual members in the Federal Republic of Germany, and by the Greek Management Association (GMA), with a membership of close to 500 corporations.

The BIM Code of Conduct, together with its lengthy supporting guide of good practice, defines the manager's relations with his organisation, with others who work in the organisation, with suppliers and customers and with the environment. Under the section devoted to professional management practice, the Code calls on the manager to accept responsibility for his work and that of his employees, to recognise his responsibilities towards the organisation, its owners, employees, suppliers, customers and the general public, to demonstrate integrity and not to injure another manager's professional reputation. The BIM also requires intending members to satisfy certain standards in respect of qualifications and experience, and provides for sanctions ranging from admonishment and reprimand to suspension and finally expulsion for those who deviate from the desired behaviour. Since managers, however, can practise whether or not they are BIM members, the enforcement aspect of the Code is mainly in the privilege of membership.

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[1] Nancy McNulty: " And now, professional codes for the practice of management . . . but not in the U.S. ", in *Conference Board Record* (New York), Apr. 1975, pp. 21-24.

The RKW Code, unlike the British one, is intended only for managers in private business. It sets desirable standards of managerial behaviour towards consumers, employees, shareholders and society. There are no sanctions attached to the Code.

The GMA Code covers managers in both private and public enterprises. It too lays down rules for regulating the manager's relations with society, the investors, the consumers, the employees, the environment and also with his fellow managers in that it enjoins him to do nothing that would diminish the prestige of his profession.

In addition to these three examples, an attempt is being made by the World Council of Management (CIOS) to establish a world-wide code of conduct. Similarly, various manufacturers' associations or branches of business in various countries have established guides for managerial behaviour.

These rules are desirable, and can have a positive influence to the extent that they are observed by all those for whom they are intended. Their development through group efforts, such as collective action by a management association, can bring group pressures into play to dissuade offenders. Introducing sanctions to enforce the rules may be desirable, but only if admission to the profession and the right to practise have been regulated and defined. Sanctions in a " free-for-all " profession can be nothing more than an empty gesture.

Inasmuch as codes of behaviour are not an end in themselves but represent a step towards self-regulation by the profession, they must, if they are to be realistic, reflect the economic, cultural and social setting to which they relate. In this sense, local and national codes are probably more desirable and meaningful than universal codes. Clearly, there are certain elements that lend themselves to universal application, such as " thou shalt not cheat or bribe ", but when it comes to refining the definition of the relations of a manager with each of his client or social groups, the superiority of a locally developed code becomes evident.

Nor should codes be regarded as statutes that are developed once and for all. Advances in technology, and rapidly changing values and aspirations can render a code irrelevant to the existing reality unless it keeps up with such changes.

Summary

A profession seeks to demonstrate a certain proficiency and excellence in practice based on a systematic body of knowledge; it aims at inculcating in its members a sense of responsibility towards others and at establishing a norm of behaviour and clearly defined qualifications for membership. Although the management occupation has not yet reached that stage, considerable progress has been made. This has been brought about not only by growing social pressure on business and by the intervention of the State through legislation but also as a result of conviction and changed attitudes on the part of many managers. Thus the classical notion of a manager who

sees his responsibility as restricted to his obligations towards ownership is being replaced by a broader concept involving responsibilities towards various clients of the business, i.e. the employees, the consumers, the owners, the State and society at large. But in regulating his relations with and among these various clients, a manager often finds himself relying on value judgement rather than adopting the confident approach of a professional who is reasonably sure of the outcome of his decision. Through further research, guidance and training, management institutions can do more to advance the cause of the profession in this direction.

While business and management education is widespread and hence there is an indication that a systematic body of knowledge is being built up, social and moral issues are not yet sufficiently integrated into business curricula, which still for the most part emphasise productivity and profitability as the yardstick for successful problem-solving. The same notion governs actual business practice, where systems of control based in part on desirable social behaviour are lacking. Even when professionally minded managers attempt to introduce policies catering for the interests of the various clients of the enterprise, they are often hampered by the lack of norms for what constitutes a good quality of working life or increased consumer satisfaction.

Of late, several attempts have been made to set certain codes of conduct for managerial behaviour. These are useful and bold moves provided that management, in the same way as other professions like law and medicine, is able to restrict admission and practice to those who have a certain proficiency and are willing to abide by such rules of conduct. This is all the more important since managerial decisions affect the lives and livelihood of millions of people, and yet it is an occupation that is wide open to anyone with or without adequate proficiency or feeling of social responsibility. None of the codes developed so far can really be enforced, except perhaps by withdrawing the privilege of membership of one management organisation or another. This is an important and challenging task for national management associations and institutions, as locally developed rules of behaviour which are sensitive to particular cultural, social and economic settings are superior to international rules.

So has management passed the test of a profession? The answer must be " not yet ", but as work progresses in the areas discussed above there is no doubt that some day it will become, as it deserves to, not merely an occupation but a fully fledged profession in its own right. ■