

# RURAL DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our multidisciplinary team accepted the task to develop a framework for analyzing agricultural institutions, especially in the LDCs. The team searched the approaches and experiences of colleagues and administrators around the world as we worked to create an analytical approach. The following readings are some of the resources used by our team. It is our expectation that relevant articles we have missed as well as new ones being written will be called to our attention and added to this bibliography.

It was anticipated that this bibliography would supplement the contract report titled Studying Agricultural Institutions: A Modular Approach. Although our multidisciplinary team did our initial work on the bibliography to undergird our analytical model, we have been encouraged to expand and reproduce it for the benefit of interested coworkers. The readings vary greatly in depth of perception, from descriptive to highly theoretical, from first drafts to polished manuscripts. As we began our work we found a dearth of bibliographies focused on the administration of agricultural institutions. We decided to light a candle rather than curse the darkness.

This work was carried out under the Rural Agricultural Program Management Contract MSU/AID CSD-3132. In addition to thanking officials of TAB/AID for their financial support, I want to express my appreciation to the team members: Dr. Melvin Blase, visiting professor of Agricultural Economics from the University of Missouri; Dr. William Herzog, Department of Communications, MSU; Dr. Mason Miller, Education Institute, MSU; Dr. Winston Oberg, Department of Management, MSU; Dr. Spencer Wellhofer, Department of Political Science, MSU; Dr. Irving Wyeth, Institute of International Agriculture, MSU. Ms. Marilyn Baumgartner contributed her professional skills in getting this manuscript prepared, as did her successor Ms. Sandra Suggitt. I owe a special debt of gratitude to my graduate assistant, Mr. Ken Shwedel. Ken had the major responsibility of gathering many of the reports and writing the reviews. He also rewrote numerous ones to give them a common focus.

Although many persons have made an input to this manuscript the responsibilities are mine for errors of omission or inclusion.

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## The Research Framework

The readings of this report are some of the resources used by our multidisciplinary team in its study of the capabilities and problems faced by public institutions in their task of rural development. The basic aim of this study was to develop a practical method of institutional analysis which would facilitate the effective planning, design and conduct of rural development activities.

The research model developed by the team looks at the institution as a changing, living organism. Reality is always more complicated than the concepts used to describe it. One can never study the "whole" of a process but must select or abstract those features which theory, previous research or intuition suggest are most relevant for further study. The team made those simplifying assumptions required to deal with a researchable segment of the total problem.

In our modular approach we chose six points of reference. They are the modules or sub-systems of research reference. They are not mutually exclusive. They probe the institution at various levels of operation, with different tools of analysis, seeking insight into social, psychological and structural characteristics of the system and its performance output.

The six modules are:

1. Systemic linkages among national institutions.
2. Intra-institutional status-role study.
3. Institutional interfaces.
4. Farmer clientele study.
5. Leadership characteristics of institutions.
6. Communication flows within institutions and to clientele.

While the modular approach was originally conceived to produce a "case study" of a single agricultural institution, it proved to be adaptable to the multi-institutional study into which the project evolved in Costa Rica.

In addition to the readings centered on the modules of the research are writings dealing with general methodology and comparative studies. We have also included a limited number of articles in the evaluation section.

After an institution has analyzed itself and decided which are its critical bottlenecks for program implementation, how does it go about making changes? The team sees the management training workshop as a positive way of generating needed institutional changes. Included in this report are workshop experiences and evaluations of such efforts in various countries.

## I. Methodology and Comparative Studies

## Methodology and Comparative Studies

- 1.1 Blase, Melvin G., Institution Building: A Source Book, Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, Inc., Michigan State University, 1973.

This book brings together the proliferation of literature bearing the nomenclature "institution building." This literature comes out of many disciplines and is widely scattered in books, journals and mimeographed reports. The dispersed nature of the literature and the discipline-focused reading of most scholars encouraged Dr. Blase to undertake this difficult task. Dr. Blase has accomplished his task and this has allowed the practitioners of institution building to become aware of and gain entry to a rich source of literature. It has also facilitated the work of the scholar.

The book consists of three parts.

"In the first part each article, paper, or book, is summarized with emphasis on the conceptual framework of institution building theory and methodology as they are related to developing countries and the process of providing them with technical assistance. In order to facilitate readers' use of the summaries, only those portions of the manuscripts of special interest to institution builders are reviewed."

"Part II...deals with key concepts used in the manuscripts central to the institution building literature, including modal definitions and their deviations."

"The final part and chapter, III...consist[s] of significant statements of relationships among the concepts included in Part II."

This book makes an exceptional contribution to the scholar and practitioner of Rural Development Administration.

- 1.2 Blume, Hans, Organizational Aspects of Agro-Industrial Development Agencies, Ifo-Instut Fur Wirtschaftschung, Munchen, Afrika-Studen No. 58, 1971.

The Development Agency is conceptualized as the organization under whose charge comes the control of a development project. As such, the Development Agency need not be a legally invested government institution. Development projects are those which attempt to increase the real per capita income. By introducing the profit motive, the groundwork has been laid for the project, and, thus the agency, to be compared with the firm using production theory as the basic analytical tool.

The theory of organization, as it refers to the firm in production, is applied to the Development Agency setting up the decision making rule as the optimum division of labor. There is only passing reference to

the noneconomic developmental goals, and then they are considered for their role as constraints on the profit maximizing activities. The resulting view of the Development Agency is of an institution standing between the smallholders and the market place, providing the following functions: (1) procurement; (2) extension services; (3) transportation; (4) financing; and (5) administration and direction of these functions.

Although more and more units of government and governmental agencies are moving towards program budgeting, the analytical framework of this book leads to the traditional line-item control budgeting. In fact, the economic goals or objectives are considered as either: (1) maximizing output while covering cost; or (2) setting output targets while minimizing costs. The mutual exclusiveness and rigidity of the two objectives does not allow either to be maximized simultaneously.

This theory of organization is examined in nine case studies, relating the activities of different developmental agencies to tea, cotton, and oil-palm projects. The agencies are governmental and/or independent institutions, but all are imposed from outside. That is, they reflect governmental policy decisions, rather than the felt needs of the smallholders.

The case studies are divided by crop: (1) tea, (2) cotton, (3) oil-palm. A short introduction at the beginning of each series of case studies gives a summary of the cropping and marketing situations. Each separate case study follows the general outline of (1) situation of the smallholders; (2) the organization of the Development Agency; (3) the services provided by the Agency; (4) the economic return; and (5) a general set of conclusions and recommendations regarding each of the above.

- 1.3 Braibanti, Ralph, "Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform: A Survey of Scope and Critique of Issues," in Montgomery, John D. and Siffin, William J., Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1966, pp. 133-183.

After reviewing the involvement of the U.S. government, the United Nations and the Ford Foundation in induced programs of administrative reform, Braibanti raises four issues which he feels are crucial to the efforts of cross-cultural programs of public administration. The first issue relates to whether or not administrative skills can be transferred and applied cross-culturally without regard to spatial or temporal elements. Although he favors adoption of techniques to suit the environment, Braibanti draws a useful distinction between two levels of administrative action. The first consists of those actions where value or policy judgments are supposed to be minimal or non-existent; the second consists of policy judgments usually at the highest administrative levels. It is felt that there is some difference between the two levels regarding the effective transferability of "scientific" skills.

Secondly, Braibanti feels there are certain modes of administrative behavior that are so a part of the national culture, that institutional change can only be the result of changes of the society as a whole. Five



particular areas not subject to internal change are mentioned: (1) bureaucratic democratization; (2) group behavior; (3) delegation; (4) over-staffing; and (5) bureaucratic corruption.

Accepting the premise that proposed reforms should be adopted for the recipient institutions, the third issue arises as to whom the responsibility should fall for adopting these reforms. Of the three possibilities: (1) the host institution, (2) the invited specialists, or (3) both groups; the third is seen as the superior. "These two exclusive insights must therefore be joined in a relationship of mutual responsibility for adoption which encourages pride in what is indigenous and stimulates the creativity to modify it."

The final issue relates to the pragmatic concern of insuring that these reforms be implemented, and be effective. Towards this end, it is important to identify sources of support for the efficient implementation of the development plans which are the objectives of the administrative reforms. While it is necessary, it is not sufficient to identify and exploit these sources, for in order to maintain long term administrative efficiency, it requires the inculcation of certain ideological underpinnings. To accomplish this it should be again, a joint activity of the host institution and the foreign specialist.

Whether or not one is as committed to environmental determinism, as Braibanti appears to be, he must consider these issues as being critical to the development of a program or methodology of administrative reform where multicultural values come into contact with one another.

1.4 The Comparative Study of Economic Growth and Structure: Suggestions on Research Objectives and Organization, Conference on Comparative Economic Growth and Structure, New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1959.

This conference report with its supplementary memoranda is derived from a conference of two groups of economists and government officials. The main stress of the report is on the inadequate supplies of comparative studies of economic growth and structure on statistical and analytical levels. It outlines a suggested approach for world-wide comparative studies that would be essential for both the analysis of the dynamics of economic development and for the formulation of policy based on the result of this analysis.

Some of the methods suggested for the approaches include relating the results of the projects in the underdeveloped countries back to the original objectives of the projects. The evaluation could be discussed and the problems catalogued. This information would be useful in setting up a methodology, applicable to the country, time period of the study and the organization of the research. The catalogued findings would be available to participants of future development projects who then would have prior knowledge of institutional bottlenecks to be expected in the country they are studying.

- 1.5 Esman, Milton J., Some Issues in Institution Building, Mimeographed paper, Ithaca, New York, 1969.

As a result of continued study and the application of the Institution Building (IB) model to institutional evaluation, Esman feels that IB theory can be further refined and clarified. The IB model is valid only within a set of circumstances -- parameters. It does not explain or prescribe a unique process of actual change. It is most useful where changes and innovations are deliberately induced into a permissive environment which must rely on autonomous response if their innovations are to be implemented.

Esman notes that certain variables may be added (conceptual scheme, principle change agents and strategic planning) to the IB framework, others (leadership and linkages) need to be redefined and one [doctrine] should be given more emphasis.

The final addition to the original IB model is the inclusion of the relationship between technical assistance and IB. This is an important enlargement since much of the emphasis to use IB comes from external sources. The areas where technical assistance are most useful and influential are pointed out, but unfortunately the limitations and responsibilities of technical assistance to IB are not mentioned.

This attempt by Esman to place the model within a better defined parameter eliminates many of the questions as to the applicability of IB raised by earlier writings. The addition and modification of certain variables, further tends to make the model more realistic. Finally, it is worth noting that it was calculated that the IB process should take eight years. The addition of this time dimension reminds us that, in general, non-coercive change is gradual and thus to accept the IB model requires a commitment calculated by years, not months.

- 1.6 Esman, Milton J., and Blaise, Hans C., Institution Building Research: The Guiding Concepts, Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1966.

The process of development (change and growth) is highly dependent on the organization or institutions through which "new functions, values and techniques are introduced, diffused and assimilated (institutionalized) in every sector of a developing society." Institution Building (IB) therefore, is concerned with the planning and guidance of new or reconstituted organizations involved in the processes of development.

Making the assumption that it is possible to identify a set of elements and actions which are relevant to the IB process, they note four areas of concern: (1) leadership, (2) doctrine, (3) organization, and (4) environment. Their concerns or elements are related to indicators of institutional character: (1) ability to survive, (2) autonomy, and (3) influence. With their concepts defined and understood, a conceptual scheme

is put forth by the authors to "facilitate the orderly collection, and logical classification of data."

The scheme divides IB into three categories. The first deals with structure of the institution as a system whose elements determine its behavior. The second specifies the environment within which the institution interacts, pointing to the interdependencies between the institution and other relevant parts of the society. The final category refers to the kinds and purposes of transactions which are conducted between the institution and its environment.

It is in the adoption of their conceptual framework that the contribution of the IB approach is found. The institution is no longer viewed as an insulated organization; rather it is part of a larger system. Other works have hinted at this, but this is the first to spell it out in a workable framework. To understand and change the institution, it must be studied in this context, not in isolation. The interaction of the institution with its environment means that it must react and change over time if it is to survive. This notion has changed the concept of an institution from that of static organization to one which is dynamic and changing.

- 1.7 Esman, Milton J., "The Politics of Development Administration," in Montgomery, John D. and Siffin, William J., Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1966, pp. 59-112.

Within a developing or transitional society, the fundamental public policy is twofold: (1) nation-building and (2) socio-economic progress. The fulfillment of this dual goal is a function of a government's ability to cope with twelve major tasks: (1) achieving security against external aggression and insuring internal order; (2) establishing and maintaining consensus of the legitimacy of the regime; (3) integrating diverse ethnic, religious, communal and regional elements into a national political community; (4) organizing and distributing formal powers and functions among organs of central, regional and local governments and between public authority and the private sector; (5) displacement of vertical, traditional, social and economic interests; (6) development of modernizing skills and institutions; (7) fostering of psychological and material security; (8) mobilization of savings and of current financial resources; (9) national program of investment; (10) efficient management of facilities and services; (11) activating participation in modernizing activities, especially in decision-making roles; and (12) achieving a secure position in the international community.

To adequately execute these tasks it requires calculated government programs, whose success, in turn, depends upon the nature of the relationship between politics and administration. The two are "interrelated instruments of action which are amendable in some measure to purposeful manipulation and control."

To expand on the nature of this interrelationship, Esman cites three elements, or analytical concepts, which are characteristic of the nation-building process and economic development: (1) a governing elite that moves and guides the modernizing process; (2) a doctrine which legitimizes programmed action; and (3) a series of instruments through which commitments to action are translated into operating programs. A typology of different political systems is outlined and the interrelationship of politics and administration and the context these three elements are analyzed for each system.

Typologies of this nature serve to put the complex problem of development administration into a workable analytical framework. We are told not to lose sight of the principal function of administration, and reminded that development and the process of administering development cannot wholly be understood, or changed in an isolated context. Esman concludes that to comprehend the process of development administration, it requires knowledge of (1) goals and tasks; (2) functions of the elites; (3) the role of doctrine; (4) instruments of action; and (5) regime types.

- 1.8 Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L., The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.

Glaser and Strauss indict the field of sociology for its emphasis on theory testing rather than theory creation. They contend that sociology as a discipline is predominately concerned with validation of existing theory, principally derived from great masters: Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Park, et. al. Moreover, they state that this concern for validation has led to a concern with methodological problems and rigorous standards for data gathering. These emphases, they argue, have led to a lack of new theory.

As a counter strategy, they urged the discovery of grounded or substantive theory, i.e., theory related to specialized areas of inquiry, that later may be generalized into formal theory. To generate grounded theory, they advocate the social scientist be less concerned with rigorous methodology and more concerned with insight and intuition to discovery theory which may be formalized through more rigorous procedures. This relaxation of the validation criteria would help to overcome reliance on the great masters, the theoretical sterility of the discipline and generate theory which can be more effectively communicated to informed laymen to bring about applied research and reform.

This thesis would seem to be relevant to the research administration project in several ways. First, it suggests we be less concerned with being scientific and more concerned with understanding our research problems, i.e., we relax our scientism to gain insight. Secondly, we might want to limit expensive field research, particularly field research designed to be rigorously scientific and employ secondary analysis of existing data. After the secondary analysis of existing data, we might plot a research strategy designed to elaborate and expand the theory in additional

areas. Such a strategy would have definite advantages as well as some specific costs. Our current strategy of serving two masters (science and theory development) is expensive in that we expend great energy on scientific methodology, consequently making us dependent on the field data and calculators in the host country. The alternative strategy would mean we could temporarily relax rigorous methodology in the field and attempt to generate understanding of our substantive concern using less vigorous field data and secondary analysis of existing data. Visits to the AID libraries indicated that an enormous number of previous studies are available for secondary analysis. Using this existing data is not costless, however. Problems of access may be encountered. In addition, these materials do not appear to be well organized for the purposes of this project. Finally, any theory developed in such an enterprise would have to be considered grounded or substantive theory having limited generalizability. These costs and benefit calculations would have to be thoroughly investigated and evaluated before considering such a strategy.

- 1.9 Hunter, Guy, "Chapter VIII, Administration," Modernizing Peasant Societies: A Comparative Study in Asia and Africa, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 191-217.

The underlying theme in this book is the inappropriateness of Europe as the historical model for development. In this context, Hunter suggests that the present administrative problems of the developing nations are a result of the adaption of administrative techniques based on the European (and American) experience into a society where the prerequisites for this type of system do not, per se, exist.

Hunter examines the development of administrative institutions from feudal times to the present day "super-institutions" world. He notes that economic development was characterized by a series of steps or stages. Each stage in turn, had a unique system of administration reflecting the particular circumstances of the era. He also points out that the institutional duties (services) and goals varied in each stage. Although he talks about stages in administrative development, it is clear that each stage represents a point on a continuum.

When institutions are transferred to LDCs, problems arise because of this failure to recognize that each stage and its institutions are not independent to that which preceded them nor of the circumstances which gave rise to their creation. Thus, what is assumed as a given for standard institutional behavior in the developed country cannot exist in the LDCs. Since these are the organizations charged with the task of development, it is understandable that serious problems and large inequalities have resulted.

Three areas of administrative problems are cited as being serious blocks to development: (1) delegation, (2) coordination, and (3) local involvement. Transferred institutions have often created or worsened these problems. Hunter suggests national initiative to develop administrative systems based on local capacity and experience to overcome the

problems mentioned above. The Indian Agricultural Block Program is reviewed as an example of an indigenous system which attempts to solve these problems.

- 1.10 Lawrence, Paul R. and Lorsch, Jay W., Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration, Boston, Harvard University, 1967.

The book assesses the impact of environment on organizational effectiveness and concludes that effective organizations are those which are most effectively structured to meet the environment demands. The more the environment is characterized by unpredictability in scientific market and/or techno-economic areas, the more differentiated is the effective organization in terms of clarity of information, uncertainty of causal relationships and time span for definitive feedback for each environmental sector and the greater the need for effective integrative mechanisms. Effective integration in such organizations is most readily achieved by decentralization of authority, authority based on knowledge and confrontation as a means of conflict-resolution mechanism. (Confrontation refers to frank and open discussion of differences.)

The authors also show the adverse of the above thesis: The less the environment is characterized by unpredictability in scientific, market and/or techno-economic areas, the less differentiated is the effective organization in terms of clarity of information, uncertainty of causal relationships and time span for definitive feedback for each environmental sector and the lesser the need for effective integrative mechanisms. Effective integration in such organizations is most readily achieved by centralization of authority, authority based on hierarchy and authoritative conflict resolution.

The thesis is illustrated with a questionnaire analysis of middle and upper level managers in a sample of business firms differentiated by objective measures of effectiveness and environment. The questionnaire is reproduced at the end of the volume.

The insights of the study may be applied to the rural development project by examining effective and ineffective government agencies operating in specialized areas (e.g., technological innovation, banking facilities, marketing, etc.) and then examining the degree to which the central agency is effective in integrating these differentiated functions. If the environmental predictability of the subunits varies, then we would expect greater needs for differentiation and greater need for integration to achieve effectiveness.

- 1.11 Manwaring, H. Laurence, The Study of Organization and Functions of the Ministerio de Agricultura Y Cria of Venezuela, Mimeograph, USDA, Washington, D.C.

A report of the results and recommendations of a study of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock. The actual technique used to carry out the study is not mentioned in any detail, only that interviews were

conducted with high level officials in Caracas and that trips were taken to various regional offices.

Although Manwaring's conclusions, or recommendations seem very general, they do tend to highlight eight problematic areas often overlooked by other studies of agricultural ministries: (1) work load standards, (2) instructional systems, (3) employee evaluation programs, (4) promotional systems, (5) salary system -- payments, comparability and increases, (6) field reporting, (7) managerial training, and (8) program formulation.

It should be noted that most of these relate to the area of employee responsibility and relationships. The underlying assumption is that an organization is only as good as the people it employs. By improving the quality -- morale, efficiency and technical competence -- of its personnel, the quality of the institution also is improved.

- 1.12 Montgomery, John D., "Sources of Bureaucratic Reform: A Typology of Purposes and Politics," in Braibanti, Ralph (ed.), Political and Administrative Development, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., 1969, pp. 427-471.

Instead of the customary view of administrative reform as a series of positive changes, Montgomery states that many of these reforms are negative in nature. That is, many of the reforms are addressed to "different modes of undesirable bureaucratic behavior." This is termed the "annoyance principle."

Within the bureaucracy, changes can affect either upward, lateral and/or internal relationship. The first refers to the relationship between bureaucracy and the ruling authority of the state. Lateral relationships are the set of interactions between the bureaucracy and the rest of society. Values and doctrine relate to the set of internal relationships.

Just as the difference must be made between the nature of administrative reforms and the level of bureaucratic relationships, the societal typologies must also be identified. Montgomery analyzes the nature of the annoyance principle on these three levels in traditional autocracies, western democracies and modernizing polities. It is the latter which is of special interest.

Modernizing polities have the twin goals of nation-building and economic development. Thus, according to the annoyance principle, reforms are directed bureaucratic behavior which would impede the fulfillment of these goals. Upward change is directed towards polycommunality, that is, loyalty toward the sources of power that must be integrated in order to establish a nation-state. Lateral reforms are those which remove sources of ineffectiveness in establishing social order. Finally, the necessities of nation building require that the bureaucracy serve as "popular leaders and teachers" of national consciousness. This means that internal relations must be characterized by an internal politization.

Montgomery, in the work, adds another tool to the methodology of administrative study. So often researchers ask, "How should it be?" while administrators want to know, "How do we avoid it?" Administrative reforms are both positive and negative in nature, and both must be considered in the conceptualization of administrative development.

- 1.13 Powelson, John P., Institutions of Economic Growth: A Theory of Conflict Management in Developing Countries, Princeton University Press, 1972.

Nations taking off into economic growth require institutions in which formal and informal modes of interpersonal behavior exist. Problem: How do they choose these institutions? How do countries that have opted for different institutions such as socialist, capitalist, etc., mixed government or private, assume their goals? Are the goals the same for these different types of government? When speaking in the terms of economic growth, is one choice universally better than others? Is one form better making some countries right and others wrong? A theory of institution building for developing countries is developed and a wide range of questions of this theory and thus sets forth the role of the institution in growth, classifications, ways of measuring effectiveness and the principles by which institutional selections are made. This is developed into two parts. Part one presents a detailed study of the theory and part two studies its impact with materials gathered in Latin America and then relates them to the modern growth theory.

The case for conceptualization of economic growth is argued by proposing three potential constraints, each of which might serve as levels for institutional growth. They are: identification, rules and consensus. For example, if one industry is nationalized it is easier and more acceptable to those involved to nationalize another. If legal disputes are settled by juries, it is easier to establish arbitration boards for disputes. If the president is chosen by free election, it is then easier to establish a board of directors elected by stockholders. If there is an ideology that leads the members of an institution to believe that certain institutions are more desirable than others, then this institution will function more effectively. This book relates to the methodology aspects of the Rural Development project.

- 1.14 Raphaeli, Nimrod, "Comparative Public Administration: An Overview," in Raphaeli, Nimrod, Readings in Comparative Administration, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1967, pp. 1-25.

As a field of investigation and study, comparative public administration is a relatively new discipline. Although its roots can be traced to early bureaucratic studies, the first attempts at developing systematic research and teaching methods did not occur until the Conference on Comparative Public Administration held at Princeton in 1952.

In the succeeding years, it was possible to distinguish three foci in the literature: (1) theory, (2) development administration, and



(3) the traditional concern with the study of bureaucracy of an individual country or culture. The theory of public administration developed other useful models which transcended the narrow confines of bureaucratic models and concerned itself with a "middle range" of institutional concerns (i.e., penetration, information, belief, confidence and action). Development administration defined its area of concern around three problems: (1) the political dimensions of development and administration, (2) the process of development planning, and (3) the administrative systems of developing countries.

The discipline is seen as moving toward an ecological approach of comparative administration. This approach asserts that "Administrative behavior is not random -- it is an outgrowth of the interaction of cultural traits and values and the administration." There is, nevertheless, a rejection of this approach by some researchers who state that it implies that administrative behavior is "nothing more than the outcome of a particular configuration of interacting pressures." The synthesis of this debate is a non-deterministic view of ecology which Raphaeli feels will be the course of comparative public administration.

- 1.15 Riggs, Fred W., Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of the Prismatic Society, Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, 1964.

The traditional view of public administration has the civil servant characterized as a value neutral, or non-political person. It is assumed his actions are the response to politically articulated goals of the state. The behavioralist, on the other hand, has implicitly challenged this assumption regarding the nature of administrative action by studying bureaucracy within a framework of interpersonal relationships and environmental response. Both of these groups, Riggs feels, have taken for granted the "existence of political and judicial institutions capable of imposing their authority over a structurally distinct and separate bureaucracy."

Having pointed out the inability of these models to deal with development administration, Riggs proceeds to develop his own approach to the study of public administration. Noting that many LDC bureaucracies are, what he terms, formalistic (i.e., there exists a lack of correspondence between administrative behavior and the formally prescribed norm) and that structures vary with the number of functions they perform, Riggs proposes a model which bypasses formalistic structure for one which defines bureaucracy (and society) by the number of functions it performs. The developed society is characterized by a functionally diffused structure, that is, it performs a large number of specific functions. At the other extreme, is the traditional society where the administrative structure performs a very limited number of functions. The former is termed a diffracted society, while the latter is considered a fused society. Between the two is the prismatic society, typical of most developing nations.

Using this trichotomy, Riggs states that he is able to free himself of premises of the predominately diffracted models, where political and

administrative functions are institutionalized into separate structures, to effectively analyze development administration within the prismatic framework.

In the prismatic society bureaucratic power is relatively greater than in either the fused or diffracted societies. Yet the degree of efficiency is inversely related to the weight of its power. This in part is due to the fact that in prismatic societies, administrators are not value neutral, but involved personally in the determination of goals. "When bureaucrats themselves choose public goal and values, when they determine what rules to enforce and which to ignore and when their personal incomes vary inversely with the efficiency of their work, surely administrative efficiency must suffer."

The partial fusion of the political and administrative functions leads to institutionalized corruption. Men are chosen for public office with a view to their power potential and their loyalty to superiors. But their selection is also determined by their relationship to the superior; these are either paternal or communal. A clientele group not tied to the bureaucracy by paternal or communal nexuses, also being unable to organize or exercise political influence, attempts to bring direct pressure (a bribe) upon the official concerned with policy implementation, "to secure a suspension of the rules or to speed the provision of authorized services."

While it is true that bureaucratic power is greater in the prismatic society, it is uniquely characterized by being neither centralized nor localized: "...authority and control become unhinged." Subordinates refer matters to their superiors because of their unwillingness to take responsibility. The superiors, on the other hand, do not delegate authority because of their inability to impose constraints on the conduct of their staff.

To accept Riggs' tripartite model requires that the study of public administration in developing (prismatic) societies not be compartmentalized. Rather, one must recognize that economics, political science, sociology, communication, as well as the other social sciences, play a role in explaining and predicting administrative behavior. The formalistic solutions of the compartmentalized discipline of public administration, of the diffracted society are rejected in favor of functionally oriented reforms directed toward building effective instrumentalities for imposing real control over the state bureaucracy.

- 1.16 Schmid, A. Allan, "Analytical Institutional Economics: Challenging Problems in the Economics of Resources for a New Environment," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 54, No. 5, December 1972, pp. 893-901.

The role of institutional investigation is essentially seen as supplying predictions as to the consequences of different or alternative institutional forms with respect to a given problem. A broad conception of institution is used: "...nets of ordered relationship among people which

define their rights, exposure to the rights of others, privileges and responsibilities."

The problem with much of the past research on institutions is that behavior assumptions were either ignored or when they were incorporated, little was asked of them. In suggesting a framework for future institutional studies, Schmid suggests that structure, conduct and performance approaches would provide the linkage between institutional alternatives, behavior and final goods and services. Structure refers to property rights and their distribution. Conduct is the behavior and actions of people, firms and governmental agencies. Performance is in terms of the various intermediate products and finally human life.

Four areas or categories for study are outlined. They include: (1) efforts to facilitate intra-institutional trade by clarifying rights and reducing transaction costs, (2) redistribution of such rights, (3) rules of trade and bargaining among government levels and agencies, and (4) redistribution of governmental rights and changes in the rules.

Key concepts are identified in this paper which are useful to the study of institutions in agricultural development: (1) the role of the institution and the distribution of property rights, (2) the interrelationship between men and institutions' effect on the character of men, (3) changes in administrative procedure may represent redistribution of public resources, and (4) the role of the institution in the final analysis, must be to serve (produce for) its clientele.

- 1.17 Szuprowicz, Bohdan O., "Network Planning and Economic Development," New Scientist, XVIII, June 1963, p. 728.

The PERT (Planning, Evaluation, Review Technique) with its CPM (Critical Path Method) are seen as means for improved development planning. One of the major objectives of a development program is "selection and transmission of information required for the planning and execution of the projects which together constitute that programme." It is here that these systems prove to be most useful by providing the techniques for sorting out and interrelating these activities. Standardized use of network systems further aids this process by eliminating many of the communication problems between the different sectors.

Network planning, then, can take place on three levels: (1) project, (2) sector, and (3) multi-sector (national). The three are easily monitored and interrelated. To emphasize this point, Szuprowicz uses an example of Nigeria's development program.

It is felt that the network approach would be welcomed by developing nations, but there exists the problem of lack of skilled personnel and computer facilities. Simple network programs can be taught with relative ease and can be done by hand calculation. With more involved programs (over 200 activities) a computer becomes a necessity. Thus the availability of a computer becomes almost a prerequisite for seriously introducing network planning into developing economies.

1.18 Thompson, James D., Organizations in Action: Social Science Bases of Administrative Theory, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1967.

Thompson's principal emphasis is on the manner in which organizations gain predictability over two sources of unpredictability, technology and environment. "Complex organizations are built to operate technologies which are found to be impossible or impractical for individuals to operate."

These forms of technology which influence organizational structure and rationality are:

1. Long-linked technology -- serial interdependence of actions; i.e., later processes cannot be performed unless prior processes are performed, e.g., mass production assembly line.
2. Mediating technology -- the linking of customers who wish to be interdependent, e.g., banks, insurance firms, telephone utilities.
3. Intensive technology -- concentration of a variety of technical processes to transform some specific object, but the selection, combination and order of application are determined by feedback from the objective itself, e.g., general hospital.

From the assumption that organizations attempt to maximize predictability of the impact of differing technologies and environments, Thompson builds his analysis. Differing technologies influence the manner in which organizations are dependent on their environment and hence seek predictability: long-linked technological organizations pursue vertical integration; mediating, technological organizations seek to expand their clientele; intensive technological organizations attempt to expand the scope of the object worked on. Such efforts are subject to the limits and advantages of economics of scale, externalities and complementarities.

Internal organizational structure is influenced by the types of technology employed. Coordination is achieved by planning in long-linked technologies; standardization in mediating technologies, and mutual adjustment in intensive technologies.

Organizations must also effectively deal with their environment. Long-linked technologies rely on scheduling; mediating technologies on self-sufficient clusters and intensive technologies on task forces.

Organizations assess themselves according to the knowledge of cause and effect relationships of the technology employed. The lesser the knowledge of cause/effect relationships in technology, the more organizations will evaluate themselves in terms of organizational (rather than technical) rationality.

Personnel management in organizations is achieved by an inducements/contributions matrix to coordinate individual ambitions with organizational tasks. In routinized technologies job contracts are determined by collective bargaining. In intensive technologies collective bargaining is

used by early-ceiling occupations, while late-ceiling occupations usually rely on prestige among occupational colleagues. In managerial technology, job contracts depend on the ability of the individual to solve problems of organizational rationality.

Organizations attempt to increase the dependence of the individual on the organization and reduce individual discretion by policing, establishing inappropriate assessment criteria, increasing the consequences of error. Individuals attempt to increase discretion by pursuing the opposite strategies and forming coalitions with others in similar situations either in the organization or the task environment.

Organizational goals are the intended future domains of the dominant coalition in the present organization. The greater the number of power positions in the organization, the greater the number of proposals for organizational goals. The greater the unpredictability of the technology and task environment of the organization the greater the number of power positions in the organization. The greater the number of power positions, the greater the use of coalitions in decision making.

Organizations break down when: (1) participants define administration as office holding rather than as an essential ingredient in organizational accomplishment, (2) the organization develops a bias toward certainty evident in a preference for short-term rather than long-term considerations, quantitative rather than qualitative data, and precedent rather than innovation, (3) diffusion of power preventing sufficient stability and emergence of a governing coalition, and (4) lack of knowledge of cause/effect technologies.

Thompson's analysis would seem to be most fruitful if complex organizations are viewed as a composite of the three technologies necessitating a composite of the coordinating techniques and administrative processes. In analyzing rural developmental administration it seems essential to view both the clientele groups and the administrative agencies as composite technologies detailing from the perspective the various implications for differing goals and strategies of each group and agency.

- 1.19 Weitz, Raanan (ed.) with Landau, Yehuda H., Rural Development in a Changing World, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1971.

This book is divided into two parts. The first part, entitled "Concept and Approach" deals with the rural development policies and planning: Agriculture and Industry; Rural-Urban Relationships; the Farm Unit; Agrarian Reform and Cooperative Institutions; Extension services and Implementation of Rural Development. This part contains 24 essays in eight sections and deals with providing an overall view of the general field of rural development.

The second part, entitled "Agriculture and Industry" contains three papers (in the case study approach) that discuss the interrelationship between agriculture and industry. They (agriculture and industry) are shown

as interdependent and not competing. If properly organized and developed they can function to increase the efficiency and development of each other. There are also articles which deal with providing communication networks to rural areas; Urban-Rural relationships; and the future of the farm unit. The case studies relate to different countries, representing three different stages of development.

The editor has included articles which cover many aspects of the problems associated with rural agricultural development. His ideas relate very well to our rural management project's goals with its modular overview approach. The case studies could enhance the scope of the project.

- 1.20 Wittfogel, Karl A., Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1957.

Wittfogel's analysis of hydraulic society stresses the conditions under which massive political organizations emerge and are perpetuated. Hydraulic societies are agrarian societies in which either too much or too little water facilitates the emergence of a bureaucratic, centralized, regulative organization to control water supplies. The need for massive public works in water supply control facilitates tax mechanisms leading to corvee' labor, leveling inheritance laws and church-state unity which promotes centralized despotic government. Such organizations have characterized most major world civilizations outside Western Europe: China, India, Meso and South America and Southeast Asia.

Wittfogel's basic line of analysis is conditions supporting and facilitating the maximization of organizational externalities. Unfortunately his personal political views and a failure at in-depth analysis of some important non-hydraulic societies detract from the potential of the work.

- 1.21 Wood, Garland P., Studying Agricultural Institutions: A Modular Approach, Michigan State University, 1974.

A multidisciplinary task force was brought together to work toward three major objectives: (1) developing a methodology of institutional analysis focused on public agricultural institutions in LDCs, (2) finding an approach that would allow entry into sensitive institutions in a manner that would generate trust between administrators and consultants for longer-run remedial efforts, and (3) accepting the challenge that the ultimate clientele of all this effort should be the small and medium sized farmer.

The empirical testing of the approach was done with the agricultural institutions in Costa Rica. Specific agricultural development projects were studied to note the effectiveness of institutional implementation efforts at the small farm level. The data fathored by the modules of inquiry were analyzed so as to see how effective this modular approach was in

pointing to institutional bottlenecks and implementation weaknesses. Finally, the report deals with suggestions for facilitating institutional change and Appendix A includes materials for management training for rural sector change.

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- 1.Q Younstrem, C. O., Report on Agriculture Extension in Ecuador. [8.8 p. 69]



## II. Systemic Institutional Linkage Module

## Systemic Institutional Linkage Module

Within any group of interrelated institutions constituting a network of institutions, there are some which have more influence than others. Identifying the nature and strength of these linkages is a formidable task. Nevertheless, it is a crucial one if the power relationships among institutions are to be understood so that the network can be influenced with a minimum of resources to evolve from a traditional to a modern one.

If, for example, a point of entry into an institutional network is selected which is an inconsequential institution with little influence on others in the network, little leverage for transforming the network is obtained. On the other hand, if the institutional point of entry is the dominant one in the network, the multiplicative effect of modernization of this institution can have appreciable impact on others in the network, next on the sector involved and then on the entire national development process. Since resources are inevitably scarce for modifying institutions, the selection of critical points of entry is of utmost importance.

The Systemic Institutional Linkage Module was designed to deal with this problem of identifying high payoff institutions for the allocation of assistance resources. In doing so, concepts were selected and integrated from the fields of institution building and social psychology.

## Systemic Institutional Linkage Module

- 2.1 Anderson, Robert C., A Sociometric Approach to the Analysis of Inter-Organizational Relationships, Technical Bulletin B-60, Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, 1969.

Postulating that social power is structured and that the behavior of institutions influences and is influenced by the structure of the organizational subsystem, Anderson suggests an approach whereby the traditional sociometric techniques of small group study can be applied in a large scale, interorganizational setting. The result is a methodology which provides measures of: (1) interaction structures, (2) influence patterns, and, (3) status arrangements.

A case study of the institutions responsible for economic development in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan is used to demonstrate the process and effectiveness of this approach. Sixty-one organizations were identified as being important in the area. Representatives from each organization were asked to rate the frequency of contact in carrying out their business with every other organization in the study. This information was analyzed for each organization on the basis of the manner in which: (1) it perceived the other organizations and (2) it was perceived as being important by the other organizations. Out of this, clusters of interaction and influence patterns were identified. These in turn were useful in pointing out status arrangements.

This technique can lend itself to the more traditional organizational analysis. Instead of an institution-by-institution approach, the organizations may be grouped into any desired classification (e.g., public or private). The organizations in the Upper Peninsula were divided into eleven sectors (mining, services, etc.) for purposes of illustration. Again sociometric scores were calculated and compared for ascribing interaction and influence as well as status interpretations. For example, the results of this study pointed "to the fact that the Tourism sector appears to provide a linking-pin function between public service and product-oriented interest sectors."

In the LDC context, this approach takes on added significance when it is realized that institutions are the basic instruments of development. In order to achieve their goals, institutions must interact, cooperate and compete with other organizations. To be able to map these interactions and to determine involvement and influence contributes to the development of an overall methodology for institutional studies.

- 2.2 Weiss, Robert S. and Jacobson, Eugene, "A Method for the Analysis of the Structure of Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, No. 6, December 1955, pp. 661-668.

This article is a report of an attempt to apply sociometric techniques to the study of a large scale complex organization. The method essentially consists of an analysis of role relationships of the members of a given

organization by looking at their interaction patterns. For the analysis three concepts are identified: (1) work groups -- this consists of the set of individuals whose relationships were with each other, and not with members of other work groups; (2) liaison person -- an individual who has worked with at least two individuals outside his work group; and (3) contact between groups -- a single working relationship between members of sets of individuals who would be otherwise classified as separate work groups.

What emerges from this type of an analysis is a new way to look at and understand the dynamics of an organization. By isolating separate work groups it becomes possible to show how institutional structure is established through the activities of liaison persons and contacts between the working groups. In addition, Weiss and Jacobson suggest that these concepts may be used as an analytical framework for additional institutional study.

[For example: the relationship between the goals and methods of operation of a work group or larger segment of the organization and the structure of that work group or segment.]

The importance and usefulness of this technique is demonstrated by Anderson's adaptation of it to inter-institutional studies. It must be pointed out, however, that due to the nature of its underlying assumption (i.e., structure is relatively constant) modifications would have to be made when evaluating an institution which is undergoing a series of rapid changes.

### III. Intra-Institution Status Role Study

## Intra-Institution Status Role Study

There has been a tendency in recent years to better understand the structure and operations of organization through the application of role theory. The concepts of role, status, expectations, consensus and conflict are typical units of analysis and are useful tools for looking at real-life organizations.

Organizations in any culture can be viewed as being legal-rational, composed of impersonal, formal relationships and consisting of individuals occupying different positions at different levels in the organization who have certain rights and obligations, referred to as status-roles. In addition, organizations are viewed as being oriented to goals and objectives.

The study of perceptions of individuals who make up an organization when oriented to their supervisors, their subordinates, their peers and themselves is a useful way to:

1. Identify major organizational problems or bottlenecks, e.g., the lack of planning and communication flows.
2. Provide administrators (managers) with useful information, which, when analyzed, should help them to more effectively cope with problems which administrators/managers face in trying to achieve objectives.
3. More fully understand the unique patterns, relationships and variations within an organization.
4. Understand better the relationships of members to others both within and outside the organization.
5. Offer insights for future study or examination of organizations and/or develop training and assistance programs.

The readings in this section deal with these status role concepts in the institutional setting.

- 3.1 Glaser, Barney G. (ed.), Organizational Careers: A Sourcebook for Theory, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1968.

Glaser has compiled over sixty excerpts from a wide variety of empirical studies on organizational careers. The selections are organized into sections on theory, recruitment, loyalty and commitment, sources and strategies of promotion, demotion, succession, moving between organizations, and executive and worker career patterns.

Most of the studies cited take a structural approach to organizational career analysis by suggesting that organizational career opportunities (favorable or unfavorable) significantly influence the advancement of and attitudes toward careers. Blauner's study of contrasting attitudes of automobile and chemical workers (pp. 446-455) suggests that availability of promotional opportunities in the existence of a defined hierarchy based on skill is important for reducing alienation among chemical manual workers. Grusky (pp. 188-190) states this proposition more theoretically when he suggests that loyalty and commitment to the organization result from the individual's balancing of past investment in the organization, future reward possibilities, and extra-organizational career opportunities.

Other selections analyze the manner in which organizations may create new positions in order to demote individuals, i.e., "kicking them upstairs" and the need for organizations to define their own criteria for success lest individuals develop reference groups outside the organization which determine success criteria (Glaser, 280-286).

In the analysis of career mobility between organizations, the cited studies emphasize the structural characteristics of the career market place which influence career movement. If skills are readily transferable, licensing standardized and a demand exists, then organizational mobility is probable. This practice is particularly noted where professional associations have been able to establish professional criteria which cross-cut the employing institutions, e.g., nursing, academic careers and executives in technical firms such as IBM. The employing organization must balance off the advantages of bringing in new blood and avoiding inbreeding over and against the needs for continuity and a stable institutional core.

The studies cited are too numerous to summarize, but the book contains much valuable information for building a structural theory of organizational change and development and implications for designing organizations more effectively.

- 3.2 Joy, Leonard, "Problems of Agricultural Administration and Extension Services," East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1969, pp. 1-8.

Inadequate policy making is seen as a major constraint on rural development. Effective policy making requires: "(1) identification of relative policy alternatives; (2) selection from these of the optimum

pattern of consistent policies based on sound predictions of the outcome; and (3) the appropriate evaluation of these outcomes in relation to policy objectives."

A policy decision process or model consisting of seven stages is outlined. Incorporated into this are the three requirements mentioned above. This outline is not to be taken as a blueprint for policy making, but Joy does feel that it will serve to "contrast a logical decision-making process with the typical situation in order to reveal its inadequacies."

Any outline or checklist is, as the name implies, a general guideline rather than detailed instructions. Yet they are of value when, as with Joy's outline, they elaborate the major considerations or processes. This allows them to act as a network pointing out the key events which must be considered and/or included for effective policy making.

3.3 Melville, Dalton, *Men Who Manage: Fusions of Feeling and Theory in Administration*, New York, John Wiley, 1959.

The author's main thrust is how the formal diffusion of power in administration is overcome by informal arrangements. He analyzes the informal arrangements, communication patterns, and cross-cutting loyalties among subordinates and superiors which act to circumvent, at times dysfunctionally, the formal dispersion of power in formal organizations. His analysis of the managerial career ladder is suggestive of the current approach of the Rural Development Project to personnel development. The chapter "The Manager between Formal and Informal" is suggestive of the communications approach in the Project's analysis.

The book is suggestive because, although it is an analysis of a business firm, it highlights the common dimensions of complex formal organizations.

3.4 Mott, Paul E., *The Characteristics of Effective Organizations*, New York, Harper and Row, 1972.

Mott emerges from the "human relations" school of organizational study (see Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Organization and Bureaucracy*, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co., 1967, pp. 97-120, for a critical evaluation of this approach). The study consists of a comparative analysis of one government agency at two points in time, ten small hospitals and one large mental hospital. The study is based on attitudinal data collected by questionnaires designed to measure organizational effectiveness measured by subjective evaluations of productivity, adaptability and flexibility (p. 20). The questionnaire is reproduced at the end of the volume.

Although the study is attitudinal or subjective, he concludes that structural characteristics of organizational environment, task and internal subunit arrangements, are perhaps the major determinants of attitudes.



Unfortunately, he does not employ measurements of these characteristics as independent variables, but largely relates attitudes to attitudes.

His major hypotheses (p. 38) and conclusions are that the more the organizational environment, tasks and internal subunit arrangements are routinized, the less attitudinal variables are important and more hierarchical and bureaucratic organizational patterns are effective.

His discussion of leadership follows similar lines: The more the organization is routinized, the less the importance of dynamic leadership and more leadership is situationally defined.

The study would seem to point to the greater importance of structural characteristics of environment, task and technology and internal subunit arrangements for discussing organizational effectiveness. Unfortunately, he does not measure these characteristics and his case studies are so widely dispersed it is difficult to generalize his findings.

The study would seem to suggest that the agricultural management research team be careful to objectively measure organizational effectiveness as well as the structural characteristics of market, task and technology and subunit arrangements. The team could then employ attitudinal dimensions as an intervening variable in discussing organizational effectiveness. For example, the team could examine a government agency having several subunits which are characterized by different structural characteristics and effectiveness and then postulate the kinds of attitudinal characteristics of the leadership in such subunits. This might be specified as follows:

#### Leadership Types Expected

		Subunit Effectiveness	
		+	-
Predictability of	+	Hierarchical	Democratic Participation
Environment	-	Democratic Participation	Hierarchical

- 3.5 Myrdal, Gunnar, "Agricultural Development and Planning in Underdeveloped Countries Outside the Socialist Sphere," Economic Planning, Vol. 6, No. 3-4, 1970.

The article deals with the South Asian and Latin American regions of underdeveloped countries. It specifically deals with the failure of production (especially food production) to keep pace with the population increase after World War II. The author discusses "unemployment" -- the large underutilization of the labor force in agriculture and becomes concerned with the "backlash effects" of industrialization -- under these conditions the refugees of agriculture stream to the cities in various

occupations within the fields of service and retail trade, where the labor force is already seriously underutilized. The increase of the labor force in agriculture has a tendency to increase fragmentation of land holdings. It makes owners tenants, and tenants landless workers while the size of the small farms continues to diminish.

Unemployment and underemployment in agriculture in the 1970s are rising to damaging proportions and will result in increasing poverty among rural masses. The exodus of these masses to the city slums will increase and industry will not open up enough new employment opportunities to absorb the increased labor. These "migrants" are not integrated into the urban community but are a dislocation of those in the rural underclass who have become superfluous. This results from an increase of the labor force. The author further states that richer countries must be ready to give aid to these underdeveloped countries and that the underdeveloped countries must prepare for a radical change in socio-economic areas.

- 3.6 Oberg, Winston, "Charisma, Commitment and Contemporary Organization Theory," MSU Business Topics, MSU Press, Spring 1972, pp. 18-32.

This article deals with the question of whether or not secular economic organizations can find ways to channel the energy which has been traditionally monopolized by war, religion and nationalism and the desirability of such action by organizations. This energy is traced throughout history by examples of such that are easily associated with "rare quality...divinely inspired gifts of power...magical abilities...revelations of heroism...power of the mind and of speech."

According to Oberg and supported by his research, the institutionalization of charisma would indeed be beneficial to organizations "...to secure stability, continuity and predictability...the activities of the organization are reduced to procedures or routines."

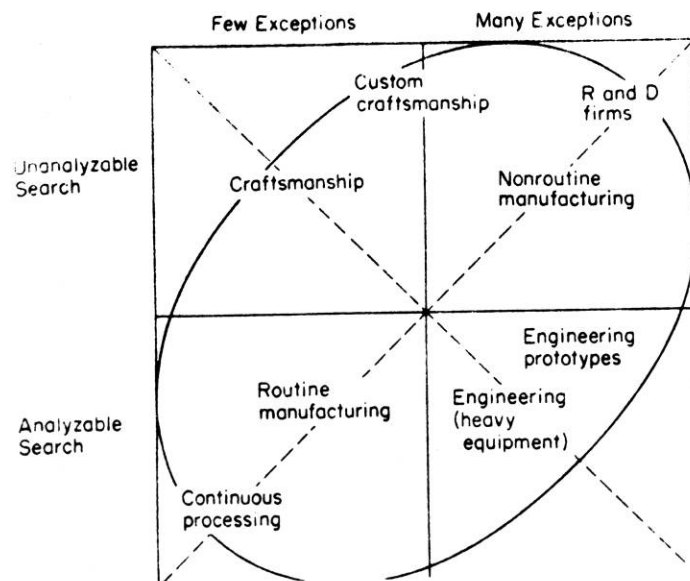
Oberg argues that the charismatic leader gains his greatest power as a result of his ability to provide a satisfying identity as a purpose or meaning to life, hope and freedom from guilt. This release through ideology, especially for youth, appears to have been the force behind the "charismatic revolutions" and can be seen even today in political situations in the United States. Thus, organizations should stress the need for commitment on the part of members and leadership that will produce an honest and conscious concern for the organization that will benefit both.

The suggestion that the need of leaders to become aware of the charisma phenomenon is most important "so that latent, incipient and limited manifestations can be identified, studied and nurtured." This fact is important for effective organization and an end goal of universally meaningful work.

3.7 Perrow, Charles B., Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View, Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970.

Perrow emphasizes the structural as opposed to human or attitudinal dimensions of organizations, arguing that structural factors of technology and environment are crucial to organizational analysis.

Organizational structure is influenced by predictability of cause/effect relationships in technology and environment. His basic analysis stems from the following matrix:



More routinized, or bureaucratic, organizations are more appropriate when, by a variety of strategies, technology, product and raw materials are more predictable. Within the organization, authority and subunit jurisdiction are defined in large part by technology; in its environment, cooperation, monopoly construction, selection of profitable clientele groups and competition with other organizations are employed to gain predictability.

Organizational goals are multiple, often conflicting, and may be pursued all at once or in sequence. Perrow suggests five types of goals (pp. 135-136) whose relative importance within the organization is determined by coalition politics of individuals or groups representing varied interests of organizational subunits based on technology and competing environmental organizations and interests. The bargaining power of coalition members is to an important degree determined by innovative capacity to recruit new resources (technology, problem solving, clientele groups, etc.) and leadership is likely to emerge from such groups.

Perrow's value to public, developmental administration analysis lies in the manner in which his concepts cross-cut a variety of organizations, relaxing the distinction between profit and non-profit organizations. As he validly points out, profit may not be the foremost goal of business organizations, and public service, in the broad sense of the term, may not be the foremost goal of public organizations.

- 3.8 Stinchome, Arthur L., "The Sociology of Organization and the Theory of the Firm," Pacific Sociological Review, 3, Fall, 1960, pp. 75-82.

The author is concerned with modifications in the theory of the firm suggested by organization theory. He suggests that the institutional decision rules of the firm may affect the production function of the firm, by means of the differential influence exercised by the specialized subunits.

His analysis would suggest that in the agricultural management team's analysis of public administration the team particularly notes that the formal organization of the agencies maximizes the "trained incapacity" of particular subunits which in turn affect standards of success, selection of alternatives and development of clientele groups.

- 3.9 Zald, Mayer N., Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Zald adopts a theoretical perspective emphasizing the need of organizations to adapt to environmental change in order to recruit sufficient resources for survival, growth and maintenance. His analysis suggests areas of potential conflict between shifting resources and organizational goals and personnel recruitment. The methodology of the study is relatively simple, but draws from this several important implications for rural development.

Zald's study is suggestive of how organizations, including public bureaucracies, adapt to changing clientele markets in order to survive. One important distinction, of course, between the voluntary association of Zald's analysis and public agencies is that the latter may well be able to avoid controversial or risky clientele groups because their prime source of financing -- public funds -- is not market-oriented. Hirschman (Exit, Voice and Loyalty, Harvard University Press, 1970) suggests similar conclusions. Hirschman's analysis of the nature of competition among similar clientele groups between public and private organizations indicates that public agencies not dependent on market mechanisms may actively discourage less profitable or more protest-prone groups (see Chapter 5, "How Monopoly Can be Comforted by Competition," pp. 55-61).

Zald also traces out the centralization-decentralization controversy and suggests the types of leaders and personnel recruited to an organization are a function of the latitude of authority permitted to them. More authoritative, innovative positions attract more creative personnel.

This reading suggests why public institutions may wish to avoid risky clientele groups such as the small farmers of almost any country.

- 3.10 Zald, Mayer N., Power in Organizations, Nashville, Tennessee, Vanderbilt University Press, 1970.

The volume reproduces the Proceedings of the First Annual Vanderbilt Sociology Conference, March 27-28, 1969 and contains several articles by well-known organizational theorists of interest to the Rural Administration Project.

Peter M. Blau, "Decentralization in Bureaucracies" (pp. 150-174), presents analysis of data on U.S. state employment security agencies. He finds that top management of public service bureaucracies are cross-pressured; caught between desires to minimize risks of errors, thus centralizing decision-making and large organizational size which militates against centralized decision-making. Forced to decentralize, some decision-making occurs in areas of (1) hiring decisions, (2) budget preparation, and (3) organization reorganization. Upper level management counters by (1) formalization of personnel procedures, (2) introduction of data processing, and (3) standardization of employment practices. This, he concludes, allows for decentralization permitting flexibility and adaptability while engendering minimal risk to agency heads.

Edward Harvey and Russell Mills, "Patterns of Organization Adaptation: Political Perspective" (pp. 181-211), view organizations as multi-nuclear where organization goals and policy formation is a bargaining process among the subunits. Following March, Cyret, Strabuck he assumes subunits are self-interested and learn from as well as are bounded by past experiences. Therefore, he assumes that organizational subunits most likely to use exogenous or indigenous resource change will be those whose technology, task structure and environment are previously change-oriented.

Mayer Zald, "Political Economy: A Framework for Comparative Analysis" (pp. 221-257), proposes that organizational analysis be approached by analyzing internal and external political (power) and economic (exchange) relationships. He attempts to merge authoritative and exchange models of behavior in analyzing formal rules, hierarchy, incentive and evaluative systems. His distinctions between political and economic, while analytically clear, are empirically blurred since much previous literature suggests that all social relationships can be fruitfully approached as exchange relationships. Nevertheless, he does highlight the need for analysis of the consequences of incentive and evaluative mechanisms in organizations. Underlying much of his analysis are the notions of predictability and compliance as central problems in all organizations. Compliance is increased by increased predictability, thus implying different political strategies for different organizational levels. Superordinates will attempt to increase compliance through increasing predictability pursuing tactics of formalization and standardization; while subordinates will follow the opposite strategy to retain their prerogatives and maneuverability. (See also Crozier, 1964.)

Louis R. Pondy, "Toward a Theory of Internal Resource Allocation" (pp. 270-307), attempts to suggest distinctions between market and non-market organizations and the problems of internal resource allocation. The chief distinction between market and nonmarket organizations is that revenue suppliers are not the consumers of the product. (Strabuck, his commentor, suggests differences in organization and information levels are another distinction equally important.) Pondy suggests that internal resource allocation is set by (1) natural self-interest of each department, and (2) existence of externalities as a necessary but not sufficient condition. Coordination of resource allocation will occur when benefits exceed costs.

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- 3.H Sinha, R. P., "Project Evaluation: Measuring the Immeasurable." [8.6 p. 68]
- 3.I Szuprowicz, Bohdan O., "Network Planning and Economic Development." [1.17 p. 15]
- 3.J Thompson, James D., Organizations in Action: Social Science Bases of Administrative Theory. [1.18 p. 16]
- 3.K Weitz, Raanan (ed.) with Landau, Yehuda H., Rural Development in a Changing World. [1.19 p. 17]

#### **IV. Institutional Interfaces**



## Institutional Interfaces

Current organization theory and research are focusing on the environment in which organizations function...the key linkages or interfaces or interdependencies it has to maintain and how it deals with the contingencies and constraints which these task environment elements create. Internal organization structure and function are now seen to be heavily dependent on the kinds of pressures and problems which the environment presents.

A turbulent, rapidly changing task environment calls for a non-bureaucratic organization structure and strategy. Internal management styles are, thus, prescribed by the environment in which an organization finds itself. To assess the effectiveness of management at all levels in an organization it is necessary first to understand the interface or linking pressures.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to prescribe changes in the internal organization -- and even to evaluate that organization adequately -- without an understanding of task environment pressures. Therefore, the starting point in any comprehensive study of the effectiveness of any organization must be the environment and its impact on the organization through linkage or boundary-spanning positions. The following readings relate to this module of our study.

CROSS REFERENCES FOR SECTION IV

- 4.A Anderson, Robert C., A Sociometric Approach to the Analysis of Inter-Organizational Relationships. [2.1 p. 23]
- 4.B Esman, Milton J. and Blaise, Hans C., Institution Building Research: The Guiding Concepts. [1.6 p. 6]
- 4.C Glaser, Barney G. (ed.), Organizational Careers: A Sourcebook for Theory. [3.1 p. 27]
- 4.D Grunig, James E., "Communication and the Economic Decision-Making Processes of Colombian Peasants." [7.7 p. 59]
- 4.E Zald, Mayer N., Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA. [3.9 p. 32]

V. Communication Flows Within Institutions and to Clientele

## Communication Flows Within Institutions and to Clientele

No institution can function without communication. Effective communication channels with adequate information flows is a necessary condition for the successful administration of agricultural development projects, both within the agricultural institution and between the institution and its clientele.

In the communication module we attempted to assess the communication flow in various agriculturally related institutions; between levels at the national headquarters; from headquarters to regional or field operations; from field representatives of the institution or change agents to its farm level client system. At the local or farm level we attempted to assess the linkage between institution and client system in two ways: (1) the change agent's report of his communication with the farmer; and (2) the farmer's perceptions of his contacts with the change agent.

The following reports, articles and books have aided in developing this module of our work.

## Communication Flows Within Institutions and to Clientele

- 5.1 Lionberger, Herbert F. and Chang, H. C., Farm Information for Modernizing Agriculture: The Taiwan System, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1970.

In looking at the Taiwan agricultural information system, Lionberger and Chang use an Information-Technology Development and Dissemination Model. This model consists of: (1) developing or innovating systems -- the basic and applied scientists; (2) the disseminating systems -- communicators and change agents; and (3) the user systems -- the farmers themselves.

In the Taiwan context the system represents a complex set of organizational interrelationships. The government agency, responsible for the agricultural sector, is the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry (PDAF). At the development sub-system, PDAF operates research institutes and district agricultural improvement stations which generate new knowledge for the farmers. Agricultural colleges, which report to a separate government ministry, are also sources of agricultural innovations. Two parallel extension organizations comprise the dissemination sub-system. On the government side, the extension function is performed by agricultural divisions or offices at each governmental level: PDAF at the provincial level, the hsien or city government at the hsien level, and the public office at the township level. The second channel of agricultural extension education operates through the Farmers Association extension offices at the three levels.

The authors do a comprehensive job of analyzing the functioning of research and extension units at all levels and the interactions among various agencies and farmers. In addition, they attempt to assess the contribution of the mass media and interpersonal communication channels in the total information dissemination process. While the book is primarily useful for describing the Taiwan situation, it would be of interest for comparison with other systems which derive from the teaching-research-extension model of agricultural education.

- 5.2 Rogers, Everett M. and Shoemaker, F. Floyd, Communication of Innovations: A Cross Cultural Approach, The Free Press, New York, 1971.

The main concern is with how communication processes facilitate the diffusion of innovations in a social system. They define innovations as ideas, products and practices perceived as new by an individual. They deal with such concepts as the attributes of the innovation: how its relative advantage, compatibility and complexity affect its rate of adoption; adopter categories; differential personal characteristics of innovators as opposed to laggards; the role of the change agent and the opinion leader; mass and interpersonal communication strategies; and the innovation decision-making process. The book includes a valuable bibliography of over 1,500 publications dealing with the communication of innovations. These studies are synthesized in the form of 103 propositions that summarize the diffusion field. These 103

generalizations are produced in an appendix, each proposition followed by a listing of the empirical studies that support or fail to support it.

The book provides a valuable summary of what is known about the diffusion of innovations. Its major weakness is that it is almost entirely devoted to a model of diffusion where the innovation is introduced into a social system through the planned efforts of a change agency. It does not consider the kind of "grass roots" innovation or change which would result from the approach of a Paulo Freire or a Saul Alinsky.

- 5.3 Rogers, Everett M., with Svenning, Lynne, Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, 1969.

This volume represents a particular application of the general diffusion model set forth in Rogers and Shoemaker (1971). It is concerned with a specific set of innovations (agricultural) and their diffusion among a particular client system (Colombian peasants). But they also set forth their own model of modernization among peasants: literacy, mass media exposure and cosmopolitanism are the antecedent variables which lead to a set of intervening variables (empathy, achievement, motivation and fatalism). These, in turn, lead to the main consequences of innovativeness, political knowledge and aspirations. Each of these concepts is explicated and the interrelationships among variables are explored through partial and multiple correlations. In addition, the authors develop a typology of peasants and suggest a number of communication strategies for communicating information on new technologies to such audiences.

The data to test the above hypotheses about the nature of modernization come mainly from personal interviews with the peasants in five Colombian villages. However, a cross cultural approach is achieved by comparing the findings with similar data from India, Kenya, Brazil, Turkey and other countries.

CROSS REFERENCES FOR SECTION V

- 5.A Grunig, James E., "Communication and the Economic Decision-Making Processes of Colombian Peasants." [7.7 p. 59]
- 5.B Huberman, Michael, "School System Empire." [7.8 p. 59]
- 5.C Lawrence, Paul R. and Lorsch, Jay W., Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration. [1.10 p. 10]
- 5.D Meister, Albert, "Modernizing Farms in East Africa." [7.11 p. 61]
- 5.E Melville, Dalton, Men Who Manage: Fusions of Feeling and Theory in Administration. [3.3 p. 28]
- 5.F Szuprowicz, Bohdan O., "Network Planning and Economic Development." [1.17 p. 15]
- 5.G Weitz, Raanan (ed.) with Landau, Yehuda H., Rural Development in a Changing World. [1.19 p. 17]

## VI. Leadership Characteristics of Institutions



## Leadership Characteristics of Institutions

The study of leadership in agricultural administration is based on recent developments in political science that have become known as rational calculus or political economy theories. These theories share the assumption that individual behavior is rational in that the individual will attempt to maximize his benefits and minimize his costs in the achievement of his goals. The theory makes no value judgment as to the moral or ethical characteristics of an individual's goals, but merely that, given his goals, he will pursue an instrumental strategy to attain them.

Assuming that individuals are rational and make cost-benefit calculations to achieve their goals, we then must develop indicators for these three concepts: goals, costs and benefits. A significant body of literature is emerging in the field of political economy which suggests possible operationalization of these concepts and specifies relationships among them. Research on leadership development and behavior supports the assumptions of political economy and suggests possible indicators for the concepts. We believe that such a rational calculus theory of leadership development can be appropriately applied to analysis of agricultural institutions.

The following articles and books have been helpful in developing the concepts of the leadership module for public institutions involved in rural development.

## Leadership Characteristics of Institutions

- 6.1 Finkle, Jason L. and Gable, Richard W. (eds.), Political Development and Social Change, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1971.

This volume contains a wide variety of articles on political change, only the most relevant of which are reviewed here.

Stinchome, Arthur L., "Agricultural Enterprise and Rural Class Relations" sets forth a typology of political ascertainity on part of rural groups using the following variables: (1) size of and quality of land holdings, (2) means of payment, (3) level of technology, (4) bearers of risk in the market place and technology, (5) life style and legal differences of owners and workers, (6) crop characteristics. His typology as reproduced below is potentially very fruitful.

### *Characteristics of Rural Enterprises and Resulting Class Relations*

TYPE OF ENTERPRISE	CHARACTERISTICS OF ENTERPRISE	CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASS STRUCTURE
Manorial:	Division of land into domain land and labor subsistence land, with domain land devoted to production for market. Lord has police power over labor. Technically traditional; low cost of land and little market in land	Classes differ greatly in legal privileges and style of life. Technical culture borne largely by the peasantry. Low political activation and competence of peasantry; high politicalization of the upper classes
Family-size tenancy:	Small parcels of highly valuable land worked by families who do not own the land, with a large share of the production for market. Highly labor- and land-intensive culture, of yearly or more frequent crops	Classes differ little in legal privileges but greatly in style of life. Technical culture generally borne by the lower classes. High political affect and political organization of the lower classes, often producing revolutionary populist movements
Family small holding:	Same as family tenancy, except benefits remain within the enterprise. Not distinctive of areas with high valuation of land; may become capital-intensive at a late stage of industrialization	Classes differ neither in legal privileges nor in style of life. Technical culture borne by both rich and poor. Generally unified and highly organized political opposition to urban interests, often corrupt and undisciplined
Plantation:	Large-scale enterprises with either slavery or wage labor, producing labor-intensive crops requiring capital investment or relatively cheap land (though generally the best land within the plantation area). No or little subsistence production	Classes differ in both style of life and legal privileges. Technical culture monopolized by upper classes. Politically apathetic and incompetent lower classes, mobilized only in time of revolution by urban radicals
Ranch:	Large-scale production of labor-extensive crops, on land of low value (lowest in large units within ranch areas), with wage labor partly paid in kind in company barracks and mess	Classes may not differ in legal status, as there is no need to recruit and keep down a large labor force. Style of life differentiation unknown. Technical culture generally relatively evenly distributed. Dispersed and unorganized radicalism of lower classes

Nie, Norman H., Powell, G. Bingham Jr., and Prewitt, Kenneth, "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships" -- investigate the commonly held thesis that economic development increases political participation. Their most striking finding based on data from Italy, U.S., U.K., Germany, Mexico and India is that the organizational affiliation wipes out the relationship between the level of economic development and urbanization to political participation. The finding is important because organized rural and urban lower strata groups have higher rates of participation than their unorganized counterparts indicating that organizational affiliation may compensate for the normally low rates of participation among lower strata groups. Another important finding is that lower strata organized groups participate despite the fact that they do not hold attitudes usually associated with participation: (1) high information, (2) political efficacy, (3) political competence, and (4) sense of civic duty. They conclude that "economic development will not automatically help redress class participation imbalance through growth of secondary groups," pointing to the necessity of a conscious strategy to organize lower strata groups to increase participation. They caution, however, that such participation will not necessarily be bounded by democratic norms.

- 6.2 Eclestein, J. David, "An Organizational Theory of Union Democracy," American Sociological Review, Vol. 32, 1961, pp. 19-31.

The author proposes that the existence of internal democracy in organizations is a function of the existence of multiple centers of power which in turn are determined by the structural characteristics of the leadership recruitment process: The greater the power dispersion, within limits, in the organization, the more likely leadership positions will be competitive. His analysis closely parallels that of Wilson's Innovation in Organizations: Notes Toward a Theory, in that innovation and change in organizations is a function of autonomous centers of power and the potential to use such centers for career advancement to leadership positions. The analysis is suggestive to the Rural Development Project of the impact of formal decision rules on personnel development and recruitment.

Organizations providing multiple centers of power are both more likely to be innovative and provide challenges to established leadership, while highly centralized organizations will have less innovativeness in policy and attract less dynamic leadership.

- 6.3 Frohlich, Norman, Oppenheimer, Joe A. and Young, Oran R., Political Leadership and Collective Goods, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1971.

The authors build on a simple utility model of micro-behavior to elaborate a theory of political entrepreneurship. Individuals are assumed to be rational and to maximize discretionary resources and predictability of minimum dependence on revenue sources.

Assuming the model, the authors elaborate strategies pursued by political entrepreneurs. For example, entrepreneurs will seek to avoid dependence on voluntary revenue contributors, particularly from a few large donors, since it reduces discretion and predictability. They will also not disclose revenue needs to minimize the bargaining power of revenue sources. They will cultivate opposition in order to stimulate contributions from their followers. Their revenue producing alternatives can be summarized as follows:

<u>Sources and Types of Contributions</u>		
Collective goods	Negative sanctions Extortions	Positive inducements Donations
Private goods	Taxes	Purchases

Introducing political competition, the authors discuss how competition influences the revenue and distribution strategies of entrepreneurs. The weakest point in the book is the discussion of strategic interaction among entrepreneurs and consumers, the elaboration of which is essential to complete the theory.

The model developed may be fruitfully applied to rural development by specifying the resources available to political entrepreneurs which will allow fruition of their ambitions. For example, administrators may prefer to encourage a large number of small clientele farmers since such groups will likely have less influence on checking or circumventing the administrators' policy. An analogous situation to a large number of producers with similar products (e.g., small family farms in the U.S. at the turn of the century) and an oligopolistic consumer market (e.g., role of grain elevators, railroads and food processing firms).

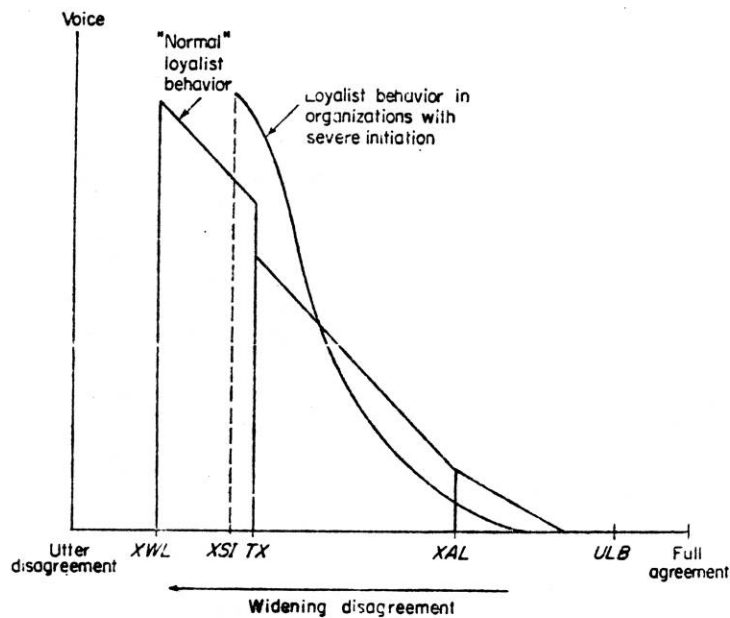
6.4 Hirschman, Albert O., Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1970.

Hirschman approaches organizational analysis from micro-economic theory and rational calculus theory. His three principal variables are: Exit -- the act of moving from consumption or membership in one organization to another; Voice -- the act of petitioning grievances; and Loyalty -- psychological, irrational adherence to a product or organization.

Exit is the predominant mode of behavior in competitive market situations where the rational consumer perceives alternatives to his present situation. Voice is the predominant mode in non-competitive markets, particularly politics, where exit is more costly. Loyalty is an intervening variable conditioning the timing of exit and voice.

Using the degree of market competition as a variable, Hirschman can discuss similarities of private and government organizations. In general, the lesser the competition, the lesser the possibilities of exit and the

greater the use of voice. Thus, states and monopolies face the greatest demand for voice. As competition in the economic market decreases through growth of monopolies and oligopolies because of declining product differentiation, demands for voice (public accountability) will increase (e.g., Ralph Nader).



Hirschman relies on microeconomic and rational calculus theory in the discussion of individual decision making. Given that information and voice are costly, not all consumers or members will respond equally to perceived deterioration. In general, the most quality conscious individuals who are informed of the alternatives will exit. Such exit can reduce the recuperative mechanism of voice. Under certain conditions public or private monopolies or oligopolies will encourage the exit of voice-prone consumers in order to develop an uninformed, non-voice-prone clientele. His analysis of public school systems and governmental transportation monopolies fit here.

The work is very provocative and its potential for organizational analysis is fruitful. The argument is readily applied to public bureaucracies by examining the opportunities available to ambitious aspirants in various sectors of society. For example, where international agencies or the private sector compete for talented personnel with rural development institutions, rural institutions may have to increase incentives to retain such personnel. Or, rural development organizations may encourage the exit (migration) of certain voice-prone groups (protest or activist groups) to the cities in order to deal with a stable and more profitable group (large producers). Other insights are almost endless.

- 6.5 Kaufman, Herbert, The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior, John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1960.

The analysis of the U.S. Forest Service concludes that it is a highly successful, unified agency in achieving its stated goals. This unified character is achieved by (1) insulation of the agency from external disruptive forces, (2) hierarchical specialization of command, (3) promotion from within, (4) a well defined policy of lateral and vertical selection, transfer and promotion generating, and (5) a reward system that orchestrates individual preferences with organizational policy.

The book is quite useful to the Rural Development Project in pointing up personnel policies that have made the Forest Service a successful administrative agency. However, there must be certain qualifications introduced: first, the Forest Service is not so much concerned with promoting change but preserving the national forests, agencies designed to stimulate change and those concerned with conservation of resources are likely to differ. Secondly, the Forest Service has well developed constituencies, both physical and political, which aid its institutionalization and independence. Reform-oriented agencies (Moynihan's Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding seems appropriate here) are likely to face much stronger critics than supporters at least until they develop their own clientele. Third, the rate of change of technology is likely to differ. A reform agency is designed, in part, to promote technological innovation, while the Forest Service is supposed to regulate it. Finally, of course, the two agencies exist in two different political systems with different degrees of civil service regulations, different opportunity structures both inside and outside the system and different reward systems. It is interesting to note on this final point that Kaufman notes that the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s provided a great reservoir of talent and interest in the Forest Service and that a lack of other job opportunities in the society made government work more attractive. He suggests that in the 1950s, the disappearance of the CCC and increasing recruitment of forest specialists by private industry may have undercut the Forest Service's high quality personnel and integrity.

- 6.6 Lester, Richard A., As Unions Mature: An Analysis of the Evolution of American Unionism, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1958.

The analysis of trade unions suggests patterns through which organizations evolve in becoming institutionalized and more conservative.

The analysis is appropriate to the study of rural development in suggesting how organizations mature and the consequence of this maturation. The discussion of "Sleepy Monopolies" suggests how organizations may seek stability and predictability rather than aggressively seeking to expand their services and clientele. More advanced theoretical statements on this matter are to be found in Hirschman's Exit, Voice and Loyalty. Lester also suggests some recuperative mechanisms which may bring about a change in the maturation process, but principally sees the long-run development as increasing institutionalization.

6.7 Mouzelis, Nicos P., Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1967.

Mouzelis presents an excellent evaluative critique of the development of theories of organization and bureaucracy. He begins with the classical thinkers: Marx, Weber, Michels; proceeds into the managerial tradition of Taylor, the human relations approach of Hawthorne and his followers and concludes with the organizational theories of March, Simon, Cyret and Parsons.

The value of his work proceeds from an extensive normative, methodological and empirical evaluation of a wide variety of studies. For the purpose of this Agricultural Management work, his critiques of the human relations approach and organizational theory and methods are necessary reading. He concludes by suggesting the more contemporary theories merging organizational and micro-economic theories of behavior are potentially most fruitful. But he cautions that even these approaches require a relaxing of some assumptions and the elaboration of additional variables.

By suggesting organizational theories and micro-economic theories, there seems to be suggested that we assume individuals to be rational in pursuit of their self-interest and that organizational imperatives set parameters on their rational calculations.

We might fruitfully apply this to rural development by examining the self-interest of various groups in the rural sector (e.g., export and domestic production crops) and specify how the organizational parameters (e.g., criteria for establishing loans to each group) affect their behavior (increased or decreased production).

6.8 Nye, J. S., "Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis," American Political Science Review, June 1967, pp. 417-427.

According to Nye, the purpose of this article is not so much to draw conclusions regarding the effects of corruption than to attempt to place a perspective on the debate, and suggest an analytical tool with which "to make the debate more fruitful."

The arguments reflecting both the benefits as well as the costs of corruption are reviewed. Nye believes there are cases where corruption can have a beneficial effect on development, but he asks (and this is his major contribution) "What are the probabilities that it will?" He develops a "corruption cost-benefit matrix" to analyse the relationship between costs of corruption and its benefit to development. The matrix takes seven development problems: (1) capital, (2) bureaucracy, (3) skills, (4) elite, (5) non-elite, (6) effectiveness, and (7) legitimacy, and "measures" the probability of costs outweighing benefits for three types of corruption: level, inducement, and deviation -- under favorable and unfavorable political conditions.

Since his probabilities represent "a series of tentative hypotheses" rather than hard data, one might argue with his conclusion that the costs

of corruption in LDCs will exceed its benefits...except in a limited number of cases. Yet, the strength of this article lies not in its conclusion, but in its classification system. It becomes difficult to talk about corruption with an 84 cell matrix, without specifying the type, circumstances and probability.



CROSS REFERENCES FOR SECTION VI

- 6.A Joy, Leonard, "Problems of Agricultural Administration and Extension Services." [3.2 p. 27]
- 6.B Melville, Dalton, Men Who Manage: Fusions of Feeling and Theory in Administration. [3.3 p. 28]
- 6.C Mott, Paul E., The Characteristics of Effective Organizations. [3.4 p. 28]
- 6.D Oberg, Winston, "Charisma, Commitment and Contemporary Organization Theory." [3.6 p. 30]
- 6.E Sinha, R. P., "Project Evaluation: Measuring the Immeasurable." [8.6 p. 68]
- 6.F Sloan, Alfred P., Jr., My Years with General Motors. [9.13 p. 79]
- 6.G Zald, Mayer N., Power in Organizations. [3.10 p. 33]

## VII. Farmer Clientele Study

## Farmer Clientele Study

The farm level questionnaire was designed to test a number of hypotheses and suppositions that experience and literature had indicated were important in agricultural administration and rural development. Later research could then use those hypotheses that proved most helpful in gaining information on institutional bottlenecks related to rural program implementation.

The farm level module gathered basic information on the farm family, where they lived, how long they had lived in the community, their level of education and their sources of information. The questionnaire was used to study the farmer's political articulation, his attitude toward the government agencies that were supposed to serve him. The flow of information and communications from various agencies to the farmer were studied as well as the farmer's interaction in the project decision processes. In brief, the farm level questionnaire sought to determine the impact of the AID loan project on small farmers of two development projects in Costa Rica at the farm level. Cost-benefit data were gathered on the two projects but serious drought made it difficult to gather some needed data.

The following readings proved helpful in developing the farmer module part of our overall study.

## Farmer Clientele Study

- 7.1 Arce, Antonio, Analisis de Instituciones Agricolas; Consideraciones Teorico-Methodologicas, Instituto Interamericana de Ciencias Agricolas, Turrialba, Costa Rica, 1968.

To determine whether or not a given institution is satisfying the need for which it was created as well as to examine the consequences of its actions, Arce outlines an analytical technique which focuses on (1) efficiency -- the degree to which all its "parts" work toward the institution's goals; (2) impact -- the degree to which the institution has fulfilled its objectives; and (3) treatment -- determination of which factors are the obstacles to its efficient operation.

This appraisal, for the most part, considers the institution as a static organization, not as a changing organism. The technique outlined represents a cross-sectional view of the institution at a given moment in time with respect to a previous point in time. Owing to the inclusiveness of his categories, this study would be quite useful when applied in a static context.

- 7.2 Beduarezyi, Stanley J., Analytical Framework for Evaluating Farmers' Cooperatives: Brazil, Mimeograph, USAID Report, Washington, 1971.

This is a questionnaire used by USAID to evaluate cooperatives in Brazil. It is of interest to note that part of the framework used to analyze the Brazilian farmer's cooperatives is taken from the capital accumulation systems of Japan and Taiwan. This suggests that a multi-model or multidisciplinary approach would be useful to gain an understanding of an institution. By using such an approach each discipline would concentrate on that part of the institutional system which it is best able to evaluate. The insights from the separate disciplines would contribute to an overall evaluation more complete and in greater depth than the sum of the separate parts would suggest.

In this questionnaire ten different areas representing structure, performance and interface are identified. Most are of a yes-no variety, but a few are open-ended, allowing for individual differences to emerge. This represents a checklist-type approach which is useful for the first insights into a farmer's cooperative type institution.

- 7.3 Brown, Marion R., "Don't Blame the Campesino," CERES, FAO Review, Vol. 4, No. 5, Sept.-Oct., 1971.

The "peasant's mentality" has been criticized by intellectuals on both the left and on the right as the crucial constraint on agrarian reform and development. In this article, Brown attacks the mentalistic view of development, claiming that the peasant mentality "is neither as important, nor as exotic as it has been made out to be." Rather, it is

suggested, "situational realities" shape and form peasant actions and responses.

To support this argument, Brown briefly traces the history of agrarian movements in Mexico, Bolivia, Venezuela, Chile and Brazil. These movements have flourished when they have received active support and have failed when this interest and support have shifted away from the peasant sector. It is felt, therefore, that rather than representing reality, this emphasis on "peasant mentality" has been used to hinder peasant movements "by (1) distracting attention from the profoundly repressive nature of the traditional hacienda structure and (2) distorting rural-urban political interaction,..."

This article shifts the responsibility for development from the farmer to the system or society in which he is forced to operate. Institutional excuses for failure, such as "our farmers do not want change; they are too fatalistic," etc., are not acceptable. The failure of different programs must be placed on the institutions involved due to their patronizing attitudes and their inability to structure change to present realities and structure present realities to change.

7.4 Dickey, Thomas M., A Mechanized Corn Project in Costa Rica: A Case Analysis, Unpublished M.S. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1974.

This thesis takes a small agricultural development project in Costa Rica and develops a framework for the evaluation of project side-effects by the regional or local agency administrator. A side-effect is an impact of a project which may result from the manner in which the project is implemented or it may be directly related to but not considered within the stated objectives. An example would be the impact on the employment opportunities for farm labor due to the introduction of mechanization in an area. The common evaluations of such small projects, if performed at all, normally include some statement of achievement of objectives and some personnel control data (such as number of farm visits made), but do not include a discussion of the project side-effects -- either favorable or unfavorable. Since development efforts directed at small farmers often result in a large number of small projects, it is recognized that the lower level administrators will be unable to perform in-depth evaluations of all projects. Therefore, the proposed side-effect evaluation framework is a set of short questions designed to get the administrator to consider those aspects of projects not normally considered.

Although the farmers complied with the project requirement of using a mechanical planter, once they were no longer in the project they reverted to an intermediate level of mechanization; they continued the use of tractor plowing and disking. Even though the use of machinery increased the participants abandoned the project completely after the second crop season. The data suggest that the farmers lost confidence in the institutions as a result of the project. It is suggested that the following relationship exists. If an institution has neither significantly helped nor harmed its clientele, it will receive an "ok" rating (level of confidence) from the farmers. However, outside of a wide middle range of "mediocre"

past performance, if an institution significantly helps (harms) the farmers' sense of well-being, then the farmers' level of confidence in that institution will be significantly increased (decreased). The importance of this relationship is that an institution that loses the confidence of the farmers will also seriously endanger its ability to achieve the adoption of its recommendations by the farmers.

This study cautions administrators of small farm projects: be careful in planning, thorough in implementation and be aware of the project's multiple effects, including side effects.

- 7.5 de Vries, Egbert, "Bringing Systems Analysis into the Rural World," CERES, FAO Review, Vol. 4, No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1971, pp. 37-42.

Rural development is seen as encompassing the totality of the rural area, not being confined just to one or two key features. Therefore, it is not unreasonable, but rather it becomes necessary with this conception of development, to treat "the whole of rural society as a system," and apply the techniques of systems analysis, with its analytical procedures and organization methodologies, to the development of the rural sector.

However, de Vries cautions, there are significant and differentiating characteristics inherent to the nature of the rural sector which must be considered in order to successfully apply the systems approach:

1. There is a large number of decision makers under no unified command.
2. There exists a complex system of layers of input suppliers:  
a) national policy decision makers; b) private input suppliers; and c) farmers organizations.
3. Agriculture is seasonally bound: there is a rhythmic process closely approximating a yearly cycle around which agricultural activity takes place.
4. Labor is largely multifunctional.
5. The production unit, the family, is also the consumption unit. de Vries, in the latter part of the article, outlines a tentative system, pointing out different organizational techniques and strategies whose adoption would aid a development program. Each system will require new techniques whose solutions are given by the design and constraints of that particular analytical system.

- 7.6 Gittinger, J. Price, Economic Analysis of Agricultural Projects, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

This book deals with the evaluation method of "most probable outcome" in the comparing of agricultural development projects. It seems ideal for an introductory or do-it-yourself course in project evaluation. It

reviews in clear and concise terms the techniques used by most international agencies. Some discussion does take place with respect to theoretical and conceptual differences in such areas as secondary benefits, shadow price, etc., but in all cases Gittinger opts for the pragmatic solution, which, he feels, gives an adequate estimate at a reasonable cost -- also it is the method employed by the world bank. It discusses practical methods on ways to help insure that when decisions on investments are made, resources will be used economically and efficiently and comparisons will be made on the return of one agricultural investment with others and with such investments in other parts of the economy. The simple project analysis that takes place is the most important theory studied. It discusses projects as the cutting edge of development, and that most failure can be traced to the improper preparation of these projects.

- 7.7 Grunig, James E., "Communication and the Economic Decision-Making Processes of Colombian Peasants," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 19, No. 4, July, 1971, pp. 580-597.

Grunig challenges the concept of "rising expectations" as being the heart of the modernization process. He identifies structural, institutional and social rigidities as effective constraints on development. As long as these rigidities exist the peasant farmer is unable to use most of the information communicated to him through the diffusion network. Only when the farmer is placed in a decision alternative situation do communication and rising expectations play a role in modernization.

The implications of this hypothesis require that these rigidities be removed. Grunig advocates organizing the peasantry into an effective political force to pressure for the elimination of these structural blocks. While calling a peasant organization a "political force" may be a bad choice of words, the concept of a developed clientele group is important in administration theory. By making the institution responsive to a strong clientele group, this group will, in turn, support the organization in its interinstitutional struggles. In this manner the institution has its own stake in removing the rigidities which limit peasant choices and inhibit the modernization process.

- 7.8 Huberman, Michael, "School System Empire," CERES, FAO Review, Vol. 5, No. 3, May-June, 1972, pp. 42-46.

The article is concerned with the process of change or innovation: "...the creative selection, organization and utilization of resources in new ways which will bring about a higher level of achievement for the given goal and objectives." Seven principal variables are mentioned as a set of possible predictors of institutional acceptance of an innovation.

1. Cost -- initial and continuing costs.
2. Divisibility -- the degree to which an innovation can be tried on a limited basis.
3. Communicability -- how difficult it is to explain or demonstrate the innovation.

4. Structure of the institutional system -- size, structure, influence.
5. Leadership and sponsorship -- the more powerful and prestigious the sponsor or first person to adopt it, the more likely the adoption by others.
6. Personal characteristics of adopters and innovators.
7. Innovation system congruence -- the willingness of the community that the institution deals with to accept the innovation.

The stimulus for change usually comes from outside the institution. Huberman lists the reason for this as it relates to school systems in developing areas, but there are strong similarities between school systems and the government institutions in their resistance to change:

1. Preoccupation with maintaining the operation of the existing programs.
2. Teachers (agents) and researchers are not linked by any institutionalized means.
3. No mechanics of self-evaluation.
4. Multiple and often incompatible goals.
5. Generally, there are no rewards for initiating or carrying through innovations.
6. The institution has a monopoly on the services it provides.

7.9 Hunter, Guy, The Administration of Agricultural Development: Lessons from India, Oxford University Press, London, 1970,

Early efforts at rural development centered around broad village level programs. All of India was divided into sections or blocks. Within their blocks were two parallel "institutions." The first was the government organization headed by the Block Development officer, and reaching down to the village level worker. The other, designed to increase local participation, reorganized the village councils (Panchayat), making them representatives to Block Councils. It was thought that this system would tie the local people and the national government into a more effective change system.

After the initial enthusiasm wore off, Hunter points out, rural India was not essentially better off. There was not the production of "wealth" which had been forecast. Analyzing the failure of this program, Hunter is critical of the lack of planning and the undue emphasis placed on targets. This had the effect of tying down local workers and undermining their initiative. He concludes that to effectively administer development requires that institutions: (1) coordinate, yet decentralize their activities; (2) consider programs as stages of action; (3) effectively train their personnel; and (4) encourage effective local participation.



- 7.10 Long, Millard F., "Why Peasant Farmers Borrow," AJAE, Vol. 50, No. 4, November, 1968, pp. 991-1008.

One of the questions which is often asked by those working with peasant farmers is why do they borrow at such high interest rates when the marginal return to capital is so low. Using tools from macro-economic theory and the results of an empirical study of peasant farmers in Thailand and India, Long attempts to explain this apparent anomaly.

Borrowing is seen as either taking place at the start of the production period, being used to finance additional inputs -- ex ante borrowing -- or at some other period in time to cover an unforeseen expenditure -- ex post borrowing. The decision to borrow essentially relates to four variables: (1) the interest rate; (2) the expected return; (3) the desire to hold money for unforeseen expenditures; and (4) the inability to meet an unforeseen expenditure.

The crucial variable according to Long is the expected rate of return. He notes that although there is the tendency to group all peasant farmers together into a homogenous category, in reality, they represent a heterogenous group. Within this group different farmers face different sets of opportunities (e.g., size of resource base, location, skill, etc.) which affect the calculation of the expected return to capital. When the expected return is greater than the interest rate ex ante borrowing may be expected. Thus, by considering peasant farmers as a heterogenous group, borrowing is found to be the rational response by those farmers with a more promising set of opportunities (those who perceive their expected return to be greater than the interest rate).

The implication of Long's paper requires development institutions to concentrate their efforts at increasing the peasant farmer's perception of the expected rate of return. Lowering the interest rates is insufficient: "Giving loans to poor farmers at low interest rates will do little to improve their plight unless the loans are accompanied by other inputs which shift their production function."

- 7.11 Meister, Albert, "Modernizing Farms in East Africa," CERES, FAO Review, Vol. 4, No. 6, Nov.-Dec., 1971, pp. 26-30.

The author notes that attempts at modernization of the traditional agricultural sector have generally resulted in failure. Recognizing that there are many factors involved, Meister chooses to concentrate on the differences between traditional and modern economic units in order to analyze the degree of modernization as well as those institutions which attempt to act as change agents.

Specialization, capitalization and organization are used as key characteristics to identify four main types of farming: (1) farming without specialization, organization or capitalization; (2) farming on the way to specialization but without capitalization or organization; (3) specialized, capitalized, but unorganized; and (4) specialized, capitalized, and organized. Since these characteristics "...correspond to the highest standards we apply to the modernization of enterprises," the types of

farming cited above represent a continuum of change. The role of the change agent then becomes one of identifying the level of these characteristics as they apply to a given area while adapting and modifying the programs to correspond to the position of that area."

- 7.12 Smith, Kenneth, F., A Management System for Agricultural Development, Mimeograph, USAID, Washington, D.C., 1969.

Effective development administration requires that effective managerial techniques be both available and used. This report focuses on one such technique: PERT/LOB, reporting how it was used in Vietnam to introduce the "miracle rice" IR/85.

In essence, this technique requires that planning start with the stated goal and work backwards to identify how much of what is required, and when it is needed. From this, a realistic assessment can be made as to what is feasible. "Establishing and then keeping the various elements 'in balance' during implementation is then the major managerial task." The very nature and design of this approach make it ideal to use in evaluations and for spotting bottlenecks.

It is a common mistake to think that once a PERT/LOB system is designed, the project will automatically implement itself. This approach is only a tool for the managerial use. It can aid the project leader by providing information and identifying a priority system, but it does not make decisions nor take action. Neither is it a substitute for technical competence. Recognizing these limitations, the PERT/LOB technique becomes an important tool for a systems approach.

- 7.13 Shwedel, S. Kenneth, Utility, Probability and the Adoption of Agricultural Innovations, Unpublished M.S. paper, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1973.

The decision to adopt an innovation is seen as dependent upon the farmer's perception of (1) the possible return from the innovation; and (2) the probability that that possibility will, indeed, be realized. The institution's role is to provide information concerning the innovation and facilitate the acquisition of any additional and/or new inputs which would be required to utilize the innovation.

If the institution is perceived by the farmer as being unreliable, he will discount (doubt) the information and the promise of additional inputs to be made by the institution. This, in turn, would lower the expected value to be received from adopting the innovation. It is possible that the farmer's distrust of the institution will be such that the expected value will be so low that adoption will not take place.

The results of a study of small farmers in Cartagena, Costa Rica are reviewed. It is shown that there is a positive relationship between adoption of an innovation and trust (confidence) in the institutions involved.

The paper concludes that investments in improving institutional capabilities are advocated as they will lead to better institutional performances (increased adoption of practices by farmers).

- 7.14 Zinkin, Maurice, "Risk is the Peasant's Lot," CERES, FAO Review, Vol. 4, No. 1, Jan.-Feb., 1971, pp. 24-27.

Besides the so-called normal risks involved with farming (i.e., unpredictability of the weather), the peasant, due to the small size of his operation, is subject to even greater risk. Since his resources are limited, his actions and the allocation of these resources must necessarily reflect his position. His judgments, upon which his economic decisions are based, are only guesses about an unknown future, and since his products are sold on a national or international market, his guesses are at best based on a minimal amount of knowledge. Finally, the extent to which the peasant's actions are constrained by taxes and customs compound this risk by further limiting the amount of resources at his disposition.

The government's role, therefore, should be one of reducing the risks involved for the peasant so as to improve his agricultural position. First there is the matter of information. Technical and market research should be carried on by the government, and it should communicate the results to the small farmers. For example, the government's action could eliminate some uncertainties by its insistence on standardization of products and services.

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- 7.B Finkle, Jason L. and Gable, Richard W. (eds.), Political Development and Social Change. [6.1 p. 46]
- 7.C Hunter, Guy, "Chapter VIII, Administration," Modernizing Peasant Societies, A Comparative Study in Asia and Africa. [1.9 p. 9]
- 7.D Lionberger, Herbert F. and Chang, H. C., Farm Information for Modernizing Agriculture: The Taiwan System. [5.1 p. 41]
- 7.E Mouzelis, Nicos P., Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories. [6.7 p. 51]
- 7.F Rogers, Everett M. and Shoemaker, F. Floyd, Communication of Innovations: A Cross Cultural Approach. [5.2 p. 41]
- 7.G Rogers, Everett M. with Svenning, Lynne, Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication. [5.3 p. 42]
- 7.H Szuprowicz, Bohdan O., "Network Planning and Economic Development."  
[1.17 p. 15]
- 7.I Zald, Mayer N., Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA.  
[3.9 p. 32]

## VIII. Evaluation

## Evaluation

- 8.1 Adelman, Irma and Morris, Cynthia Taft, "The Measurement of Institutional Characteristics of Nations: Methodological Considerations," in Barter, Nancy, Measuring Development: The Role and Adequacy of Development Indicators, Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., London, 1972, pp. 111-135.

The recent trend towards the quantitative approach in the study of development institutions has raised many questions as to the practicality and reliability of this approach. The author attempts to answer these questions through a review of both the quantitative technique and the objections to this methodology.

The use of such an approach requires a linkage between some type of numerical scale and the underlying concept to be measured. This is achieved through a process of specifying the "components or dimensions of the concept, the selection of indicators to represent these dimensions and the formation of an index from the battery of indicators."

As the authors attempt to outline the arguments against the quantifiable institutional approach it is interesting to note that many of those who are most emphatic in the opposition to quantifiable institutional analysis are some of the same econometricians who have turned the discipline into a mathematical exercise. The authors go on to show that the process of conventional economic measurement is similar to that of institutional measurement. The differences, if these can be considered as such, are that for institutional measurement, "much of the theoretical work required for adequate conceptualization needs yet to be done and that neither ready-made categories nor ready-made data currently exist."

To illustrate an example, conceptualization and testing, they detail the procedures used in the construction of an indicator of political participation. This study is then reported in the appendix.

This article is, at times, highly abstract, and as such, may not be of use to those whose interest lies only in the application of this technique. However, its strong theoretical and methodological justification of the quantitative approach would be of interest to those who are yet unsure as to the evaluative methodology that they wish to employ.

- 8.2 Edwards, C. P., Development Administration -- Focus, Strategy and Action Program for the African Bureau, AIO Aido Circular, Washington, 1971.

This paper develops an approach for evaluating institutions involved in development administration. It notes that most institutions are constrained in their efforts by: (1) rooted traditionalism; (2) gaps between plans and performance; and (3) a non-systematic approach. Edwards combines a systems approach with institution building in formulating a rating system which attempts to determine "how good are the capacities for defining the development problems and establishing development goals, and how good are the capacities for selecting strategies and courses of action by which to move towards those goals?"

This rating system is divided into four parts to gain information as to the institution's standing with respect to what he considers "the four essentials for development administration": (1) commitment; (2) talent; (3) tools; and (4) organization. Although this is so short that it is more of a checklist than anything else, it nevertheless may serve as an outline for an in-depth study of institutional capacity.

- 8.3 Eldridge, Eber, "Community and Human Resource Development," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 53, No. 5, December, 1971, pp. 828-835.

Development is seen as a process of positive change in the quality of life for a given community. The problem which such a concept for measuring community development is that it is, at best, rather vague. Eldridge feels, therefore, that attempts to define and quantify the concept of a satisfaction level is an important objective for the process of community development.

The objective, which he terms "quality of life" is composed of nine variables: (1) purchasing power per person; (2) income distribution; (3) economic base; (4) institutional contributions; (5) infrastructure; (6) capital inventory; (7) cultural level; (8) leadership effectiveness; and (9) performance of services. Although Eldridge recognizes the importance of outlining the function, he does recognize its shortcomings; particularly the need to calculate the weights and trade-offs among the variables.

It is important to institutional studies to recognize that institutions play a functional role in contributing to the standard of living of a community or nation. This means that studies of institutional effectiveness should be multi-dimensional measurements. Among those that Eldridge mentions the following are identified as being of particular importance for economic development in an LDC: (1) contributions to individual and collective productivity; (2) ability to deliver a wider variety of valued outputs; (3) changing of individual utility functions; and (4) improvements in moral responsibility.

- 8.4 Gibson, George G., A Study of Programs and Organizations of the Agricultural Extension Service, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, Venezuela, USDA, IADS, Washington, D.C., 1967.

An in-depth study focusing on the problems of the extension service of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, this study is noteworthy for its extensive analytical procedure. Interviews were conducted with functionaries at the national, regional and local levels. In addition, visits were made to training schools, project sites, and with farmers. Finally, studies of written reports were reviewed, not only of the Ministry, but of other institutions involved in rural development.

As a result of such a comprehensive investigation this study demonstrates an insight that is lacking in many case studies. Although the

extension agents were generally capable, the institution was hindered by organizational problems, lack of coordination and inability to clearly state workable objectives.

Appendixed to the study are guidelines from successful extension programs in Texas and India, as well as the outline they used as a checklist to gain an understanding of the Ministry's extension operations.

8.5 Meigniez, Robert, Evaluation of Supervisory and Management Training Methods, Organization for Economics Co-operation and Development, Paris, 1963.

As training programs become the logical consequence of institutional studies, the need for an effective methodology to evaluate these training programs becomes more important. It is unfortunate, however, that this area has not been given more study, since the objective is to both assess the value of training programs and point out the nature of the resulting changes.

Meigniez concludes in this study that the two, training and evaluation, are very much interrelated. "Good" training programs produce "good" conditions for evaluation, and where there exist difficulties in evaluating the results, it "implies that training has not produced 'good' results." An effective training program, therefore, requires that evaluation be integrated into training.

Although Meigniez's approach is not really new, the sections preceding his conclusions deserve attention. The difficulties of evaluation are discussed, as well as the technical aspects needed in designing a meaningful evaluation. Included is a review of different measurement instruments commonly discussed in the literature. Finally, there are eight short reports or case studies of evaluation projects undertaken by different European universities and institutions.

8.6 Sinha, R. P., "Project Evaluation: Measuring the Immeasurable," CERES, FAO Review, Vol. 4, No. 6, Nov.-Dec., 1971, pp. 23-25.

In a freely competitive economy we expect the market to be the instrument of resource allocation. Yet there are many cases where the marketplace does not exist as a tool of allocation: one being development planning. The scarce resources are held in the hands of the government or international institutions, and the allocation decision is based on predetermined decision rules. This article does not challenge the validity of principles behind these rules, but rather attempts to cast doubt on the accuracy, measurability and reliability of the methodology used to employ these decision rules. His targets include both the formal (i.e., mathematical models) and the informal (i.e., hunches). Since there is no attempt to offer an alternative to the present form of project evaluation, we must conclude that Sinha would be satisfied if only those involved in project evaluation would keep in mind the imperfections of that process, rather than preach its infallibility.



- 8.7 Smith, Kenneth F., The Agency for International Development 1969 Spring Review of the New Cereal Varieties: III Management Systems, Mimeograph, USAID/Washington, D.C., 1969.

It is felt that in most development projects a concern for systematic management practices has been lacking. This does not mean that development cannot take place, or that all projects which neglected systematic management have been a failure.

Smith emphasizes PERT/LOB as one of the better approaches to systematic management. It "quantifies and integrates knowledge (and uncertainty) from various sources of a project into one common frame of reference for planning, programming and scheduling purposes." In addition, it may serve to integrate all information into a simple package of new or improved practices to be put across to the farm by the extension agency.

In this paper Smith does not really deal with the use of PERT/LOB as an evaluation technique. However, he does stress the limitations of this approach, and cites common factors from successful projects which he considers as necessary complements to PERT/LOB: (1) top level support; (2) reorganization and coordination; (3) campaign; (4) hits; and (5) government/private sector involvement. One may argue with Smith that other items should have been included, or that some deleted, but, nevertheless, the important point is that PERT/LOB alone is not enough for successful project implementation. Without it (or some other form of systematic control and evaluation) however, the probability of achieving the projects' goals are significantly lessened.

- 8.8 Youngstrem, C. O., Report on Agriculture Extension in Ecuador, Foreign Economic Development Service, Washington, D.C., 1965.

This is a study of the extension program in Ecuador, touching on both its history and its present operations. Typical of the "shotgun" approach, the study was conducted over a short period of time and involved a large number of interviews.

Since he was able to interview a wide range of people (farmers, extension agents, local leaders and national level administrators) it appears that Youngstrem acquired a working knowledge of the service ability of the extension agency. Yet one may question this approach. There is the time constraint, but if one proceeds without a plan or methodology, he is forced to depend upon those who are being evaluated to set up his program. This increases the probability of bias, or misrepresentation in the conclusions.

Nevertheless, this study is worthwhile for its emphasis on the historical background of the extension program. To understand what is happening today, it often requires you to see what happened yesterday. The historical information places the conflicts and pressures that the agency faces in a logical and rational perspective. It aids in identifying long standing reasons for present day bottlenecks.

Youngstrem deserves credit for the discussion of budgetary constraints on the agency's effectiveness. Instead of solely relying on the information he gathered in the interviews, he reviewed the budget itself. He noted trends and made projections as to the feasibility of the extension programs and objectives within the present budget. Too often institutional studies accept or assume the budget as a constraint without adequately identifying what it can permit.

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- 8.F Hunter, Guy, The Administration of Agricultural Development: Lessons from India. [7.9 p. 60]
- 8.G Joy, Leonard, "Problems of Agricultural Administration and Extension Services." [3.2 p. 27]
- 8.H Montgomery, John D., "Sources of Bureaucratic Reform: A Typology of Purposes and Politics." [1.12 p. 11]
- 8.I Mott, Paul E., The Characteristics of Effective Organizations. [3.4 p. 28]
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- 8.K Odiorne, George S., Training by Objectives: An Economic Approach to Management Training. [9.11 p. 78]
- 8.L Proctor, John and Thornton, William M., Training: A Handbook for Line Managers. [9.12 p. 79]
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- 8.N Zald, Mayer N., Power in Organizations. [3.10 p. 33]

## IX. Workshop Approaches and Materials

## Workshop Approaches and Materials

- 9.1 Bolman, Lee, "Laboratory Versus Lecture in Training Executives," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 6, No. 3, July-Sept., 1970, pp. 323-335.

This study reports the results of four different training sessions using two alternative methods -- laboratory human relations training (T-groups) versus lecture discussion approach -- to increase business executives' competence in dealing with interpersonal phenomena. While both methods produced "equal change in the participants' stated beliefs about effective interpersonal behavior," laboratory training showed greater effects on participants' perception of themselves and on their behavior.

Follow-up studies showed that the participants had difficulty transferring the learning situations to their jobs. The study suggests that to be effective, follow-up sessions should be considered as an integral part of any training program. One area for a follow-up session might deal with the problem of transferring what was learned in class situations to on-the-job implementation.

- 9.2 Conaway, Orrin B., "The Teaching of Public Administrators," in Kreisberg, M., Public Administration in Developing Countries, The Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., 1965, pp. 149-161.

Although Dean Conaway stresses the need for individual training programs to be tailored to the traditions and institutions of the particular society, he suggests that certain experiences can be transferred to the developing countries for their use in program design. There are two alternative patterns for teaching public administration: (1) creation of a public administration program within a university, or (2) creation of a government agency for the purpose of administration training. The latter is seen as a means of providing as quickly as possible the needed training. The use of a university has created problems due to the lack of enthusiasm and limited resources. When curricula are to be determined it is best to note that there are generally two types of educational programs: those designed for (1) those who wish to enter public service, and (2) for the "administrators of proven ability and promise." Strong emphasis should be placed on the philosophy of public service rather than technical expertise. Sounding somewhat like Riggs, Conaway states, "The ends of government can be defeated easily by technically competent public officials without a general knowledge of public policy, or without a dedication to public service, integrity, and ideals." In regard to the "pedagogy of public administration" there must be a combination of theoretical writings with documentary materials. The teaching staff should also reflect this balance: "While it is difficult to teach public administration well without practitioners, neither can you hope to teach public administration wholly with practitioners." Finally, Conaway points out the value of program seminars and written projects in training courses.

- 9.3 Crawley, Roy W., "The Training of Public Servants," in Kreisburg, Martin, (ed.) Public Administration in Developing Countries, The Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., 1965, pp. 162-176.

Public administration is an integral part of the modernization process. The effective system is one which is directed "toward improvement of the material and cultural achievements of an increasing number of groups and individual citizens." Since, as Crawley states, any institution is only as good as the men and women who comprise it, the need for improved educational and training programs is foremost in the development of the efficient public administration system.

Six areas of training for public servants are identified. These are based on the author's experience in personnel administration. They are: (1) behavioral and human relations training, (2) technical and sub-professional training, (3) professional training, (4) supervisory training, (5) executive and managerial training, and (6) training of administrators.

The discussion of these areas is weak, yet the identification of the categories makes the article useful for studies of training methodology.

- 9.4 Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, Bibliography; Case and Other Materials for the Teaching of Business Administration in Developing Countries, Soldiers Field, Boston, Massachusetts.

There is a series of these coming out in different years. Annotated case studies are classified under six general headings: (1) Controls, Accounting and Statistical; (2) Finance and Financial Institutions; (3) General Management; (4) Human Aspects of Administration; (5) Marketing; and (6) Production. These case studies can all be purchased from the Intercollegiate Case Clearing House which eliminates the problem of searching for the material. In addition, there are annotated lists of books, pamphlets and articles. The work is cross-indexed by author, title and topic.

- 9.5 Harvey, W. E., "Strengthening and Improving the Quality of Training for Short-term Participants," in Stone, Donald C. (ed.), Education in Public Administration: A Symposium of Teaching Methods and Materials, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1963.

Although this is written for trainees coming to the U.S., Harvey points out certain priorities which apply to in-country training as well.

To determine which practices are important, he considers them in terms of quality training -- that is, training which leads a participant to "full achievement of his official objectives, giving him the knowledge and skills needed to function effectively in his home country situation." Defined this way, there is quite a bit of leeway in designing a training program.

One of the most important points is involvement, that is, practice in doing. By allowing for involvement, even in the planning of the program, better training would result.

The participant should feel that he has acquired a skill. This enhances his prestige with both his subordinates and peers.

Relevance is also crucial. The participant must see its transferability to his work. This would result partly from better planning, which would include clearly outlining the objectives and experiences which seem desirable.

Timing is an important element. The length of the program has to be adapted to meet the participants' time constraints, yet it must be able to serve the needs it was designed for avoiding the problem of overscheduling.

- 9.6 Janowitz, Morris, Institution Building in Urban Education, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1969.

This book has some interesting observations regarding management and training techniques that might be put to good use with the rural management project. Although it deals mainly with the underdeveloped and lower socio-economic groupings of students in American education, the feeling is that the ideas on organizational format in the second chapter and models of change in Chapter Three could have some bearing.

The training effort for institutional use that is being prepared in the workshop section of this project could be identified with the school system that resists innovation and directed change, the inarticulated social system.

- 9.7 Jeanneret, Andres and Johansen, Oscar, "Teaching Administration: Methods Used at the School of Economics and Administration University of Chile," in Stone, Donald C. (ed.), Education in Public Administration: A Symposium on Teaching Methods and Materials, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Brussels, 1963, pp. 79-96.

Although this is supposed to be a comparison between two methodologies of teaching administration, its strong point is the classification system developed by the authors.

- A. Classification According to Student Reaction. This is based on degree of independent student thinking.
  1. Active Method: Student reacts by means of discussion and interactions.
  2. Passive Method: Here the student absorbs what is presented to him -- assumes attitude of dependence.

- B. Classification Based on Student's Contact with "Administrative Reality"
  - 1. Abstract Method: Contact with "reality made through conceptual and systematic analysis made by use of model analysis, schemes and classifications, definitions, objectives, causes and effects, and advantages and disadvantages.
  - 2. Simulation Method: More realistic representation than used above. Typically through case system, role playing, management games, etc.
  - 3. Observation Method: Contact with reality made by a visit for the purpose of studying and analyzing the peculiarities of a particular establishment.
  - 4. Action Method: Here "reality" is worked with directly. This is not just "going through an experience;" the student combines this with broader curriculum.
  - 5. Research Method: Original research to reach conclusions which could not be obtained by simple observations or through the solution to a particular problem.
- C. Classification According to the Individual's Motivation. By applying appropriate methods, the professor should be able to generate different motives in the student.
  - 1. Classic or General Motivation Method: He, the student, studies because he "has to" in order to fulfill a set goal (i.e., graduate).
  - 2. Specific Motivation Method: The above can be converted in this method by the proper teaching methods. Here the student has a special impetus to study.

In designing or analyzing training programs the emphasis tends to be placed on measured variables of production output -- e.g., has the administrator's efficiency in preparing reports improved as a result of the training program? With the classification system that Jeanneret and Johansen use the emphasis is placed on personal development -- rather than skill development -- of the student. In the formalistic environment typified by many institutions in the developing as well as developed nations, a training program which enhances the administrator's personal capacity to deal with non-structured problems and to suggest solutions and changes, is more valuable than the traditional skill-oriented program. More often than not, however, a successful training program will have to include elements of both skill and personal development. The Jeanneret and Johansen system provides a framework for incorporating personal development into skill-oriented programs.

9.8 Knudson, Harry R. Jr. (compiler), *Organizational Behavior: Cases for Developing Nations*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Reading, Mass., 1967.

The use of case studies provides an opportunity in a training program to acquire experience and understanding in organizational development



and behavior. However, it is not enough to just read them; rather they must be discussed. In preparing a case and in discussion, Knudson suggests six questions that the participant should bear in mind: (1) What questions can I ask myself as I study the case? (2) What inferences can I make to increase my understanding of this case? (3) What should be done? (4) What prediction can I make as to what will happen if my recommendation is adopted? (5) What questions can I ask myself as I take part in the group discussion of the case? (6) Have I changed as a result of this experience?

This book contains a series of case studies prepared by the International Center for the Advancement of Management Education (ICAME), Stanford University. The cases are taken from examples in developing nations and arranged according to decision-making situations dealing with: (1) motivation and behavior, (2) leadership, (3) organizational change, (4) personnel management, and (5) general management. Although they are designed as part of an overall training program for upper level government officials and entrepreneurs, some of the cases would be useful also for middle level staff personnel.

- 9.9 Lynton, Rolf P. and Udai, Pareek, "Support and Evaluation," Training for Development, Richard D. Irwin, Inc. and the Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, 1967.

One part of the training program that is often overlooked is the effect of going back to work and showing what has been learned. This post-training phase is really what it is all about -- if it doesn't work here then the training has failed. Four common imbalances in training which cause most difficulties in the post-training period are mentioned:

1. Input Overload -- Here the participants come out too excited. As a result, they are exhausted and don't remember what they learned or become very discouraged when they return to work.
2. Unrealistic Goals -- This could be due to either the participants or trainers. On finishing the course, the trainee may sense a lack of realism and be unsure as to the usefulness of the program, or he'll fail at trying to reach the goals and become disenchanted.
3. Alienation -- Over the period of training the participants come closer together and begin to feel further apart from their co-workers. The co-workers may also tend to look upon them as somewhat different.
4. Linkage Failure -- Since the existence of a training program implies inadequacy on the part of the organization, many of those who return run up against this continued inadequacy or are not prepared to cope with it. At the same time, they are seen as a threat by their fellow workers.

Before turning to evaluation, the authors criticize some pretest techniques. The numbers game is attacked. It tells nothing about the

quality of training. Also, measurement of learning at the end of a program, while somewhat useful, is often overemphasized because it is quantifiable and looks specific. Finally, they caution about participants' praise or evaluation for the course at the very end. Immediate emotional factors tend to become interwoven with their genuine impressions.

Evaluation is, in reality, a three-phase process: (1) evaluating the training program -- did it do what it set out to do? (2) evaluating the training objectives -- were they adequately formed? (3) evaluating the participants -- in form of changes to be effected at work.

9.10 Moynihan, Daniel P., Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, The Free Press, New York, 1969.

The author is a social scientist involved in the formation of the War on Poverty and sets forth his interpretation of how and why these programs failed. He lays heavy blame at the feet of the social scientists, cum ideologue, cum social reformer, who as former members of the underlying social theory, heavily influenced how poverty was defined and dealt with.

While the book has a mia culpa bias (the word painful must appear on every other page), it is valuable to this management research project in several important ways. First, he documents the political process from which legislation emerges stressing the need for powerful political allies. Second, he notes the resistance to social reform programs that comes from those who are about to be displaced, and the apathy of those about to be reformed. Third, he warns against the benevolent paternalism so common in reform movements. Finally, and most important for this project's current concerns, he cautions the social scientist not to be a policy maker, but only a policy evaluator and bearer of alternatives, and to achieve this he must know his problem, its scope, complexity and feasibility and this can only be achieved by adequate, objective research and may require the fending off of the politicians who are demanding immediate solutions and action.

9.11 Odiorne, George S., "Evaluation of Training Effectiveness" (Chapter 10), Training by Objectives: An Economic Approach to Management Training, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1970.

In dealing with behavior change objectives, one must consider that the object of the training course is to change behavior. If the "on the job results" are not as anticipated, this is not a reflection of the training program but rather of the original analysis of the situation leading to the decision to initiate the training program.

Aside from this point, the rest of the chapter is devoted to developing a cost effectiveness system of evaluation. Cost is the dollar outlay -- both direct and indirect of planning, executing and evaluating as the consequences of that training. Effectiveness is the degree to which the training program contributes to objectives of a specific effort.

This implies that the goals or objectives have to be well defined beforehand. Each type of training should be measured in terms of (1) rate of contribution to objectives, (2) costs, (3) feasibility; the type that best fulfills these criteria should be chosen.

An inherent problem with this technique is the over-emphasis on costs combined with the failure to correctly calculate these costs. The most obvious fault is the exclusion of possible savings when making the cost calculations. There is also the faulty conclusion that high-priced courses are a priori more effective.

- 9.12 Proctor, John Howard and Thornton, William M., "Chapter VIII: Measuring Training Payoff," Training: A Handbook for Line Managers, American Management Association, New York, 1961.

In order to analyze the effectiveness of a training program, testing (measurements) must be taken before, during, and after training. The pre-training measurements are useful for establishing a point of departure, allowing the instructor to set the course according to the level of skill and knowledge of the participants.

In-training measurement serves as a feedback mechanism. Among the indicators of a successful training program are: (1) information-test or skill-test scores maintained or improved; (2) a favorable attitude toward the instructor and the material; (3) attitude change in the desired direction; (4) thoughtful participation in training activities; (5) good attendance and promptness; and (6) favorable reports by management and other observers.

Finally, post-training measurement is used to evaluate the amount and direction of learning and on-the-job behavior change.

Any test that is used in evaluation should be: (1) valid, (2) reliable, (3) objective, and (4) standardized.

Generally, there are two methods of systematic evaluation. The first is a before-and-after test which measures the change and its direction of each participant before and after the course. Statistical techniques can then be used to determine whether or not the change due to the training program was significant.

The second method is to compare the training group with a control group. This is somewhat more difficult since it requires the two groups to be highly similar.

Sometimes these two methods are combined in the hope that they will produce even clearer results.

- 9.13 Sloan, Alfred P., Jr., My Years with General Motors, New York, Doubleday and Co., 1964.

As a personal account of his rise in GM and the development of modern management techniques, this book could be used to illustrate many

problems of organizational development and change and the solutions which favored GM in its emergence as the largest private organization in the world.

Its use in the Ag Development Project would follow similar lines -- i.e., as an illustration of such concepts as decentralization, centralization, use of incentives, adoption of innovation, evaluating mechanisms, changing technology and changing markets, the development of new market mechanisms such as credit and local agents. While these points might not be evident to the lay reader they could be effectively used by a skilled instructor.

- 9.14 Stone, Donald C. (ed.), Education in Public Administration: A Symposium on Teaching Methods and Materials, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Brussels, 1963.

The book is a collection of "work papers" prepared for the 1962 Congress of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. Most of the authors are deans of their respective schools of public administration. Although the selection is rather international, most of the problems and procedures are similar.

One of the most important articles is cited below and of the others, the Ellen Bullock article on the University of Pittsburgh relates to the synopsis of different classes -- along with some of the class problems -- offered by the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs.

- 9.15 Leemans, Anne F., "Teaching Methods: A Survey," in Stone, Donald C. (ed.), Education in Public Administration: A Symposium on Teaching Methods and Materials, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Brussels, 1963, pp. 29-44.

The article offers a look at the teaching methods commonly employed in the study of public administration.

1. Lecturing - They tend to be theoretical or bear no relation to practice. Their content can often be found in textbooks. In addition, after a period it becomes difficult to keep the students' attention.

The disadvantage can be reduced to a large degree by (1) leaving part of the session to discussion; (2) distribution of lectures and syllabus beforehand; and (3) making use of public officials or those actively working in the area.

2. Seminars - This system calls for the student to prepare papers, present and defend them. Yet the seminar may emphasize teaching or capacity of the student to collect data, form an opinion and to argue in an intellectual manner.

This system makes heavy demands on the staff, and also runs the danger of being dominated by a few students, as well as the possibility of the discussion becoming confused and insufficiently focused on only a few problems.

3. Case studies - The students either gather the material and present the study themselves, or they are presented with real or imaginary cases. From this the student should learn (1) analysis of a situation from practice; (2) evaluate background of problems and interrelationships; (3) determine how problems should be solved and data needed for their solution; and (4) arriving at conclusions for solving problems, noting interrelationships and determining priorities.

The suitable case study depends very much on the type of student you are dealing with. It should vary as between university and public officials and within grades or rank.

4. Role playing and use of imaginary cases - This seems to be useful for public officials, yet university students find this too abstract. It involves the student, but there is also the danger as with the seminar of the shy student, or those with little imagination, lagging behind.
5. Group project assignments - This serves to (1) make the students study a problem from different angles; (2) work as a team; (3) develop a comprehensive or synthetic approach to problems.  
There is the problem of each student concentrating on his particular area without giving proper attention to its relationship to the whole. It is recommended students write joint papers.
6. Individual preparation of papers on assigned problems - The student learns to (1) study a problem or organization; (2) formulate thoughts; (3) apply previous learning to special cases.  
It is, in principle, best for the students to write about something with which they are not familiar, but in short courses this becomes difficult.  
There is the problem that the student might go astray or deal with irrelevant matters. For this reason it is suggested that a supervisor be assigned to the student.
7. Examination on contents of lectures - This is part teaching and part evaluation. It does force the student to organize knowledge and formulate it in an orderly and clear manner.
8. Demonstrations - These are best for subjects of a practical or technical character.
9. Field work - Supervised internships - This is useful for Pre-entry training courses.
10. Reading - The amount should vary greatly depending on the nature and time of the course. It is useful to acquire additional knowledge and prepare students for class discussion.
11. Tutorials - It is an important teaching device, yet does create a great drain on the staff's time. It enables consideration of an individual's capabilities and interests.

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