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ABSTRACT
                In developing countries, public administration is
hampered by a number of obstacles foreign to large industrialized
nations. Some of these obstacles are shortages of tools and skilled
personnel, outmoded organizational structures, political competition,
and cultural and attitudinal barriers. The administrative obstacles
and their interrelationships are more effectively illuminated by a
functional model than by a Weberian bureaucracy model of
administration. However, the functional model implies that public
administration can develop only as much as the country it serves. A
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IIEP occasional papers

Development administration:

2   obstacles, theories, and implications for planning

by Peter W. Rodman

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DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION:
OBSTACLES, THEORIES
AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

Peter W. Rodman

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IIEP Occasional Papers

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INTRODUCTION

Public administration is a strategic factor in economic and social development. It influences and determines the success of any development plan, and is at the same time susceptible to deliberate social control and change. The inadequacy of administration in many developing countries is now recognized as a major obstacle to development, perhaps more serious an obstacle than the lack of capital or foreign aid. Herbert Emmerich, a noted scholar and administrator, estimates that 80 per cent of the plans of the world are incapable of being fulfilled because of administration. (1)

The term 'development administration' can be used in a broad sense, to embrace the variety of approaches and points of view that mark the study of public administration in developing countries. Some writers have sought to assign a more restricted and precise meaning to the term, but their attempts have been arbitrary and conflicting. Some speak of 'development administration' in order to emphasize the inadequacy of the established discipline of 'public administration', others treat the field as merely an application of the traditional study; still others use the term with neither connotation. Some use the term in the sense of 'the administration of development'; others are thinking of the development of administration; still others see these concepts as two sides of the same coin. Another important school of thought which studies the role and problems of administration in developing countries calls its field 'comparative public administration'. The battle over meanings and labels is symptomatic of substantive differences in approach and outlook - which, we shall see, have important implications for planning.

To some degree, all of the different approaches share a comparative point of view. Almost every writer who discusses a developing bureaucracy is at least implicitly holding up against it the Weberian image of the efficient, rational, functionally specialized, impersonal, non-political bureaucratic hierarchy, an image associated chiefly with the western industrialized nations. These developed bureaucracies probably look good only when being compared with their counterparts or imitators in developing countries. But the latter, although they certainly did not invent corruption, irrationality, and incompetence, are more afflicted with those ills, and much less able to afford them. Whatever their views of the appropriateness of the Weberian standard, students of development administration inevitably focus on the falling-short-of-the-ideal as their special problem.

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(1) Herbert C. Emmerich, speaking at the XIIIth International Congress of Administrative Sciences, Meeting of Representatives of Schools and Institutes of Public Administration, Paris, 21 July 1965.

Thus the immediate contribution of development administration is its exposure of the administrative obstacles to the planning and implementation of development. The literature of the field presents a formidable catalogue of specific obstacles, which the first section of the paper will examine. The field also offers theoretical analyses, 'conceptual frameworks', designed to illuminate the causes and inter-relations of these obstacles, and these will be discussed in the second section. The most prominent of these theories is that of Professor Frederick W. Riggs of Indiana University. Riggs's model is useful because it achieves its aim of illumination, but many of its implications - for development administration as a discipline, for the prospects of administrative reform, and for planning - are controversial. A third section will deal more thoroughly with the lessons, implications, and overall usefulness of development administration.

1 ADMINISTRATIVE
OBSTACLES

Students of public administration tend to view administration in developing countries as an output. They ask, for example, how can the Western nations help produce and equip competent personnel for the administrative tasks of development? This objective obviously coincides with one of the aspects of educational planning.

But the educational planner - indeed any planner - is confronted by the problems of administration in another respect as well - as an input. The indigenous administration, whatever its failings, is the instrument that must execute the plans. It is not only a patient to be cured, it is also the only doctor in town. Technical assistance can, indeed, only assist.

Thus, while schools and institutes of public administration have before them the long-run positive task of training and improving public administrations, the planner working with administration as an input meets the difficulties in the short run. The study of development administration will have for him at least the negative usefulness of illuminating the obstacles he must take into account if his plan is to have a chance of being implemented. Indeed, economists and educational planners must recognize that, if the best-laid plan comes to naught because of administrative inadequacies - and if these difficulties could have been foreseen - it is the fault of the plan and of the planner.

The experiences and observations of those who have gone before present an awesome picture. The obstacles are many and varied and interconnected, but we might usefully discuss them under four somewhat arbitrary headings: (1) shortages of skills and tools; (2) difficulties of organization and structure; (3) political difficulties and (4) cultural and attitude barriers.

Shortages of skills and tools

First, there is a <u>shortage of trained personnel</u>, which is the most obvious and widely noted difficulty. The shortage generally afflicts all levels of administration, but is particularly acute with regard to 'support administration', i. e. middle- and lower-echelon personnel, and local administrators. One expert

has stated that ten people are needed for 'support administration' for every one person at the top. (1) An additional problem is that the emerging nations' interest in foreign affairs absorbs many of their skilled people, and this further reduces the number available for development tasks.

Secondly, there is a great waste of the limited talent that is available for administration. There are often large numbers of skilled people in adminis-tration, but with the wrong skills, e. g. , people who studied liberal arts or law. (The tradition of the amateur 'generalist' dies hard.) These subjects have prestige but little usefulness, and thus many new administrators are in effect untrained. Much of the right kind of training is wasted because trainees seek other work or get no chance to use their skill. New schools and institutes for the teaching of public administration are often provided, for both students and teachers, for those people who can be spared from their work, i. e. , the least useful. (2)

Another aspect or consequence of the shortage of personnel is the rapid turnover in individual positions, as skilled men are shifted around from one position to another. Some of it is voluntary, and due to the lack of uniform systems of pay, classification, and advancement. But most of it is a relic of bygone days of the generalist administrator, when one administrative job was not basically different from any other, and when frequent rotation could broaden the generalist's outlook.

> "But today, when specialized experience takes time to acquire, frequent transfers or transfers to positions where there is no opportunity to use scarce skills, tend to aggra-vate the acute shortage of experienced managerial leader-ship. Moreover, because of frequent shifts in, or lack of, staff, it has not been unusual to find projects languishing or even abandoned. " (3)

The skill lacking is not merely advanced economic or administrative expertise, but simple office skills: filing systems, internal communications, trained stenographers, clerks, accountants, etc. Without the ability to preserve and

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(1) Sam Richardson, speaking at the XIIIth International Congress ... 22 July 1965.
(2) Shriram B. Bapat, speaking at the XIIIth International Congress ... 22 July 1965.
(3) Albert Waterston, 'Administrative Obstacles to Planning', Economia Latinoamericana, vol. 1, N°3, (July 1964) p. 332.

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organize internal records, an administration is more or less amnesiac.
Yet training institutions often teach advanced concepts and techniques borrowed
from advanced countries - philosophical bases of administration, human rela-
tions, computer technology etc. , and neglect the 'nuts and bolts'. (1)

Elementary statistical data are often unreliable, fragmentary, or non-existent.
Pakistan, for example, miscalculated its birth rate in the period of its First
Plan. (2) In Latin America, educational planning services have had to compile
basic school statistics and manpower data themselves. In addition, the data
are often not taken into account in the formulation of plans. According to
Halty Carrere,

> "the national development plans submitted to the
> Panel of Experts of the Alliance for Progress included
> no occupational analysis of employment in the part
> devoted to manpower. And no educational plan has as
> yet been based on forecasts of manpower needs and
> their translation into terms of educational output. "(3)

Governments may be incapable of collecting the tax revenue that is due them.
Because of the unreliability of local administration, the point at which the
marginal revenue falls short of the marginal cost of tax collection is reached
very early. Professor Fred Riggs has estimated that in Colombia, for example,
better administration and enforcement could raise the total national tax yield
by one-third or more. (4)

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(1) Bapat, loc. cit. ,
(2) Ford Foundation and Harvard University,
Design for Pakistan, 1965.
(3) Carrere Maximilio Halty, 'Some Aspects of
Educational Planning in Latin America', in
Raymond F. Lyons, ed. Problems and Strategies of
Educational Planning : Lessons from Latin America,
IIEP, 1964, p. 99.
(4) Fred W. Riggs, 'Public Administration: A neglected
Factor in Economic Development', Annals of the American
Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 305 (May 1956).

Development administration

Difficulties of organization and structure

There are problems involved in the location of the central planning agency in the over-all governmental structure. Each of the several possible arrangements has its own hazards. All planning responsibilities can be concentrated in a cabinet-level ministry of planning, or in a super ministry like the Ministry of Co-ordination in Greece. Planning units can be established in the Ministry of Finance or in the Ministry of Economic Affairs. An independent planning commission can be established, perhaps, as in Pakistan, located in and responsible to the Office of the President. Or the Commission may constitute a cabinet committee composed of the interested ministers (finance, economic affairs, labour, education, agriculture, etc.).

The essential problem is co-ordination. In Jamaica, the Department of Housing was planning a housing project on the same land which the Ministry of Agriculture was preparing to flood for an irrigation project. In Madagascar the Ministry charged with repairing a highway after the Ministry of Telecommunications had placed telephone cables underground, repaired the highway before the Ministry of Telecommunications had laid the cables. (1)

Co-ordination has at least two major aspects: co-ordination of the several departmental objectives in one over-all, balanced plan, and co-ordination of planning, financing, and execution. One source of problems is that these two requirements are to some extent incompatible. (2) On the one hand, co-ordination of departmental objectives seems to require a planning unit independent of any particular ministry. For example, depositing planning powers in a Ministry of Finance facilitates co-ordination of project and budgetary planning, but risks subordinating departmental objectives to narrow fiscal considerations. In general, locating over-all planning units in a ministry which is on a par with other ministries greatly complicates the task of co-ordination between them.

On the other hand the more 'over-all' the planning unit's scope and position, the more divorced it may be from the units responsible for detailed execution. A free-floating planning agency, independent of particular ministries, may be more capable of an over-all view, but may have no mandate except to draw up the development plan. The resulting plan is likely to be 'non-functional', i.e.

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(1) Waterston, op. cit., p. 328.
(2) Ibid., pp. 333-334.

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it will not incorporate measures, provisions and procedures (administrative and financial) necessary for implementation. With weak liaison with the interested ministries and operating agencies, the planning organ can neither direct the administrative machinery nor benefit from its co-operation. As a result, plans may not be backed up by operationally designed programmes; projects may be described only in vague terms, the required manpower and equipment may not be scheduled, sites may not be selected, finance may not be fully arranged, projects may be inadequately tested for administrative or practical feasibility or for economic viability etc. (1)

The super ministry seems subject to the same considerations as any independent planning unit: the question is one of co-ordination of effective power. This is more obvious in regard to a Cabinet Committee: what guarantee is there that committee decisions will be binding on the members? In fact the problem of organizational structure is a residual one: the essential problem of central planning is the mobilization of political power in the society, which is a matter of leadership and co-operative action on the part of the people who count. This can succeed (or fail) no matter what the location of the planning unit in the formal organizational chart. (2) Unfortunately, one observer states, most central planning commissions in the developing world have little more than an advisory capacity, i.e. influence but no power. (3)

Whatever the location of the central planning agency, the most frequent complaint about organization is that of over-centralization. This embraces both the failure to 'deconcentrate', i.e. to delegate powers to middle and lower echelons at the centre, and the failure to 'devolve' powers to local administrators. Headquarters (i.e. the people at the top and centre) often fail to

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(1) Donald C. Stone, 'Tasks, Precedents, and Programs for Education in Development Administration', paper submitted to the XIIIth International Congress ... July 1965, pp. 5ff, ... See also Donald C. Stone, 'Government Machinery Necessary for Development', in Martin Driesberg, ed, Public Administration in Developing Countries, 1965, p. 57.

(2) Stephen K. Bailey, 'The Place and Functioning of a Planning Agency within the Government Organization of Developing Countries' (UN doc. E/Conf. 39/4/82 Nov. 1962), in United States Papers Prepared for the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas, vol. VIII: Organization, Planning and Programming for Economic Development, p. 136.

(3) William K. Kapp, 'Economic Development, National Planning, and Public Administration' Kyklos, vol. XIII, fasc. 2 (1960), p. 179.

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make the responsibilities of these subordinate units clear or fail to delegate authority at all. This ensures the continued incompetence of middle and lower echelons and local administrators, while at the same time the bottleneck at headquarters may give subordinate officials a de facto veto. Alternatively, the reluctance to deconcentrate at the centre may arise from the insecurity of high-level officials who, with little preparation, moved into top positions immediately after independence, fear the advancement of younger men coming from new training institutions. (1) Local administration often fails to attract the best people, lacks an independent source of funds, deals with units too small to be economically viable, or is generally mistrusted by the centre.

The result of all this is bottleneck and bureaucratic stagnation. Complicated structures of approval and review at the top and centre lead to chronic delay and diffusion (and evasion) of responsibility. New agencies are often set up and superimposed on the structure in order to circumvent the congestion, but this only aggravates the problem. Paperwork and red tape proliferate. Local needs may be ignored. Senior administrative officials may be burdened with routine tasks like hiring and firing. The lack of significant jobs away from the centre only perpetuates the natural preference of functionaries for the capital city. The result may be a proliferation of useless jobs at the centre; ironically the central bureaucracy may be saturated with top-level people, and unable to utilize their services fully.

The budget process can be a source of problems. Lack of co-ordination between planning and financing has its own particular aspects: the budgetary credits allotted to the plan may be insufficient, essential loan funds may be unavailable, foreign exchange needed for equipment importation may be denied, foreign aid programmes may be unco-ordinated with each other or with the budget etc.

Moreover, the budget process, by its nature, tends to act as a restraint; its officials are inclined to adjust programmes to available resources rather than try to secure resources (e.g. by tax reform) for financing desirable programmes. If the planning agency is politically out-weighed by the budget bureau, or if the planning unit is part of the Ministry of Finance, the forces of restraint may prevail. The budget itself should serve as a control on the quality of projects, and as an authoritative commitment of funds. Too often, however, premature and ill-conceived projects slip through and the budgets are subject to endless approval. Year round ad hoc expenditure control is often resorted to as a substitute for good budgeting, and this is a negation of programming and planning.

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(1) S. S. Richardson, 'Obstacles to the Development of Administrative Training Programmes' paper submitted to the XIIIth International Congress ...

Administrative obstacles

Political difficulties

The most frequent complaint in this regard is that of political interference with administrative tasks. Political prestige motivates some projects. Political pressure rather than merit, influences appointments and promotions. Africanization (and its counterparts) may proceed too rapidly, and lower the over-all level of competence. Officials abuse their positions because of political influence - to accept bribes, to intimidate the public, to flout regulations, or to ignore instructions. (In one country, a Prime Minister's directive to his Ministers to submit an analysis and review of all departmental projects was ignored. The Ministers' bases of support were their different political parties, and they simply felt no need to obey the Prime Minister.)(1) Politicians may be attracted by the appearance of change, but unwilling to take the risks involved in anything more than rhetoric. Parliaments may exercise a negative influence over the bureaucracy: parliamentary criticism may disrupt efficient organization, or may be used by bureaucrats as an excuse for timidity. (2)

Political instability is another aspect of this problem. Frequent government changes imply not only changes in policy, but also changes in administrative personnel. Ministers of education may come and go rapidly. Disruption of policy results either because the new Minister must learn from the beginning what is going on, or because he insists on starting all over again from scratch (the 'pseudo-creative response').

The vulnerability of developing administrations to political vicissitudes is due to the fact that these bureaucracies are politically engaged themselves, to a far greater degree than are their counterparts in advanced countries. That is, the bureaucracy may be not merely an arm of the executive, but the executive-in-fact. It may be the only body in the society capable of formulating clear social and political goals. If the legislature is feeble (as is often the case), the bureaucracy may be the arena of political struggle among interest groups, or may become an interest group itself, allying itself with the ruling oligarchy. In fact (to look at this from another point of view), it is usually desired that the bureaucracy go beyond its specialized mechanical functions and become an active promoter of the political goal of change. The reasons for this phenomenon of political engagement will emerge in the later discussion of development-administration theory, but it should be evident already that its roots go deeper than the venality of isolated individuals.

(1) Benjamin Higgins, 'General Summary of the Discussions', in OECD Development Plans and Programs.
(2) See, for example, Paul H. Appleby, 'Re-examination of India's Administrative System, with Special reference to the administration of Government's industrial and commercial enterprises, 1959, p. 42.

Development administration

Cultural and attitude barriers

Because of the bureaucracy's significant political role in developing societies, the bureaucracy's adjustment to the tasks of development is crucial. The ingrained conservatism of most of these bureaucracies thus becomes a major obstacle. Development requires an administration mobilized for transformation not for mere 'administering'. But bureaucracies, like any established institutions, tend to prefer stability and continuity; staff colleges tend to imbue a code of behaviour that emphasizes rules and routines. Universities, though more autonomous than staff colleges may be even more stubbornly resistant to change in their approaches to training. (1)

Whatever the validity of generalizations about inherent conservatism, bureaucracies in formerly colonial countries are likely to inherit a conservative paternalistic orientation from their pre-independence days. Colonial administration concerned itself with the status-quo-maintaining functions of collecting revenue and preserving law and order.

Hidden under the wing of monarchy, cut off from the masses by differences of origin and social status, colonial bureaucracy could afford to ignore public opinion, and to govern more by imposing than by winning over. This inherited machinery and the people in it, natives and expatriates alike, cannot easily shake off the old habits of operation and attitude. Nor can the public quickly recover from their deeply ingrained mistrust of government and officials. The transfer of sovereignty over the old machine is difficult enough: the moment of independence may be the time when the government can least afford the interruption of government services that would result from a massive overhaul.

Developing societies that have been independent for a long time also inherited administrative systems oriented to static, pre-development tasks. But unlike the formerly colonial countries they may not even have an efficient mechanism for collecting taxes, preserving law and order, or providing basic services. This is especially true of Latin America. (2)

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(1) Donald C. Stone, speaking at XIIIth International Congress ... , 22 July 1965.
(2) Waterston, op. cit. , p. 309.

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Administrative obstacles

The social status of the civil service, usually another part of the colonial legacy, can be an important aspect of the bureaucracy's unsuitability for change. Many countries, especially in Asia and Africa, have inherited the European idea of the civil service as a privileged elite. For political and other reasons, salaries and leave provisions geared to the living standards of personnel from the metropolitan country are unlikely to be altered suddenly when native personnel take over. Upper Volta, for example, has 11,000 civil servants whose salaries total 13 per cent of the country's annual gross domestic product. Another country gives tropical allowances to its own nationals in the civil service because such allowances were formerly given to civil servants who came from the metropolitan country. (1) The generous leave provisions, (which may even allow teachers in government educational institutions to take vacations during term-time) are wasteful when qualified manpower is in short supply. Ostentatious living, often far beyond the means of the individual officials (let alone that of the country), represents a typical political and psychological response to independence and the 'nativization' of the civil service.

On the other hand (for example, in India) an egalitarian and/or economizing reaction to the privileged status of colonial civil servants has often reduced salaries and emoluments to a point which undermines recruitment. The complaint is often heard that low salaries and prestige discourage the entrance of talented people and weaken the morale and sense of responsibility of those employed in the administration.

The elite and the underpaid (and the disadvantages of both) may coexist in the same bureaucracy, for colonial regimes often encouraged the class stratification of the indigenous personnel in the civil service. A native elite would float near the top, and the middle and lower echelons would attract the less privileged. It has been suggested, for example, that British rule strengthened the caste system in India at least as much as it weakened it. Not only were over-all Hindu loyalties weakened, but the rigidity, hierarchy, and impersonality of bureaucracy were suited to, and consolidated, the social structure of a caste society. (2)

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(1) Ibid., p. 310, p. 313.
(2) N. V. Sovani, 'Non-economic Aspects of India's Economic Development', in Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spingler eds. Administration and Economic Development in India.

Such cultural factors can be among the most deep-rooted barriers to modernization and they have their particularly administrative manifestations. Plans may fail to be implemented or to take root because the new institutions or patterns of behaviour are incompatible with tradition. For example, mass education violates the tenets of a caste system. Resistance to change will be formidable whether the incompatibility is real or imagined. Moreover, the focus of loyalties in most pre-modern societies is the family or extended family (tribe, clan, etc.) or class. If the commitment to the larger unit is weak, the motivation of individuals in the administration is likely to be inconsistent with national goals. For example, the extended family may be the source of finance for a young man's higher education. The recipient, in turn, once in a good job, is expected to support the education of relations and find them jobs. Such behaviour, seen as nepotism and corruption in advanced societies, is seen as normal in most developing societies. (1)

Less striking cultural influences affect the human relations of management. A more authoritarian tradition than the U.S. is accustomed to undermines the application of administrative principles that seem essential to Americans. The 'participative' approach to management is likely to produce disappointing results with workers who accept, and are accustomed to, closer supervision and stricter pressure. But the authoritarian pattern suffers from the poor feedback of information and criticism to supervisors. (2)

In general, personnel administration is supposed to ensure that the personal motivation of employees is channeled in socially beneficial directions. But the absence of uniform systems of examination, qualification, pay and classification, the lack of opportunity for advancement, the lack of job security, and continuity, and the absence of satisfactory retirement provisions, are all likely pre-conditions for corruption.

(1) See Ronald Wraith and Edgar Simpkins, Corruption in Developing Countries, 1963.
(2) William Foote Whyte and Lawrence K. Williams, 'Supervisory Leadership: An International Comparison', in Comité International de l'Organisation Scientifique (CIOS), XIIIth International Management Congress, Proceedings: Human Progress through Better Management, 1963.

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

The theories or 'conceptual frameworks' of development administration vary
in their degrees of abstraction. But the aim of all of them is to illuminate
causes and interactions, and their basic 'variables' are precisely those factors
which the non-theorizing planner would recognize as his immediate obstacles.
As we have seen, these obstacles in administration are political, economic,
social, and cultural, as well as organizational in origin.

The recognition of this last fact is one sign of a revolution that has taken place
in the study of public administration since the war. Traditionally, this discipline
consisted mainly of a 'theory of organization', an approach which survives in
the study of business administration and management. Its model for public ad-
ministration was Max Weber's ideal-type of bureaucracy: impersonal non-political,
rational, hierarchical, and organized according to technically specialized functions.
The process of government was seen as divided into two distinct phases, policy-
determination and policy-execution. Politics governed the first, and science
could govern the second. The bureaucratic machine, insulated from politics,
was an instrument for the execution of decisions, and its workings could be
explained by universal principles of good administration. Comparative study,
in this context, meant case studies focusing on administrative procedure and
organization, with the Western model in mind.

Post-war experience and scholarship have largely discredited this approach in
the American study of administration (1) (though in Europe the rules and pre-
scriptions approach still reigns: most European specialists in administration
are trained in law). World War II and post-war reconstruction brought American
scholars into greater contact with administrative systems of other countries.
The rise in world-wide technical assistance following President Truman's 'Point
Far' address in 1949, and the multiplication of government and foundation-sponsored
educational exchange programmes broadened the perspective of all fields of
American scholarship. The comparative approach came to dominate, and this led
inevitably to doubts about the adequacy of traditional concepts of public adminis-
tration. (2)

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(1) Dwight Waldo, Comparative Public Administration:
Prologue, Problems, and Promise, Comparative Adminis-
tration Group (CAG) Papers in Comparative Public Adminis-
tration, Special Series, N°2, 1964, pp. 3ff.
(2) Ferrel Heady, 'Recent Literature on Comparative
Administration', Administration Science Quarterly, vol. 5,
N°2, 1964 (June 1960).

Development administration

The functions and the problems of administration in developing countries were seen to be radically different from those in industrialized Western countries. The only approach which could explain the differences (as well as the similarities) was one which took into account the many and diverse origins of the problems and the reasons for the differences in function. Aspects which were formerly parameters (unexamined environmental factors) were now seen as variables (factors relevant to study). In other words, an _interdisciplinary_ approach to the study of public administration was needed: political science, economics, history; sociology, psychology, and anthropology were to be synthesized. In particular this meant that the study of government and administration was to benefit from the insights of the rapidly developing 'behavioural sciences'.

The questions that comparative public administration then asked were: How do differences in political, economic, social and cultural environment affect the way administration is conducted? And how, in turn, does administrative action affect the society in which it plays a part? The result was an _ecology_ of public administration, a study of the interrelation of administration and all the aspects of environment.

This interrelation of administration and social setting was pointed out in 1947 by Robert A. Dahl in a famous article. (1) Dissatisfaction with the traditional approach was also evident in two books on public administration about the same time: Herbert A. Simon's Administrative Behaviour: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization (1947) and Dwight Waldo's The Administrative States: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration (1948). In general, these works criticized the current idea of administration as a 'science', with Weberian normative premises lying behind the 'scientific' prescriptions.

In 1952 the Public Administration Clearing House held a Conference on Comparative Administration at Princeton, which spanned the Sayre-Kaufman Research Outline. Professors Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman drew up a background paper on 'criteria of relevance', a set of concepts to serve as a frame of reference for comparative study of administration. The paper discussed patterns of organizational structure, internal procedures and controls, external influence etc., with a strong behavioural and ecological emphasis suited to cross-cultural application. From the perspective of today, the Sayre-Kaufman outline was only a 'modified traditional' approach(2), although it served as the significant point of departure for such other theorists as Fred Riggs of Indiana. Its continuity with the older approaches lay in its attention to the traditional categories of administrative anatomy and to the 'standard' functions of administrative activity.

(1) Robert A. Dahl, 'The Science of Public Administration: Three Problems', Public Administration Review, vol. 7 winter 1947.
(2) Ferrel Heady, op. cit.,

Conceptual frameworks

The more 'modern' literature is characterized by the decisive influence of
the behavioral sciences, especially sociology. This literature can be divided
into the 'Input-Output System' and the 'Bureaucratic System' approaches. (1)

The input-output system approach (sometimes referred to as 'input-conversion-
output' system approach) presents a model of the role of a political system in
its society, and emphasizes the exchanges between the system and its environ-
ment. In David Easton's formulation (2), the environment's inputs are demands
and supports, and the political system's outputs are decisions or policies.
By a process of feedback, the outputs affect the inputs, and the cycle of inter-
action is complete. Administration fits into this scheme as an output function.

The same sort of approach is evident in Almond and Coleman's Politics of
Developing Areas, which borrows considerably from Talcott Parson's socio-
logical theory. The input functions in Almond's political system are: interest
articulation, interest aggregation, political communication, and political
socialization and recruitment, and the output functions are rule-making,
rule-application, and rule-adjudication. The output functions, of course,
correspond to the three branches of government, legislative, executive, and
judiciary, respectively.

John T. Dorsey of Vanderbilt University has developed an input-output scheme
focusing on the administrative system itself, and based on the concept of
'information-energy'. (3) Societies and organizations are seen as complex
information-processing and energy-converting systems. Information inputs
such as demands and intelligence are converted by the system into outputs,
which, for an administrative organization, might be regulations, or services
or goods for other systems in the larger environment. In general, high informa-
tion input, storage, and processing permits high energy output.

Less abstract and more obviously relevant to our purposes is the 'Bureaucratic
System' approach, which seeks to classify bureaucracies according to 'type'.
Max Weber developed the classical ideal-typical model of bureaucracy, which
has long served as a universal framework in which to analyse 'administration'
wherever and whenever it occurs. (4) Some scholars have responded to the

(1) Ibid., and Keith M. Henderson, Comparative Public
Administration: An Essay, 1964.
(2) David Easton, The Political System, 1953.
(3) John T. Dorsey, 'An Information-Energy Model', in
Ferrel Heady and Sybil L. Stokes, Papers in Comparative
Public Administration, 1962.
(4) For a discussion of Max Weber's models, see Alfred
Diamant, 'The Bureaucratic Model: Max Weber Rejected,
Rediscovered, Reformed', in Heady and Stokes, op. cit.,

challenge of comparative study by building new bureaucratic models to replace the somewhat culture-bound Weberian one. The most prominent of the modern model-builders is Professor Fred Riggs of Indiana, whose writings dominate the literature of comparative public administration.

Riggs feels that the Weberian model of bureaucracy as an efficient machine is an inductive model drawn from the experience of Western industrial societies. It is inductive because it focuses on administrative structures: the moving parts, functionally specialized, fit together in a certain way. But study of non-Western societies, turning many parameters into variables, shows that environment dictates the functions and structures in such a way that the machine model may fit only one particular ecological context. The social functions of administration in non-Western societies are fundamentally different. Riggs therefore constructs deductive models illustrating the 'essential' relationships of structures and functions. (1)

Riggs sees this approach as embodying three trends that have marked the 'new wave' in administrative scholarship. (2) The first trend is the shift from normative to empirical studies, from the prescribing of 'ideal' or 'better' patterns of administrative behaviour and structure (in terms of such criteria as efficiency or 'public interest') to the description and analysis of the many relevant phenomena. Second is the shift from idiographic to normathetic approaches to comparative study, i. e. from the reportorial study of unique cases to the quest for "generalizations, 'laws', hypotheses that assert regularities of behaviour, correlations between variables ..... " (Ibid.,). The third trend is, as we have seen, from the non-ecological to the ecological approaches. Riggs emphasizes that this means not mere recitation of the facts of geography, history, social structure, etc., but analysis of patterns of interaction between subject and environment.

Riggs reveals a grasp of the many disciplines involved, and has developed an experimental methodology for dealing with the many variables of the environment. His theory has undergone many modifications, but his purpose has consistently been to apply a set of theoretical models of societies to the comparison of administrative forms. He has attempted to develop 'ideal types' of society to replace the clumsy and normative Western-non-Western typologies, and the structural functional methodology provides the key.

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(1) See Fred W. Riggs, 'Models in the Comparative Study of Public Administration', in Fred W. Riggs and Edward W. Weidner, Models and Priorities in the Comparative Study of Public Administration, CAG Papers in Comparative Public Administration, special series, N°1, 1963.
(2) Fred W. Riggs, 'Trends in the Comparative Study of Public Administration'. International Review of Administrative Sciences, vol. XXVIII, N°1 (1962).

Conceptual frameworks

He postulates three distinct types of society, distinguished by what he calls
(using the methaphor of light) 'degrees' of diffraction which he feels are
potentially quantifiable. At one end of the scale, corresponding to the extreme
type of pre-modern society is the 'fused' model. The image is that of white
light undiffracted into the separate colours of the spectrum. In such a society
a single structure performs all the functions necessary for the survival of the
society. A tribal chief, for example, may perform a political, administrative,
judicial, educational, and religious role. At the other end of the scale is the
completely 'diffracted' model - the archetypical advanced society - in which
every societal function has a corresponding specialized structure. The modern
industrialized society thus has a wide range of social institutions, such as
political parties, legislatives, administrative offices, courts, trade unions,
markets, banks, churches and schools. In fact Riggs is inclined to <u>define</u>
development as the increasing differentiation of separate structures for the
wide variety of functions, for it is 'the only ubiquitous ingredient he can find
common to economic, political, social, and administrative development'. (1)

In the middle of the scale is the most important of the models: the transitional
or 'prismatic' model (so called because a prism diffracts fused light). Most
developing countries correspond more or less to this type, which is characterized
by the coexistence of traditional and modern forms as a result of incomplete
and uneven social change. It is this coexistence of the traditional and modern
that produces the seemingly paradoxical traits that confuse and frustrate
foreign observers.

Riggs's early work dealt mainly with the two polar opposites. They began as
'Agraria' and 'Industria', simplified pictures of actual cases, corresponding
roughly to traditional Siam and the USA respectively (Asia is the developing
region Riggs is most familiar with). (2) 'Transitia' was later added, corre-
sponding roughly to modern Thailand and the Philippines. His later scheme
postulated the ideal types 'fused, prismatic, and diffracted'. (3) These models
were intended to be extreme types, corresponding to <u>no</u> actual cases, but more
deductive and more logically coherent.

(1) Fred W. Riggs, <u>Administration in Developing Countries:
The Theory of Prismatic Society</u>, 1964, p. 419.
(2) See Fred W. Riggs, 'Agraria and Industria: Toward a
Typology of Comparative Administration', in William J.
Siffin, ed., <u>Toward the Comparative Study of Public
Administration</u>, 1959.
(3) The latter appears as 'refracted' in many of his writings,
but he later corrected the metaphor, refraction refers to
the 'bending' of light.

The later versions of the theory adopted the transitional or prismatic type as the frame of reference, though the fused and diffracted models are referred to for explanatory purposes. The peculiar features of the prismatic society result from the fact that new, modern systems displaced, but did not replace the old. Modern forms merely conceal older realities: modern-looking institutions and patterns of behaviour are enmeshed in the remnants of the old system. The gap between form and reality, between structure and effective behaviour, he calls 'formalism' - the characteristic feature of prismatic societies.

For those who like to see interrelations expressed diagrammatically, he has an elaborate 'equilibrium model' showing the administration in its environmental setting: (1)
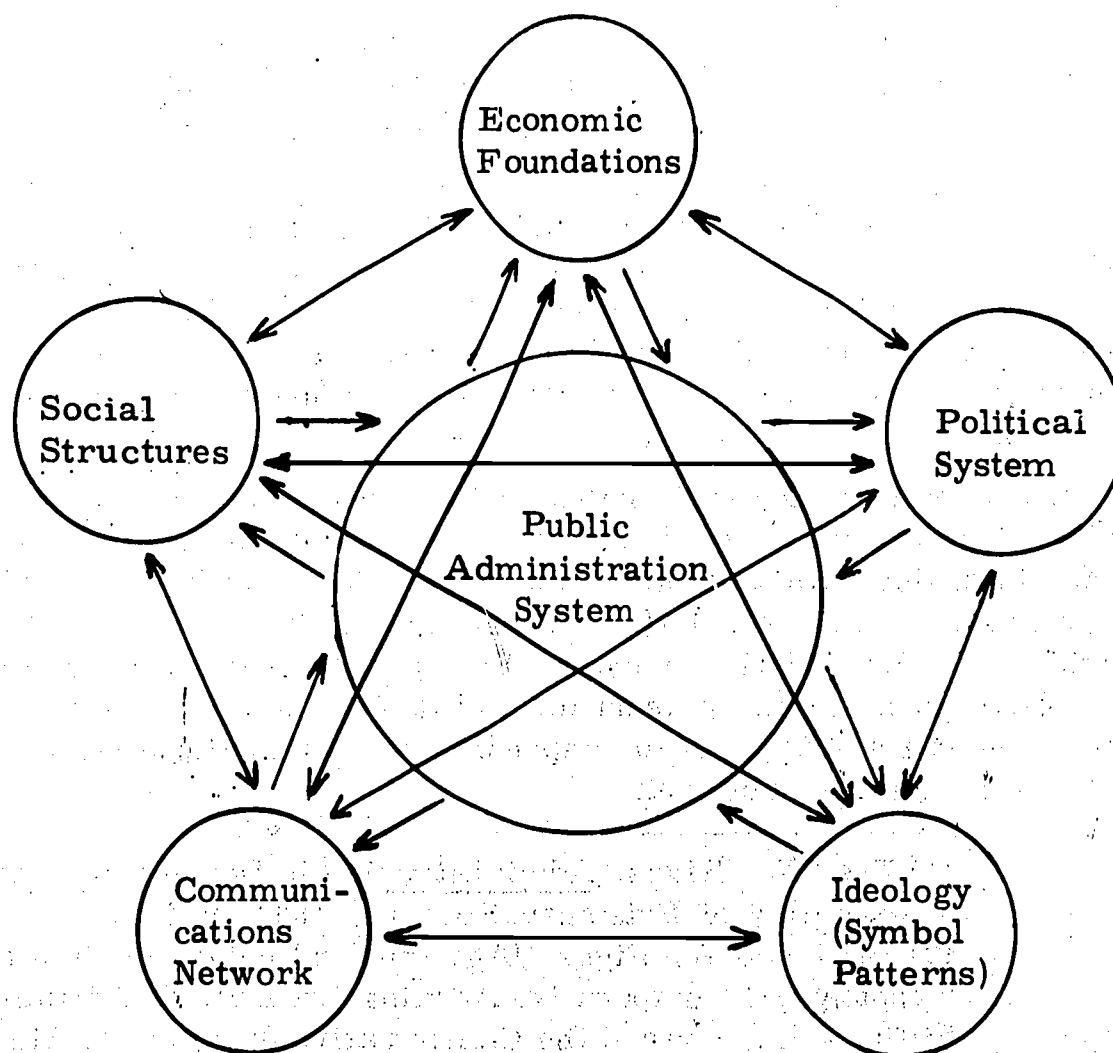
(1) Riggs, 'Agraria and Industria .... '.

Conceptual frameworks

He groups the determinant environmental factors under the headings shown in
the diagram, and explains their consequences for administration. For con-
venience, we shall examine first his analysis of the two polar types, and then
go on to discuss his 'prismatic' model. Briefly 'Agraria' and 'Industria' (which
later became the 'pure types', fused and diffracted) differ in the following ways.

The economic foundation of Agraria is a self-contained subsistence-agricul-
tural economy, whereas the economy of Industria is marked by interdependence
and a market system. Agraria's economic structure has an essentially re-
distributive role, while Industria's is geared to rationalization and maximiza-
tion. This means, inter alia, that administration in Industria must be more
concerned with technical functions; human relationships in administration tend
to be more impersonal, and more concerned with policy than with posts.

In Agraria the social unit which is the medium for the advancement of its
members is the primary organization (family, extended family, clan, etc.,),
while it is the secondary organization in Industria. The primary organization
is characterized by face-to-face relations, unspecialized goals, relative per-
manence, limited size, and intimacy. The secondary organization is marked
by special purposes, distant communications, rules, barriers, and more
casual contact. A primary organization cannot promote a 'policy', however,
because its interests are local and particularistic, and its status-criteria
ascriptive. Secondary organizations, which dominate in Industria, are uni-
versalistic and achievement-oriented. Therefore, in Agrarian administration,
the typical struggles are for place, and highly personal. In Industrian adminis-
tration, on the other hand, struggles for place depend on policy matters in
which the subjects compete through their specialized organizational roles.

The idealogy and value systems naturally reflect and reinforce the other
environmental factors. The ruling group in Agraria, whether aristocratic or
bureaucratic, constitutes a community sharing a body of beliefs, unlike
Industria, where the bureaucracy is segmented into occupational classes. In
Agraria, the source of the legitimacy of authority is sacral, supporting the
undifferentiated role of divine kingship. In Industria, the source of authority
is secular, and the political system fragmented. Agraria's administration
therefore emphasizes ritual and symbolic actions, while Industrian adminis-
tration emphasizes functional actions, efficient and effective means of achieving
ends which reflect the demands of other groups. The value system in Agraria
is corporative and communalistic, in Industria, individualistic. As a result,
government in Agraria cannot be divided between the 'political' and the
'administrative'. Rather it is composed of the higher levels of a stratified
society with differentiations to be made chiefly by rank or status rather than
by function. Industria's preference for rational (rather than ritual) means and
individualistic values reflects an idealogy of secular materialism and egali-
tarianism. These are traits highly conducive to routinization, technical

specialization, impersonalization, synchronization, etc., which therefore characterize Industrian bureaucracy but are inappropriate to Agrarian. Industrian egalitarianism and technical specialization may be reflected in such things as the blurring of superior-subordinate relationships, widespread delegation and decentralization, and the absence of an administrative elite corps.

The communications network is another important aspect of environment. In Agraria, where no mass media exist, the population cannot be 'mobilized' for mass communication or assimilated into a national community. Since most of the population is inarticulate, the administration can ignore it, and there is a virtual absence of communication between government and population. Since Agrarian society is highly 'fused', there are none of the associational interest groups that in Industria provide a link between officials and the public. Nor is there the social integration (of classes, cultures, regions, etc.,) that facilitates communication between officials and public. Moreover the dominant role of primary social organizations and the prevalence of non-functional motivations in Agraria contribute to the fact that local administration is left to itself. Only its loyalty is of concern to the centre, and there is no detailed flow of information between local administration and the centre.

The political system may be the aspect of environment of most significance for our purposes. The major point here is something that has been referred to earlier: the political role of the bureaucracy. In Industria, many social, economic, and political groups compete, of which the bureaucracy is only one; in Agraria the administration is only one of the roles played by the 'fused' social organization. That is, as we have seen, the king or tribal chief plays a political-administrative-economic-social-religious-educational role. Riggs (as good a creator of metaphors as of models) suggests that the power arena in Industria is a market, but in Agraria a stage. Partition of the 'administrative' and the 'political' is possible only in the diffracted society where social roles and structures are differentiated. In Agraria, the theory suggests the personalized, non-functional, irrational features of the bureaucracy are inevitable.

There are hardly any examples in the modern world of a perfectly 'fused' society, although planners will recognize many of the features of Agraria in the foregoing summary. In a perfectly fused society, of course, there may be nothing even resembling a bureaucracy, although Riggs speaks of bureaucracy in his discussion of Agraria. He later replaced the Agraria-Industria model with the fused-diffracted scheme, in order to make the polar extremes more deductively pure, and then focused his analysis on the transitional 'prismatic' type. As a country develops, both administration and society take on many modern forms, but traditional, Agraria-like patterns of behaviour survive beneath them. Paradoxes result from the mixture of diverse and incongruent structures, practices, and orientations.

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Conceptual frameworks

In the prismatic model, formal rules and prescriptions (modern) are mocked by political, economic, social, and cultural realities (pre-modern). This is 'formalism'. New organizations appear, associational in form, but traditionally particularistic in orientation. (He likens them to cliques, clubs, or sects, but chooses to coin a new word, 'clects'.) In the transition from a subsistence to a market economy, paradoxical phenomena occur: the economy is actually a quasi-market (the 'bazaar-canteen' model), characterized by price-indeterminacy because of the fact that personal, social, and political considerations of the participants impinge on economic behaviour. Commerce is likely to be carried on by a low-status pariah entrepreneur group (such as the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia): balance of power, prestige, and solidarity factors make a mockery of 'economic man'. 'Competition' in the quasi-market is monopolistic (the 'canteen'), and price changes reflect individual bargains (the 'bazaar').

These defects in the market impede economic rationalization and the collection of revenue, which is one reason for the low official salaries. This, plus the availability of bribes from pariah entrepreneurs seeking to escape discriminatory laws, contributes to corruption in the administration. Particularistic 'clect' loyalties give rise to nepotism and to favouritism in the allocation of government services. In personnel management, a system of rank classification (as in Thailand) or a heavy reliance upon formal educational credentials for civil service eligibility (as in the Philippines) reflect 'attainment' norms - a compromise between older ascriptive criteria and new achievement orientations. In short, the administration is only on the surface a reasonable facsimile of a modern efficient bureaucracy. Instead of the ideal 'bureau', where administrative efficiency and functional rationality are the main criteria, Riggs speaks of the prismatic 'sala', where many non-administrative criteria enter.

The administrative consequence of this pervasive formalism in the environment is that formal power is insufficient for effective control. And this is not merely because of the lack of resources or the lack of technical skill - the two difficulties which most foreign aid is designed to remedy. One would guess that, the less diffracted the society, the more powerful the bureaucracy within that society. In Agraria the bureaucracy is the top ruling group and has no competitors; as the society develops and differentiated groups appear, the bureaucracy still has a head start. Ironically, this unchallenged political power is the source of its great political weakness.

The administration will be inevitably engaged in politics to the extent that it is the only societal body capable of formulating goals. To the extent that the society is 'fused', the administration will be, not a technically specialized instrument for executing the society's chosen policies, but one embodiment of the whole, fused, political-economic-social-cultural structure. Thus it is impossible to separate the 'administrative' from the 'political' in the role of the administration or of the people in it. Policies will be formulated through internal wrangling inside the administration: this weakens the efficiency of the administrative system and thereby its ability to influence the outside.

Development administration

This is due precisely to the weakness or absence of articulate, external, autonomous, non-bureaucratic groups. The stronger these outside groups are, the more the administration is able to focus on administration, and the less on politics. In a diffracted society it is the autonomous political bodies (legislative, courts, parties) and economic and social interest groups that direct, reward, and punish the implementers of policy. These pressures and incentives mould bureaucratic motivation, and motivation is more important than organizational charts or efficient filing systems. In fused and prismatic societies, where these outside groups are non-existent or weak, the bureaucracy is not given political direction from outside, and this is the major cause of its inadequacy.

To take an actual example: many developing countries seek to formulate labour and social policy through tripartite collaboration between government, employers, and labour. But labour, and often the employers as well, may be hard pressed for representatives capable of participating in the formulation of national policy. (ILO is seeking to respond to this need.) (1)

The weakness or absence of autonomous power centres (parties or interest groups) is the source of the feebleness of formal legislative institutions in many developing countries. But bureaucracy suffers the most: when bureaucracy is the dominant, rather than subordinate, organ of government, and lays down its own terms for survival, its tendencies of conservatism, laziness, insensitivity, corruption, political wrangling, procedural ritualism, and so forth, go uncorrected. As a result, the official will be incapable of moulding the collective behaviour of the population as the citizen is as incapable of shaping official policies. The only means of public 'control' will be simply a negative response to bureaucratic action - inertia or avoidance. Yet these weapons may be sufficient to render the administration impotent.

Riggs also extends his theory to offer an explanation for the extravagant elitism that wastes resources and inhibits social change in many developing countries. (2) Most western societies were forced out of the traditional into the transitional phase by internal dynamics and pressures. The elites that ruled were 'supporter' (i.e. productive) elites, entrepreneurs who amassed wealth after sacrificing consumption for investment. In most developing societies, on the other hand, social change was forced by outside influences and pressures. Such societies, on becoming independent, may not be able to diffract their own structures and may be able to maintain their independence only by utilizing and extending the basic inherited fused imperial structure. Therefore the colonial elites are replaced by native ones.

(1) Aamir Ali, speaking at the XIIIth International Congress ... ,
21 July 1965.
(2) Fred W. Riggs, 'Prismatic Society and Financial
Administration', Administrative Science Quarterly; vol. 5,
N°1 (June 1960).

Conceptual frameworks

But where change is forced from outside, these may be merely elites of power-
holders, not of entrepreneurs. They will not sacrifice consumption for produc-
tive purposes; their wealth will not be accompanied by the higher productivity
that can eventually narrow the gap between rich and poor. Riggs argues that in
such situations power comes increasingly to be held by an economically dependent
elite which consumes more wealth from the economy than it contributes by its
work. (For, as we have seen, the administrative contribution of this elite is an
empty, ineffectual form.) The result he calls a 'dependency syndrome', a pro-
gressive diminution of productivity, at the same time that the economy is becom-
ing more developed, i. e. interdependent. Riggs here is borrowing Myrdal's law
of circular causation and pointing out that the environment is such that the harm-
ful 'backwash' effects of development (e. g. parasitic elites) may overwhelm the
beneficial 'spread' effects (e. g. interdependence). Riggs seems acutely aware of
the fact that the process of change often makes some things worse rather than
better. This is one reason that he chooses to define 'development' itself in a
neutral sense, i. e. as differentiation of structures, and to call a benevolent up-
ward spiral 'positive development', and a downward spiral 'negative development'.

Riggs's analysis has implications also for the basic organizational question of
overcentralization. (1) We saw that congestion at the top retards development,
and can see why many writers advocate increased delegation of responsibility
to subordinates and to local administration. Local self-government in its various
forms (community development, panchayati raj in India, etc.,) is thus commonly
cited as the key to progress. While not denying that over-centralization and the
inadequacy of local government are obstacles to development, Riggs points out
that they are effects, as well as causes, of stagnation. Enlightened central
governments have often tried to delegate responsibility to the local level, and
with disastrous results. Local autonomy will contribute to progress only when
the ecology is already favourable, and will accentuate the difficulties when it is
not. (Myrdal's law of circular causation again.) In the latter case, centralized
control, whatever its defects, may be a necessary counteracting power.

Local government is weak partly because of the inheritance of the imperial
central government. As a general rule, colonizing powers concentrated on national
and top provincial administration (although the British pattern of 'indirect rule'
left more leeway to local government than the French 'direct rule'). This central-
izing tendency is reinforced by the 'dependent' (parasitic) elites, who come to
power in the centre and seek to hold their power. But the 'supporter' (productive)
elites require strong central controls when they come to power, in order to launch
the beneficial 'spread' effects against the debilitating 'backwash' effects.

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(1) Fred W. Riggs, 'Economic Development and Local
Administration: A Study in Circular Causation', Philippine
Journal of Public Administration, vol. 3, N°1 (January 1959).

Concentrating on developing local government is therefore hardly a panacea, and no simple answer can be given to the recurrent question in the literature of development administration: centralization or decentralization? One cannot. break at any one point into the vicious circle of mutually-reinforcing local stagnation and local maladministration, but can only take steps to assist and encourage local administration concurrently with steps to spur overall development.

One might ask, finally, how does a modern socialist or communist society with single party and planned economy fit into Riggs's model of 'development as diffraction'? Indeed there is a tendency for students of comparative administration to regard such societies as outside their field. (1) On the face of it, many socialist countries have achieved economic development and efficient administration without some of the independent political and interest groups that Riggs considers necessary. But his functional analysis clearly applies. He notes that the Soviet Union, for example, is highly diffracted: specialization of labour, and the existence of functionally specific institutions are evident. (2) And if direction is not provided to the bureaucracy by private associations, economic interest groups, and independent political parties, it can still be provided by (a) a single party, which acts as a watchdog on the bureaucracy at all levels; (b) a mass ideology, which legitimizes the single party's power and may even affect bureaucratic motivation; and (c) the limited autonomy of certain specialized representative groups, such as trade unions and professional bodies. Thus in a thoroughly socialist state there exist the non-bureaucratic bodies that keep the bureaucracy focused on administrative rather than political tasks.

Although Riggs prefers democratic pluralism, it is not so much authoritarianism he worries about as it is the 'bureaucratic polity' - the state in which bureaucracy dominates and is for that reason ineffectual. (3) Authoritarian regimes, of the right or the left, civilian or military, may or may not be able to mobilize their societies for development, but effective administration requires the separation of the 'administrative' from the 'political', and this requires the emergence of new social and political institutions. This conclusion, we shall see, has important implications for programmes of technical assistance.

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(1) Ferrel Heady, 'Comparative Public Administration: Concerns and Priorities', in Heady and Stokes, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
(2) Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries ... , p. 104.
(3) Fred W. Riggs, 'Relearning an Old Lesson: The Political Context of Development Administration, 'Public Administration Review, vol. XXV, N°1 (March 1965), p. 79.

3 IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

Critique of Riggs's Theoretical Model

Any theoretical model abstracts and generalizes, which is both a strength and a weakness. On the one hand, as Karl Deutsch has written, "We are using models, willingly or not, wherever we are trying to think systematically about anything at all". (1) Riggs has deliberately chosen a deductive model, fitting variables together logically without regard to observed situations, in order to illuminate essential relationships between administration and environment. Moreover the model is admitted to be experimental, and this means that its hypotheses may naturally outrun the capacity to test them.

Nevertheless a reviewer has pointed out that certain of the linkages in Riggs's model are tenuous. The correlations between specific administrative and societal attributes are not always clearly causal. Riggs does not claim that they all are, but it is hard to avoid the inference that they are supposed to be. (2) Moreover it has been pointed out that the complexity of some of his presentations makes them non-operational, i.e. not constructive. He is at his most instructive and constructive when he applies his general theory to a specific problem, for example, in his essays on local administration and financial administration. (3)

The most controversial feature of Riggs's approach, however, is not its conceptualizing or its complexity, but the attitude that seems to follow from the concepts. The prospects for development seem decidedly grim when viewed through the ecological frame of reference. The implication of his ecological approach is that efficient administration is decidedly 'culture-bound'. Saul Katz of Pittsburgh has written that "the quintessence of planning is modern rationality". (4) The 'modern' in that statement is clearly a standard set by

(1) Karl Deutsch, 'On Communication Models in the Social Sciences', Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 16 (Fall 1952).
(2) Edgar L. Shor, 'Comparative Administration: Static Study versus Dynamic Reform', Public Administration Review, vol. XXII, N°3 (September 1962), p. 160.
(3) See Riggs, 'Economic Development and Local Administration ... ', and also 'Prismatic Society and Financial Administration', both cited above.
(4) Saul M. Katz, A Systems Approach to Development Administration, (AG Papers in Comparative Public Administration, Special Series, N°6, 1965, p. 3).

Development administration

the experience of the Western industrial nations, and the ecological analysis suggests that what we call 'rationality' is culture-bound as well. The picture Riggs presents of the interrelation of administration and environment displays cultural incompatibility, socio-cultural 'pre-conditions', and the dysfunctional consequences of administrative borrowing from other cultures. Can it be that 'modern rationality' in administration is simply not transferable to developing societies?

What good is reforming the filing system, for example, if there exists no effective demand for good written communications? If procedural ritualization and internal bureaucratic divisiveness are rooted in the weakness of the political system, how can they be remedied by technical means, or even by major administrative reform? What effect on administrative performance can be expected from training officials if the trainees' work is more a struggle for influence in the bureaucratic arena than the implementation of policy? If the incentives for efficient administration are those provided by outside political and interest groups, and such groups do not exist, how will technical training of personnel encourage the rise of such groups? In fact, the development of new institutions and the separation of the 'administrative' and the political may be easier if the bureaucracy is weak. In a 'bureaucratic polity', technical assistance to the bureaucracy may merely aggrandize its political power and make things worse, since development in public administration, takes place more readily than changes in the political system. (1)

Riggs is not the only observer to reach pessimstic conclusions about administrative aspects of development. A group of planners at an OECD conference, discussing political problems of bureaucracy, agreed that in situations of political interference or instability; planning may be an academic exercise.

"In cases such as these nothing but a change of government, which in some countries might require a revolution, could pave the way for effective development. It was not felt, however, (concluded the conference rapporteur) that the planning of revolution as such belonged properly to the curriculum of institutes of development planning." (2)

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(1) Riggs, 'Relearning an Old Lesson ... ', p. 79, and also Fred W. Riggs, 'Bureaucrats and Political Development: A Paradoxical View', in Joseph La Palombara, ed., Bureaucracy and Political Development, 1963.
(2) Higgins, op. cit.,

Implications for planning

Such resignation may not be warranted. We noted earlier that the inter-
disciplinary ecological approach is the characteristic feature of development
administration as a new departure, and that the justifying assumption of the
new study is that the traditional concepts of public administration are inade-
quate. But there are other people interested in development administration
who reject this assumption, explicitly or implicitly, wholly or in part. As a
consequence, some of them are more inclined to see development adminis-
tration as merely an application of the field of public administration. More
importantly, however, they do not reach Riggs's pessimistic conclusions.

In 1961 the U.N. published A Handbook of Public Administration: Current
Concepts and Practice, with Special Reference to Developing Countries. This
was a monograph prepared by Herbert Emmerich, professor at the University
of Virginia and now President of the International Institute of Administrative
Sciences. Emmerich's Handbook recognizes the importance of ecology and
agrees that public administration must be considered as 'an integral part of
a nation's institutions'. But, in the words of a reviewer, 'the Handbook makes
the unmistakable assumption of cosmopolitan scope for precepts often indicated
as culture-bound'. (1) The Handbook explicitly claims only 'some degree of
worldwide and general validity' for the standard administrative prescriptions
it offers, but some of its specific recommendations clearly affirm the trans-
cendent relevance of traditional administrative principles. In a detailed
section on 'contemporary concepts and practice', Emmerich discusses:
organizational analysis; organizational structure; methods and material; the
career service; personnel administration; human relations, supervision and
training; decentralization, autonomous institutions and public enterprises;
budget and financial administration; research and planning; decision-making;
and public relations and reporting. The Handbook is a brief bible of adminis-
trative principles and techniques, and should be useful to administrators and
planners.

Emmerich relies on the accommodation of the modern forms and the alien
settings to each other. He agrees that modernization of administration can be
carried through more easily if cultural symbols and customary decorum are
accommodated. But the necessity for change is assumed: 'progress there must
be'. (2) It is clear which side is expected to do most of the accommodating.

(1) Shor, op. cit. , p. 162.
(2) United Nations, Technical Assistance Program,
A Handbook of Public Administration: Current Concepts
and Practice, with special reference to Developing
Countries, 1961, p. 12.

Development administration

What does experience, as opposed to theory, tell us about the transferability of Western techniques? An article by Henry Bush, 'Transplanting Administrative Techniques', reports on a project which sought to train Indonesian officials in U.S. methods of public administration. The project covered a wide range of techniques, from elementary office management to personnel and financial administration. The results were encouraging. Not all techniques were equally masterable (some things like public relations did not make sense to the Indonesians), but Bush calculates that 63 per cent of the interns successfully comprehended or saw the applicability of U.S. techniques. (1)

Thus, not everything we think of as good administration is irretrievably culture-bound. In fact, if new nations are choosing development and modernization as goals, they have already broken out of ecological bonds to a great extent. Riggs's models, as a critic points out, are too static. His societal forces appear more fixed than they really are, and the deterrents to reform may be more transitory than references to 'cultural barriers' connote. Forces for progress inhabit the environment as well. (The numbers of trained people, and their influence, will grow; specialization and professionalization will catch on in the civil service; political elites can become more sensitive to the problems and to the need for rational planning.) As this critic of Riggs points out,

> "An awareness of the relationship of administration to its social setting is doubtless the beginning of wisdom. It ought not to be regarded as the end of wisdom as well." (2)

There is a third school of thought, which seems to be trying to occupy the middle ground between Riggs and Emmerich. This movement, represented by Edward W. Weidner of the East-West Centre at the University of Hawaii, is called 'development administration' and is usually distinguished from Riggs's 'comparative public administration'. Where Riggs develops an ecological frame-work for the purpose of comparative study, Weidner argues for a <u>focus on the process of development</u>, for a study oriented to the question of how national development can be accelerated by administrative means. Weidner's preoccupation is with technical assistance for administrative reform. (3)

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(1) Henry C. Bush, 'Transplanting Administrative Techniques', in Gove Hambidge, ed., <u>Dynamics of Development: An International Development Reader</u>, 1964.
(2) Shor, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 163-164.
(3) See Edward W. Weidner, <u>Technical Assistance in Public Administration Overseas: The Case for Development Administration</u>, 1964.

Implications for planning

Riggs feels that Weidner, like Emmerich, is tied to an implicit inductive model of administrative functions derived from Western experience and therefore limited to Western societies. Criticizing what he considers 'the faulty premises of development administration', Riggs argues (as we have seen) that administrative reform may be self-defeating if the ecology is unfavourable for the growth of the necessary outside institutions. (1) Advocates of 'development administration' (Weidner, Dwight Waldo, Edgar Shor) reply that Riggs's deductive model has misleading implications: excogitated variables which diverge from reality, while useful for theory building, can distort estimates of the prospects for administrative improvement. If Riggs's societies seem fixed, even in the transitional stage, what is needed is a model of the process of change. (2)

Riggs does not mean his models to be static, he makes it clear that the transitional model is not in equilibrium, because of the presence and conflict of progressive and regressive forces. He applies Myrdal's dynamic law of circular causation to show how these forces make the good better ('positive development') and the bad worse ('negative development'). But all he can say about the direction of change is that it all depends on which forces win out. (3)

He does not mean his ecological analysis to have these fatalistic implications, for he specifies the influence of the subject on the environment as well as the reverse. The less developed a system, he says, the more it is determined by its environment. The more it develops,, the more it is capable of modifying its environment. (4) But each situation looks curiously self-perpetuating. There is nothing about the dynamics of turning the vicious circle into an upward spiral. In this sense, Myrdal's 'dynamic' law is not a law of change, but one of self-perpetuation.

(1) Riggs, 'Relearning an Old Lesson ... ', pp. 77ff.
(2) Shor, op. cit., p. 163; Waldo, op. cit., pp. 27ff.;
Edward W. Weidner, 'Development Administration: A New Focus for Research', in Heady and Stokes, op. cit., p. 104; and Edward W. Weidner, 'The Search for Priorities in Comparative Public Administration Research', in Riggs and Weidner, op. cit., p. 60.
(3) Riggs, 'Models in the Comparative Study ... ', p. 39; 'The actual course of change in a given society would reflect the balance between these counterpoised forces'.
(4) Fred W. Riggs, The Ecology of Development, CAG Occasional Paper, 1964, p. 35.

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In his latest book, Riggs agrees that "the gloomy view ... seems to grow out of the logic of the prismatic model". And he states his conclusion that the possibility of reversing a downward spiral of strongly negative development 'seems unlikely'. (1) Forces for progress exist in his model, but it still leads him to point to the disadvantages of aiding them directly by administrative reform. And after urging caution in regard to technical assistance in administration, he can offer no alternative answer to the question of how actually to promote change. Edward Weidner argues that this question be the object, not of resignation, but of the highest priority in scholarly research and technical assistance. (2)

One can indeed accept the insights of the ecological approach without falling into·despair. (One might even ask how a thoroughly empirical analysis can lead to 'gloom'.) The relativism of it should dispel some of the clouds. For example, when speaking of the need for external groups as stimulants for good administration, Riggs suggests, inter alia, that a developing political party may require spoils because of the patterns of social behaviour at that stage. Therefore, a bureaucracy based on 'merit' may aggrandize bureaucratic power at the expense of political institutional development. (3) The sociologist Bert Hoselitz admits that venality in a bureaucracy is tolerable (perhaps even beneficial) if the primary need of the society is social integration not goal-attainment. (4) Another writer cites the example of urban politics in the 19th century US:

> "It was precisely by corruption, kickbacks, and the distri-
> bution of jobs that American urban bosses drew together
> large numbers of diverse ethnic, religious, and nationality
> groups into one political coalition of support." (5)

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(1) Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries ... ,
p. 404.
(2) Weidner, 'Development Administration: A New Focus ... '
p. 104; and Weidner, 'The Search for Priorities ... ', p. 60.
(3) See Joseph La Palombara, 'An Overview of Bureaucracy
and Political Development', in La Palombara, op. cit.,
(4) Bert F. Hoselitz, 'Levels of Economic Performance
and Bureaucratic Structures', in La Palombara, op. cit.,
(5) Howard Wriggins, 'Foreign Assistance and Political
Development', in Development of the Emerging Countries:
An Agenda for Research, the Brookings Institution, 1962,
p. 190.

Implications for planning

The pessimistic side of this is that these apparently irrational and destructive behaviour patterns are deeply rooted; but the optimistic side is that classically perfect bureaucracy is not necessarily a precondition for development. Such phenomena as family obligations, personal favours, and spreading the work may indeed make sense within their setting, and be completely rational, not only in terms of the self-interest of the individuals involved, but also in terms of social values: Robert Presthus suggests a new ideal-type of 'welfare bureaucracy', stressing co-operation, full employment, and fringe benefits, in contrast to the Weberian ideal-type, which stresses skill, impartiality, predictability, and achievement. (1)

Thus Edward Weidner asks, is it to be assumed that all administrative systems will move along the single continuum implied in the agraria-transitia-industria scheme? He quotes Riggs's admission that

> "The phrase 'transitional society' is somewhat misleading
> because it fails to suggest strongly enough the distinctive
> qualitative features of these societies. It also implies a
> false teleology, a kind of determinism of industrialization.
> In fact world industrialization raises problems which no con-
> temporary society can avoid confronting, but it seems quite
> possible that some countries may enter a stage of relatively
> permanent 'under-development' or 'transition'. " (2)

"Models", Weidner concludes, "must take into account important aspects of reality", and one of these aspects of reality is that many nations are seeking development. They may be in 'permanent transition' in terms of Riggs's teleology, but they are achieving varying degrees of success. (3)

The gap between Riggs and Weidner should not be exaggerated. Both see their subject as a new departure in the study of public administration. To some extent, Weidner's 'development administration' can be seen as a practice-oriented version of the same study for which Riggs is the pre-eminent theorist.

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(1) Robert V. Presthus, 'Weberian v. Welfare Bureaucracy in Traditional Society', Administrative Science Quarterly, vol. 6, N°1 (June 1961).
(2) Fred W. Riggs, 'Bureaucracy in Transitional Societies: Politics, Economic Development and Administration'. Paper submitted to 1959 annual meeting of American Political Science Association, quoted in Weidner, 'The Search for Priorities ... ', p. 54.
(3) Weidner, 'The Search for Priorities ... ', p. 54, p. 60.

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Irving Swerdlow's book Development Administration: Concepts and Problems (1963) is a collection of papers on the political, economic, cultural, socio-logical, as well as organizational, problems of administration in developing societies - precisely the elements that Riggs seeks to embrace in his theory. In fact, it is hard to tell whether Swerdlow's use of the term 'development administration' refers to Weidner's approach to the exclusion of Riggs's or whether it is evidence of their common ground. Weidner himself appreciates the need for theoretical models (especially simple and realistic ones), and Riggs has shown that his theories can be made operational. For example, Weidner praises the 'meaningful application' of the theories to the specific problem of local administration in Riggs's article on 'Economic Development and Local Administration: A Study in Circular Causation'. (1)

Dwight Waldo suggests that the focus on development can bring together the comparative-theory model-builders, on the one side, and the universal-principle management technicians, on the other, thereby combining the in-sights of the ecological perspective with the dynamism of administrative re-form. (2) Indeed, the Comparative Administration Group, which Riggs heads and of which Emmerich is a member, has taken up Weidner's positive focus on administration for development. (3) Waldo concludes,

> "To focus on development would, hopefully, help in making rational decisions on the type and level of rationality that is possible in differing situations. If the study of Comparative Public Administration has done nothing else, it has fully demonstrated the relativity of administrative means of administrative ends. Posing in one system of thought customary administrative ideas and techniques, different types of cultures, different levels of culture, different objectives, and borrowing concepts from sociology and anthropology - all this is to introduce 'relativity'. Its introduction does not 'invalidate' what has preceded any more than relativity invalidates classical physics, but it does indicate limitations and open new worlds." (4)

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(1) Ibid., p. 36.
(2) Waldo, op. cit., pp. 27ff.
(3) See Development Administration: Report by a Special Committee, CAG Occasional Paper, 1964.
(4) Waldo; op. cit., p. 30.

Implications for planning

Lessons for Planners

The theories are important for our purposes not only because they are meant to explain the causes of administrative problems, but also because certain attitudes and strategies follow from their explanations. Obviously there are grounds for both pessimism and optimism, and the theories, separately, tell us what they are. The broader perspective that takes in the truths of all sides inevitably presents the observer with a truism: don't expect too much, but don't give up.

Beyond this, development administration offers two general lessons to planners. It reminds us of the fundamental importance of 'planning the planning': no plan should be written without a consideration of its administrative implications. As with any other scarce resource involved in a plan, administrative capacity must be evaluated, and priorities must be established for competing sectors and projects within the limits imposed by the scarcity. The warning of development administration - the lesson of the formidable array of administrative obstacles - is that frustration awaits the plan which is too ambitious for its administrative context. In short, these two general lessons are (a) plans are not self-implementing, and (b) the condition of public administration determines what kind of plan will work.

The question to ask is not, at what stage of development will sophisticated over-all planning work? For if we postpone planning until that stage arrives, it never will. Rather the question is, how can we tell what kind of plan is feasible in particular administrative conditions? The literature of development administration provides the foundation for an answer.

The specific technical functions of the administrative process, according to the classical 'machine model', are: planning, organizing, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting, and budgeting (referred to as POSDCORB by students of public administration). The obstacles of the kinds discussed earlier are met as one moves through this process.

Foreknowledge of the administrative terrain should enable the planner to adjust his plans and his ambitions accordingly. In 1951 the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration published a document entitled Standards and Techniques of Public Administration, with special reference to Technical Assistance for Underdeveloped Countries (ST/TAA/M/1). While its section on administrative practice is less useful than Emmerich's United Nations paper of ten years later, it contains a valuable 24-page 'Outline for a Survey of Administrative Conditions'. This includes a listing of relevant environmental factors and, of greater importance, a series of detailed questions to ask on several aspects of administration:

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governmental organization, finance, personnel, planning, etc. For example;
"which part of the government has the main initiative in legislative and budgetary
action?" "To what extent does a change in the political composition of the
government affect the public service?" "To what extent do government employees
find it necessary to supplement their income?" "To what extent and how are local
plans and projects assimilated into regional and national schemes, and what
part do the lesser units play in the execution?"

Thus equipped with a map of the administrative terrain, the planner must con-
sider his tactics and strategy. Colm and Geiger refer to three levels of
specificity in the planning process: plans, programmes, and projects. A plan
is a comprehensive development scheme for a country as a whole, perhaps
divided into sectors or regions. A programme is a more detailed determination
of specific objectives within a sector or a region, with a time schedule. And a
project is an individual component of a programme. (1)

Thus the level of sophistication of planning can be measured in terms of such
features as the number, complexity, length of time scale, and degree of co-
ordination, of individual projects. One could in principle measure administra-
tive conditions according to the feasible level of sophistication of planning, as
measured in each of these dimensions. The basic unit of planning would be the
simple, short, isolated, individual project. The absolute minimum point on the
multi-dimensional scale of feasibility would be a situation in which the simplest
short isolated project is unable to get off the ground. The point of minimum
success would be one at which such a project succeeds. As feasible level of
sophistication increased in each dimension, one would reach a stage at which
more than one of these succeeds, a stage at which one or more complex isolated
projects succeed, a stage at which co-ordinated projects succeed, a stage at
which longer-range projects succeed - and so on, up to the ultimate stage at
which comprehensive, co-ordinated, long-range planning is possible.

Each of the dimensions of feasible sophistication is a function of the adminis-
trative ecology. A planner who knows what to look for in administration and
environment will be able to derive by common sense the logical consequences
for his planning. For example: if planning functions are shared among separate
ministries or agencies, and co-ordination is poor, then co-ordinated planning
is doomed to frustration. If lower-level and local personnel are poorly trained,
then no plan which assigns them complex technical tasks will be implemented.

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(1) Gerhard Colm and Theodore Geiger, 'Country
Programming as a Guide to Development', in Development
of the Emerging Countries ...

Implications for planning

If elementary statistical data are unreliable or nonexistent, then the plan may have to be drawn up even without precise knowledge of the needs or the consequences. If political instability disrupts the continuity of policy, then the time-scale of planning should be shortened. If the bureaucracy is heavily involved in politics, the planner must identify the centres of political power in the society and in the administration and seek their commitment. If the processes and criteria of decision-making are (or seem to us) irrational, then persuasion of decision-makers must be cast in terms relevant to their motivation - even appealing to the irrational! If the dominant social organization in most of the country is the communal or tribal unit, then the plan ought to make use of this unit rather than ignore it or try to overhaul the social structure.

The planner must obviously work with what is given. To the extent that the administrative obstacles are present, the planner will have to restrict his ambitions. Malcolm Rivkin has written an article entitled, 'Let's Think Small for Development'. Frustration is inherent, he says, in the 'immodest approach' of 'thinking big'. Specifically, we need what he calls "short-range 'operational' projects that can be handled within current limits of personnel and resources". A good example is the experience of Turkey's Department of Regional Planning. Founded in 1956, it set for itself wide-ranging objectives. But in the first four years several of the attempted studies were dropped because they became too big, too amorphous, or just beyond the ability of the personnel to handle them. After 1960, when outside advice was sought, the Department found greater success by concentrating on specific jobs with specific goals which could be realized in a relatively short time period. (1)

Colm and Geiger and Albert Waterston, have argued in favour of pragmatic planning, as opposed to econometric planning. That is, plans logically deduced from models by mathematical methods are less useful than plans which allow for qualitative judgments in real life situations. (2) Waterston states that, in Latin America, for example, the usefulness of mathematical growth models and input-output tables is undermined by the huge gaps in available data, the technical and political weakness of the planning organization, and the opposition of entrenched groups in the government and society.

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(1) Malcolm D. Rivkin, 'Let's Think Small for Development', in Hambidge, op. cit.,
(2) Colm and Geiger, op. cit., Albert Waterston, 'Planning the Planning under the Alliance for Progress', in Irving Swerdlow, ed., Development Administration: Concepts and Problems, 1963.

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All available quantitative information should certainly be used, but Waterston
believes that "a few conversations with knowledgeable technicians should suffice
in most Latin American countries". It is not essential that input-output tables
be used, although it is important that an input-output <u>approach</u> be used. But
simple algebra may be more appropriate than cybernetics. (1)

These writers dispute the view that economic planning is valid only on the
basis of a detailed, comprehensive statistical system resting on complete
demographic, social, and economic data summarized in an aggregate series.
If the meaningful data are lacking, estimates and scanty information will <u>have</u>
to serve as the basis of planning. A country cannot wait until it has a compre-
hensive statistical service. (2) In addition, complexity may alienate the officials
responsible for approval and implementation. Intelligibility is more important
for political and popular acceptance than mathematical sophistication.

Comprehensiveness may be less desirable than selectivity and immediate
availability. A pragmatically prepared plan takes less time to draw up than
a mathematically integrated one. "What is needed" Waterston quotes a planner
as saying, "is not so much short-term plans as plans prepared in a short
term". (3) Such a plan would inevitably be rough and imperfect, but <u>all</u> plans
need constant revision and refinement. Meanwhile the country would have, in
a short time, an improved frame of reference for its investment decisions.

Waterston also recommends that the time-scale of planning be short enough
for reasonably accurate projections and estimates, and long enough to cover
the gestation period of a sufficient number of related projects which give a
reasonably adequate indication of the over-all effect of the investment decisions.
(He suggests 4-5 year plans, rather than 10-year plans, with shorter,
'operational' plans each year.) He warns, moreover, against basing plans on
"the unrealistic assumption that substantial improvements in public adminis-
tration, taxation, and agrarian conditions can be achieved in two or three
years". Good planning requires a 'proper skepticism'. (4)

(1) Waterston, "'Planning the Planning' ... ", p. 150.
(2) Colm and Geiger, <u>op. cit.</u>,
(3) Waterston, "'Planning the Planning' ... ", p. 153.
(4) <u>ibid.</u>, p. 150.

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Implications for planning

In sum the ideal of planning is long-range, systematic, and knowledge-based: but to the extent that administrative conditions make these very qualities unattainable, planning will have to be short-range, pragmatic, and perhaps even improvised. As environment and administration develop together, pragmatism becomes less and less a virtue, and the many facets of social activity can be planned successfully in a more comprehensive and far-sighted way.

The planning and administrative processes will eventually reach a 'take-off', just as the economic system does. (1) Indeed the economic take-off may depend on administrative development. (2) But the field of development administration teaches us that the pre-conditions for take-off in administration are not merely technical or organizational in nature. As many writers point out, the essential pre-condition for effective administration is the mobilization of national political power, the co-ordination of the energies of politicians, administrators, and citizens. Take-off in political development can come either through the emergence of democratic pluralistic politics or through an authoritarian leadership committed to economic development. (3)

The contribution of development administration is to illuminate those conditions which make it difficult for planning to be either long-range, systematic, or knowledge-based. That its literature seems filled with obstacles and caveats is to be expected. But it leaves open the possibility that a planner who is aware of the presence and causes of the administrative obstacles can avoid them, or allow for them. His awareness increases his chances of success, as even gloomy Fred Riggs insists. (4) Inevitably his success will be limited, for we have seen that the problems of administration are as deep-rooted as the problems of the society as a whole.

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(1) Philip H. Coombs, 'Some Reflections on Education Planning in Latin America', in Lyons, op. cit. , p. 13.
(2) Stone, 'Government Machinery ... ', p. 53.
(3) William J. Siffin, 'Relations between Political and Administrative Development: Some Questions and Answers'. Paper delivered at 1963 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, pp. 15ff. , Fred W. Riggs, Administrative Development: Notes on an Elusive Concept and the 'KEF-PRI' Model, CAG Occasional Paper, n. d. , pp. 70-71; Riggs, 'Bureaucrats and Political Development ... ', p. 122.
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economic, political, cultural, etc.

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Waterston, a member of the Development Advisory Service of IBRD, has
written a great deal about administration and planning on the basis of his
experience in many countries. See also his Planning in Morocco (1962),
Planning in Yugoslavia (1962), and (co-authored) Economic Development
of Mexico.

IV. Miscellaneous Topics

44 ALDERFER, Harold A., Local Government in Developing Countries, 1964.

A thorough treatment of the history and problems of local government in the
developing world, with coverage of many specific countries, by one who empha-
sizes the importance of local government as a key to sound administration.
Discusses English, French, Soviet and 'traditional' patterns of local government.

45 WRAITH, Ronald, and SIMPKINS, Edgar, Corruption in Developing Countries,
1963.

An illuminating and occasionally frightening survey of the manifestations and causes of corruption in many new nations. The authors argue, however, that it is unfair to judge these situations by 'contemporary British standards'; they point out the deep sociological roots of corruption and also the developments that may cure it in the long run. The best work on the subject.

V. Documentation and Bibliographies

46 CALDWELL, Lynton K., Documentary Sources for the Comparative Study of Development Administration (CAG Occasional Paper), 1964.

47 SPITZ, Allen A., and WEIDNER, Edward W., compilers, Development Administration: An Annotated Bibliography, 1963.

48 UNITED STATES (AID), Publications and Technical Services, Development Administration and Assistance: An Annotated Bibliography, July 1963.

49 HEADY, Ferrel, and STOKES, Sybil L., eds., Comparative Public Administration: A Selective Annotated Bibliography, 2nd., 1960.

VI. Periodicals

A. Most important

50 Administrative Science Quarterly, published at Cornell University. (Currently edited by Robert Presthus, it seems to feature the 'behavioral sciences' approach.)

51 International Review of Administrative Sciences, Journal of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Brussels. (Contributions by many European and American writers.)

52 Public Administration Review, Journal of the American Society for Public Administration (CASPA). (Frequent contributions by comparative administration group people.)

Bibliography

B. Others

53   Civilizations, Journal of the Institut International des civilisations différentes.
     (Occasional articles on public administration.)

54   Indian Journal of Public Administration. (Frequent contributions by major
     writers in the field.)

55   Philippine Journal of Public Administration. (Frequent contributions by
     major writers.)

56   Promotions, a French journal published by the Ecole nationale d'administration
     and the centre des hautes études administratives.

57   Public Administration, Journal of the Royal Institute of Public Administration,
     London.

58   Tiers-Monde, Journal of the Institut d'étude du développement économique
     et social de l'université de Paris.

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LIST OF INSTITUTIONS, PEOPLE, AND SPECIALITIES

A. The 'Big Two'

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, International Development Research Centre

RIGGS, Fred W., Professor of Government, also Chairman of the Comparative Administration Group (CAG), which has its headquarters at Indiana. (CAG is development administration's splinter group within the American Society for Public Administration.) - Interdisciplinary, 'ecological', theoretical study of comparative public administration.

SIFFIN, William J., - a member of the 'Riggs school'.

CALDWELL, Lynton K., Professor of Government and Director of Institute of Training for Public Service - comparative and development administration, manpower training, bibliographies of the field; current focus - science, technology, and public policy.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs

BAILEY, Stephen K., Dean - Government organization.

APPLEBY, Paul, Dean emeritus - public administration, especially India (former personal advisor to Nehru, writer of a series of studies of Indian administration). (deceased)

SWERDLOW, Irving, Professor of Economics and Chairman of the Faculty Committee for the Center for Overseas Operations - economics and public administration.

ADAMS, Donald K., - comparative education.

WESTCOTT, Jay B., Professor of Political Science - public administration.

List of institutions, people
and specialities

MEADOWS, Paul, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and
Anthropology - sociology and psychology (e. g. co-author of Selected
Abstracts in Development Administration: Field Reports of Directed
Social Change).

B. Other Important Centres

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

WALDO, Dwight, Director, Institute of Government Studies - public
administration (author of classic text, The Administrative State, 1948).

LEPAWSKY, Alfred, - administration, manpower training.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SHOR, Edgar L., - administration, Southeast Asia.

RUDOLPH, Lloyd, - comparative administration, South Asia.

HOSELITZ, Bert F., - sociology.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SAYRE, Wallace S., Chairman, Department of Government -
comparative administration theory (pioneer, with Kaufman of Yale, in
'behavioral' approach, 1953 Research Design).

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

PRESTHUS, Robert V., Professor of Public Administration, Graduate
School of Business and Public Administration, editor of Administrative
Science Quarterly - business administration, and 'behavioral science'
approach as well.

DUKE UNIVERSITY

BRAIBANTI, Ralph, Programme in Comparative Studies in Southern Asia -
Indian administration.

Development administration

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

BROWN, David S., Professor of Public Administration - technical
assistance in administration.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CURLE, Adam, - educational planning.

FAINSOD, Merle, Department of Government - administrative management

MONTGOMERY, John D., Graduate School of Public Administration -
foreign aid.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

DIAMANT, Alfred, Department of Political Science - comparative politics.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, East-West Centre

WEIDNER, Edward W., Vice-Chancellor - development administration
theory, technical assistance in administration overseas.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM

DROR, Yehezkel, Department of Political Science - behavioral sciences,
'decision-making' approach.

EISENSTADT, Samuel N., - sociology, politics.

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

WATERSTON, Albert, Development Advisory Service - administration of
planning (author of case studies).

List of institutions, people
and specialities

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY,
Centre for International Studies

HAGEN, Everett E., Professor of Economics - economics of development
also psychology.

PYE, Lucian W., Chairman of Department of Political Science and
Senior Staff Member CIS - politics (especially Southeast Asia).

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

HEADY, Ferrel, Director, Institute of Public Administration -
comparative administration theory.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

THURBER, Clarence E., Institute of Public Administration - admini-
strative training.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, Graduate School of Public and
International Affairs

STONE, Donald C., Dean - public administration, urban administration,
education.

KATZ, Saul M., Associate Professor Economic and Social Develop-
ment and Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics - develop-
ment administration theory ('systems approach').

ESMAN, Milton, Head of Economic and Social Development Department -
politics (experience with AID, Southeast Asia).

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

REINING Jr., Henry, Dean and Professor of Public Administration -
universities' role in technical assistance and administrative training.

Development administration

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

DORSEY Jr., John T., Department of Political Science - comparative politics, Latin America, 'information-energy' theory.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

EMMERICH, Herbert, Professor (and President of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences) - public administration (also business, housing, foreign aid). Author of 1961 U. N. Handbook on Standard Administrative Concepts and Practice.

YALE UNIVERSITY

KAUFMAN, Herbert, Department of Political Science - comparative administration theory (Sayre-Kaufman Research Design 1953), behavioral-science approach.

LA PALOMBARA, Joseph, Department of Political Science - comparative political institutions and behaviour, comparative administration, and research concepts and methods.

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