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PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA
AND SOLUTIONS FROM THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By

Win Crowther
Associate Economic Affairs Officer
Transport Programme, ECLA

and

Gilberto Flores G.
Co-ordinator, Public Administration Area
INSORA, University of Chile

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/If technological

If technological dependence is defined as the reliance on standards of performance which are purported to be relevant universally and the continual importation of techniques and concepts designated as necessary or useful by these standards, the history of the field of public administration in the twentieth century is an example of technological dependence. This is especially the case of public administration in Latin America.

The purpose of this essay is to interpret the long-run development of concepts of public administration in the United States and the influence of these concepts in Latin America as a case of technological dependence, believing that such a long-term view will encourage both Latin Americans and persons from the United States to seek more constructive ways to organize for the development of the Latin American public administrations.^{1/}

Perhaps the most controversial of the ideas presented here is the argument that there are some basic similarities between the most modern techniques being transferred, such as computerized information systems or programme budgeting, and older techniques which were advanced in the past. For Latin Americans, the implanting of the modern techniques presents many problems and dilemmas which they have suffered in the past, and there is no assurance that the techniques can really resolve the problems which they purportedly will eliminate.

In this essay three tendencies in the evolution of the field of public administration in the United States will be distinguished. Two of these tendencies, which will be called the "pragmatic tradition" and the "generalist tradition", are closely identified with the academic field of Public Administration. A third approach, to be called the "political sociology approach", has increasingly been integrated with

^{1/} Admittedly, the general confusion that reigns with regard to the term "Public Administration" permeates this essay. The reader is asked to apply the appropriate meaning (discipline, institution, process) in each case.

studies of Public Administration, in part a reaction to and in part an exacerbation of what is called the "identity crisis" of the field. The "political sociology approach" has been integrated with the subject matter of Public Administration in a number of ways, leading to the development of several sub-fields such as Development Administration, Comparative Administration and Administrative Systems Analysis. It will be argued that these sub-fields presently have only a limited amount to offer to Latin Americans. In the following analysis, implicit assumptions about politics in each approach and the impact of the approach in Latin America will be described.^{2/}

Finally, some suggestions will be offered for the design of a Latin American field of Public Affairs which would create conceptualizations and empirical studies which are relevant to the most urgent problems facing policy makers and administrators in that area.

^{2/} This distinction is only a theoretical abstraction for the purposes of linking strands of thought and action. In practice, it would be rather difficult to identify different theorists and practitioners with a particular approach.

THE PRAGMATIC TRADITION

The tradition which is described here has not been denominated "pragmatic" because its results have been especially efficacious or useful, but because there is a narrow relationship between their theoretical construction and the search for answers to immediate and concrete problems of United States' public administration.

This is the most important of the three approaches, both in terms of their practical application in the United States and in terms of the exportation of concepts to Latin America. For these reasons, a more extended treatment is given to its development at home and its impact abroad.

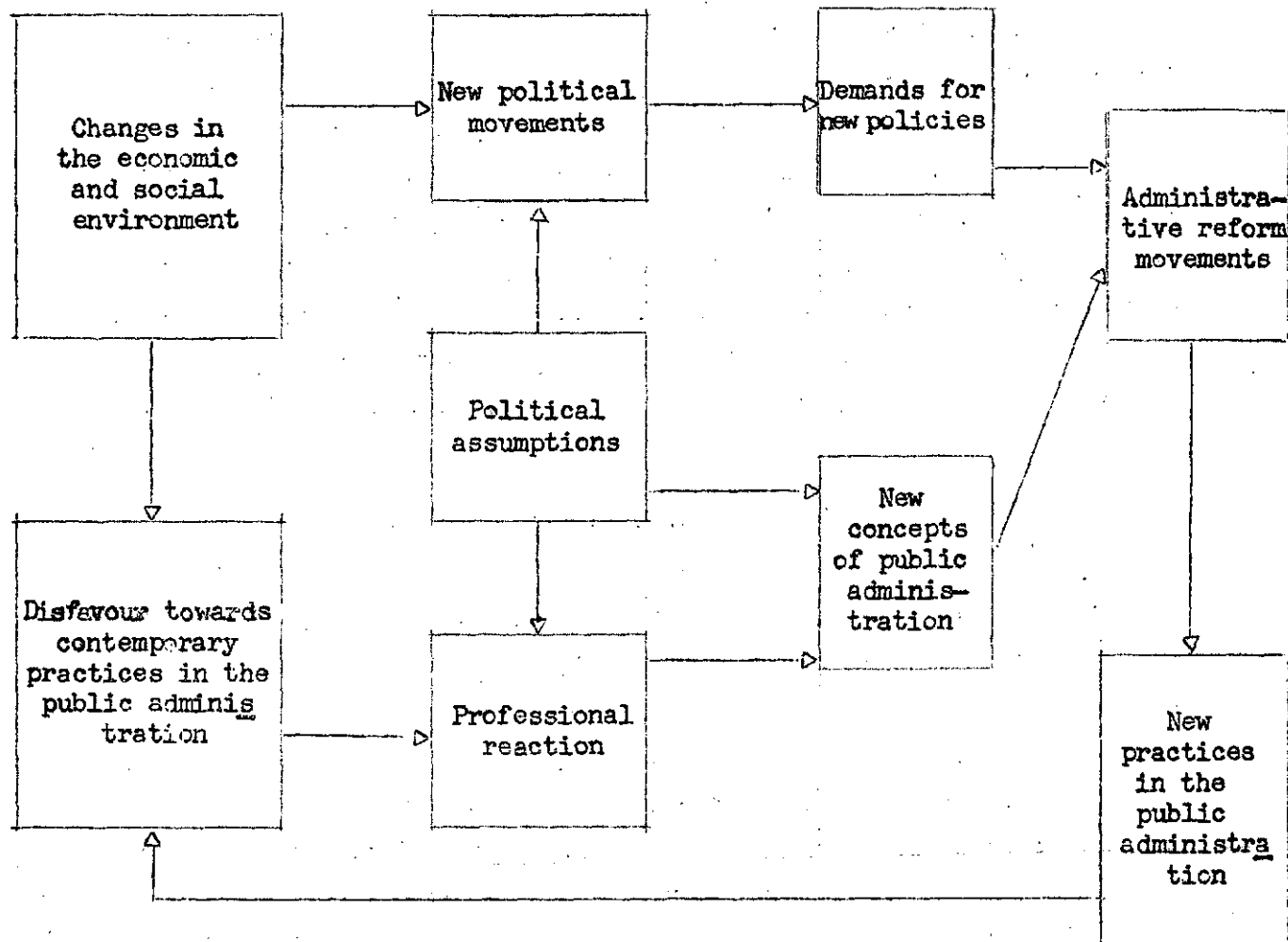
Development in the United States

As noted above, the pragmatic tradition has developed replies to immediate problems in the United States. Although these answers are expressed in technical terms, their application has been associated with movements of political action or reaction.

The initiative to bring about changes in certain public policies has been the most important force to overcome the resistance of the bureaucracy against the reform of administrative methods or techniques. The reforms are backed by active political coalitions interested in particular issues, but which often act as if they are disinterested administrative reformers. This association between outward political and apparently professional movements is portrayed in the diagram which follows.

Public administration became a separate and relatively coherent academic discipline during the 1920s.^{3/} The major concepts of the new field were taken from two movements - the administrative reform movement and the scientific management movement.

3/ The first general texts in Public Administration were Leonard White's Introduction to the Study of Public Administration (New York, 1926) and W.F. Willoughby's Principles of Public Administration (Washington, 1927).



/The former

The former movement was justified as an adaptation to the specialization made necessary by the growing size and complexity of government responsibilities. It was also to offer remedies for the corrupt "spoils system".^{4/}

Although the scientific management movement made a stronger impact on practices in private industry than on government administrative practices, its premises were accepted as relevant to public administration by leading academicians, consistent with the tradition in the United States of judging technological advancements as panaceas for the solution of human problems.^{5/}

Both movements were to take politics out of administration.^{6/} The administrative reform movement would do this by restructuring government agencies and the personnel system to separate "political" and "administrative"

^{4/} The rationale of this movement against the "spoils system" (the practice of allocating public offices to members of the triumphant political party) was developed in articles, newspapers and books by well-known leaders, many linked directly or indirectly to the national administration at the end of the last Century. Such statesmen included Carl Schurz and Woodrow Wilson. See Woodrow Wilson, The Study of Public Administration (1887). The creation of the Civil Service Commission in 1883 and the Inter-State Commerce Commission in 1887 were two of the first achievements of this movement.

^{5/} The search for efficient techniques for productivity control, using time and movement studies and the re-design of tools, was not new. However there seemed to be a general agreement that the impulse and conceptualization of the movement came primarily from the initiative of Frederick W. Taylor. The assumption was common that the achievement of increases in productivity by Taylor in a few applications could be generalized, by following his programme, to other industrial and administrative activities.

^{6/} This separation is somewhat ironic given the general categorization of Public Administration, since its birth as an academic discipline, as a sub-field of Political Science. At that time Political Science focused on the study of governmental structures and it seemed logic to link Public Administration with it since the latter field merely defined "public" as having to do with such structures. The rationale for creating the new sub-field was based on this separation of "politics" and "administration".

/functions. The

functions. The scientific management movement would derive technical decision rules which would replace inflexible legal rules and politically-biased decision criteria.

Both movements were elitist in leadership and in their political assumptions.^{7/} They reflected a distrust in the capacity of the people to rule themselves. While allowing for growth and specialization in the government, the over-all impact of the government was to be restrained by fragmenting its structure and by deriving narrow technical criteria for personnel recruitment and policy decisions. The 19th century concern with popular representation in governmental decision-making, in administrative as well as other government bodies, was replaced with the official ideology that the public administration was to be judged by efficiency rather than political criteria, of course the political element could not be eliminated and a major result of the attempt to do so was the unofficial creation of very close non-public relationships between individual public agencies and powerful interest groups.^{8/}

Professional dissatisfaction with certain assumptions of the administrative reform and scientific management movements turned especially acute when it became apparent that these movements contributed to an administration lacking the leadership, flexibility and creative force needed to respond to the depression. In a dialectical manner, the reaction of these professionals, combined with political forces wanting a redefinition of governmental economic policies, led to the executive leadership and human relations movements.^{9/} Attempts were then made to merge the concepts from all four movements into a set of "principles".

7/ Herbert Kaufman, "Emerging Conflicts in the Doctrine of Public Administration", American Political Science Review, (December, 1956), pp. 1057-93.

8/ The development and consequences of the "capture" of and "co-optation" by public agencies has been analysed by David Selznick, T.V.A. and the Grass Roots (Berkeley, 1949).

9/ However many of the public agencies set up in the wave of administrative reform and scientific management still exist, surviving more on the basis of legal semi-autonomy, of avoiding public issues of great importance, and of incremental budgeting than as a result of strong political support. The Inter-State Commerce Commission is an example of a formerly "captured" agency (in this case, by the railroads) which seemed to take on a life of its own, not keeping up with the political needs or demands of its supposed "clientele". In such cases it is difficult to determine who is "controlling" whom.

The executive leadership movement stylized the administrative structure as a pyramidal hierarchy with executive authority carried downward through the organization and controlled by the executive budget. The human relations movement was spurred by experiments showing the importance of emotional stability, group norms and other human elements as factors which must be taken into consideration when scientific techniques are applied towards increasing production and efficiency.

Attempts were made to elicit a composite set of guidelines from the concepts of the four pre-war movements.^{10/} The mobilization of academicians into the war-time administration forced them to an early realization that utility of these "principles" was limited, largely because of contradictory assumptions as to the relation of the administration with the society-at-large and because the guidelines implied contradictory responses to concrete problems. However, the "principles" retain importance even today because they set out the general boundaries of the field of public administration.

The preoccupation was with means for carrying out public rather than with the substance of that policy. Problems of substance were left to specialized disciplines.^{11/} Public administration was to focus on problems of organizational structure, personnel, and budgeting on the general assumption that with the "right" structure and use of skilled technicians of specific policy areas, the "correct" policies would be derived and implemented.^{12/}

^{10/} For example, L.H. Gulick and L. Urwick (eds.) Papers on the Science of Administration (New York, 1937).

^{11/} For example, the most important publications in Public Finance, both descriptive and theoretical, have been written by economists.

^{12/} "(They) are less concerned with the 'content' of the programs than they are with the 'process' of administration. Hence questions involving social change, whether or not demands are met successfully or induced, are beyond their province. 'Improved' administration assumed to be 'successful' administration." Warren Ilchman, Rising Expectations and the Revolution in Development Administration, Public Administration Review (December, 1966), p. 317.

During the post-war era, a new series of attempts were made to select and refine a consistent set of concepts from the "principles". One of the most important and most influential men undertaking this task is Herbert Simon. While criticizing the pre-war "principles" and the assumption of a politics-administration separation, he has retained the interest in the objective measurement of efficiency in administration and has used logical positivism to derive a distinction between fact and value, which many consider to be as arbitrary as the politics-administration separation.

Simon has been influential in fields in which administration is an important but secondary consideration. He is a leading reference in texts on engineering economics, for example. They appreciate the fact that while he emphasizes the psychological, organizational and political elements enough to suggest that his concepts correspond to "reality", he insists that effective decision-making can take place with a strong executive leadership to define the organization's goals or values, a scientific evaluation of the means to achieve these goals, and a system of incentives to the organization's members to work for these goals. Simon's work provided a comfortable haven for those seeking an elusive compatibility between political relevance and professional disinterestedness.^{13/} His influence on the structure and practices of the United States' public administrations was carried by scientists, engineers and other professionals who were recruited into governmental service as the government was prodded to take on new world and domestic responsibilities.

Spurred by the affirmation that administration cannot be separated from politics - on the contrary, that it involves a mixture of political strategies to carry out decisions, using criteria which inevitably have political implications - interest was renewed in the problem of representation in public administration. The pluralist conception of representation on which the United States Constitution was based, was replaced by a conception consistent with the doctrine of executive

^{13/} Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-making Processes in Administrative Organization (New York, 1957, published originally in 1947).

leadership. The goal should not be to create a structure in which factions collide and prevent each other from dominating governmental decision-making but to facilitate control over the administration by executives who will be held responsible for administrative actions. While factionalizing leads to corruption, and obscurity in political bargaining, executive authority is visible and controllable.

The concept of executive responsibility was combined with a focus on means (as opposed to substance) of policy-making to form a definition of the requisites of a working representative democracy, a definition which has dominated the theory and practice of public administration in the United States. The requisites of this "feedback democracy" are visible and articulate executives, procedures for control by them of their agencies, and feedback mechanisms by which the people can indicate their approval or disapproval of what the executive and his agency have done.

This view of the responsible executive in a representative democracy is not unlike a popular view of the modern corporation manager. In the post-war era new administrative concepts have been thought to be equally applicable to private and public administration and the initiative in defining administrative techniques and in putting them into practice in the public administration has been that of professionals in the fields of economics and business administration.^{14/}

The executive leadership doctrine proved insufficient for the problem of direction, co-ordination and authority in the public administration. The government has increased in size, tasks have become more specialized, budgetary control could only be control of exceptional budgetary requests, and many agencies have resorted again to a "clientelism" beyond the control of the political executive. A set of new "principles", contradictory like the old, has been collected and popularized to deal with these

^{14/} Michel Crozier "The Present Convergence of Public Administration and Large Private Enterprise, and its Consequences", International Social Science Journal (1968).

problems. Individual agencies have been reorganized to incorporate these "principles", when strong political groups have demanded changes in the policies of these agencies and when these groups foresaw that reorganization of the agencies were likely to lead to the desired changes in policy or power arrangements in the agencies.

The new "principles" include (1) ad hoc task groups to be assigned to specific problems and controlled through programme budgeting, (2) planning to evaluate programmes by cost-benefit analysis to set policy guidelines for extended periods and to allow the executive to focus on non-compliance with and exceptions to the plans, and (3) cybernetics to increase the precision and speed of communications and to eliminate the dependence of the top executive in the organization on middle-level personnel to facilitate these communications.^{15/}

In many ways these new "principles" are similar to the concepts of previous movements in the pragmatic tradition. Some of these similarities are described here.

- (a) In general, the principles are viewed as necessary for the resolution of concrete and immediate problems of the public administration of the United States

Some of these problems have been brought about by the previous application of other popular concepts. For example, the concept of executive leadership implies that information can be processed and delivered to the executive in an easily digestible and comprehensible form and that certain sensing techniques, such as those of cost accounting, will guide his attention to critical areas. In large organizations such systems of information cannot be developed without the use of cybernetics.^{16/}

^{15/} Warren G. Bennis, Changing Organizations (New York, 1966).

^{16/} Herbert Simon, The Shape of Automation for Men and Management (New York, 1965).

- (b) The principles are advocated without sufficient attention to the special conditions necessary for their application

The well-known application of new organizational structures, controlled through a programme budget, in the Department of Defense in the United States, has been converted into an incentive and model for other applications, inside and outside of the United States. This has been done without considering the very special conditions of this particular organization which were requisites for the reform's relative success.^{17/}

- (c) Doctrines develop which mistakenly assume the inevitability of certain benefits from the application of these principles.

The difficulties of finding appropriate criteria against which the "success" or "failure" of administrative changes may be judged has left a vacuum in which exaggerated claims regarding the positive or negative repercussions of these changes can flourish. This is especially clear in the case of cybernetics. Only recently there has been a reconsideration of the propositions that mechanization or systematization of information systems brings about many economies, eliminates the need for middle-level executives, increases the ability of the executive to control his organization, produces information which is more useful or accurate, etc.

- (d) In general, the principles are presented primarily as instruments of increased economy or efficiency, even though their adoption is closely associated with changes in substantive policy

For example, the acceptance of planning, using "New Economics" criteria, coincided with pressures to increase the responsibility of the public sector in maintaining high levels of employment, within the framework of the capitalist economy. The oversimplified vision of the social economies which were to result from this planning ignored the

^{17/} Aaron Wildavsky, "The Political Economy of Efficiency: Cost-Benefit Analysis, Systems Analysis, and Program Budgeting", Public Administration Review (December, 1966), pp. 291.-310. Aaron Wildavsky, "Rescuing Policy Analysis from PPBS", Public Administration Review (March, 1969), pp. 189-202.

basic contradictions between the desired substantive outcomes and the existent structures of the economy.^{18/}

- (e) The emphasis of these principles is on the "management" of problems, consistent with the United States' reputation as a source of special abilities at management

"Management" seems to mean, when used in this sense, "making problems manageable", that is, arriving at a quick definition of the problems in concrete terms and representing them by a few measurable and controllable indices. Even systems analysis, with the idea of viewing problems from a more ample perspective, has not dissipated this approach. There is a basic optimism behind this in the ability to quickly recognize and "manage" new problems which arise as unexpected side effects of the pragmatic resolution of the older problems. It is possible that this approach to problem-solving results in a great waste of resources in the long run, even though it provides efficient allocations of resources in the short run, because of the sub-optimization that it implies. Perhaps the major danger of this approach is that alterations in one unit which contribute to its greater output or efficiency force other units to internalize costs or functions previously borne by the more productive unit.^{19/}

- (f) The implications of the adoption of these principles for changes in political power and representation, and for the redistribution of resources has been limited and late

For example, the basic nature of planning is redistributive, yet the attempt to make it "non-political" has sustained the myth that the entire society benefits (although it is admitted that some will benefit more than others). Somehow planning can improve the society without

^{18/} Paul Baran argues that "only a few of the so-called 'routes' towards full employment ... appear to be realistic within the capitalist system, while others are (in the long run) inconsistent with the survival of the private enterprise economy, or they presume changes that would be equivalent to making the capitalist political order more fascist". Paul Baran, "La Planificación en los países capitalistas avanzados", Panorama Económico (July, 1956).

^{19/} Warren Ilchman, "The Unproductive Study of Productivity: Public Administration in Developing Nations", Comparative Political Studies (1969), p. 238.

hurting those who don't deserve to be hurt (protests by "them" are labelled "political interference"). The planner ignores the inherently prejudicial nature of his tools, such as cost-benefit analysis.^{20/}

- (g) Attention to the implications for participation by the people is almost exclusively considered at an abstract level

This leads to verbal encounters between practitioners and philosophers, and to little action by any group to find ways to increase participation and protection of the common man. Thus the literature on the new forms of organization and ways to control these through programme budgeting assumes rather than demonstrates that public interests are better represented. Innovation and multi-disciplinary problem-definition are enhanced; the ability of the individual citizen to know what his government is doing that will affect him and to express his opinions or complaints are not.^{21/}

- (h) They are universally applicable with only marginal modifications to take account of the culture and society

This assumption will be analysed in the next section.

Impact in Latin America

The professional penetration into Latin America in the area of public administration has been dominated by the pragmatic tradition. This transfer of concepts has taken place at two key points in the cycle of the development and practice of public administration concepts in the United States (shown in the chart on page 4).

First there is the textbook version of these concepts, which generally understate their contradictions and indirect consequences. Although they are recorded in these texts before the results of their application in the United States have been empirically studied, their

^{20/} Robert Boguslaw, The New Utopians: A Study of System Design and Social Change (New Jersey, 1965).

^{21/} There has been some attention to this in Europe. Brian Chapman, The Profession of Government: The Public Service in Europe (London, 1959). A very good survey is Walter Gellhorn's Ombudsmen and Others (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). Also see Donald C. Rowat (ed.) The Ombudsman, Citizens' Defender (Toronto, 1965) and the United Nations, Remedies Against the Abuse of Administrative Authority (1964).

translation is delayed and they arrive in Latin America along with popularized and exaggerated stories of their successful application in the United States.

The concepts are also carried to Latin America by North American practitioners or ex-practitioners of them, men who will naturally have a generally positive view of their past or present accomplishments. They may warn of errors committed during the implementation of these concepts in the United States, but over-all they believe in the universal value of the concepts. Latin America has had the misfortune of receiving many ex-executives of the United States' public and private administrations who represent schools of thinking which, at the time they came to Latin America, are being discredited in the United States. This is a practice fostered by the methods by which international agencies have selected their foreign advisers and contractors.^{22/}

As in the United States, the introduction of these concepts in the Latin American public administrations has been conditioned, first, on the existence of strong political groups who foresaw that re-organization of the administration was likely to lead to desired changes in policies or the balance of power among political forces. For example, new personnel systems based on merit were means by which the middle class, having secured a place in the scarce educational establishments for its children, assured a preferential access to positions in the public bureaucracies.

Another condition for the introduction of these concepts in Latin America has been an exaggerated view by Latin Americans of the extent to which public administration problems in the United States have been resolved. For example, elementary forms of corruption in the public

^{22/} Clear examples are the finance missions sent to Latin America during the great depression of the 1930s and the consultants hired to make national transport plans for many Latin American countries in the 1960s.

administration are widespread in the United States. In addition, that country has seen that a more modern administration can lead to increasing sophistication rather than the elimination of corruption.^{23/}

A third condition for the acceptance of these concepts is a denial on the part of foreigners and Latin Americans that Latin America has an experience on which it could, with a serious and careful evaluation of the causes of progress and sources of obstacles, develop its own programmes of action. In fact, the area has had an extensive history of experimentation with a variety of government structures, of reforms, and of strategies for implementing these reforms.^{24/}

A fourth condition is the almost indiscriminate acceptance of imported standards for the achievement and measurement of efficiency in the public sector. This is the counterpart, in the field of Public

^{23/} The "political fix" in the United States is similar to the Mexican "mordida" or the Chilean "coima". Its prevalence in the United States is described in Time (22 August 1969), pp. 15-21. Corruption at the national level in Mexico has changed so that Mexico is faced with the same dilemmas as the United States in dealing with "conflicts of interest", "contract government", and more specifically "kickbacks". The Mexican situation is described in James Wilkie, The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910 (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 7-9.

^{24/} In a recent conference on government information systems in Chile, attended by the Ministers and top administrators of the government, an Israelite expert announced that he could help Chile by describing how his government processed 50,000 paychecks for salaries and pensions a month. What few of those attending realized was that a single Chilean public agency had been processing that many paychecks for some time.

The various foreign experts at the conference focused on strategies they had applied for designing and gaining acceptance for new information systems. Agencies of the Chilean Public Administration had already experimented with all of the strategies indicated. However, both the foreigners and the Chileans seemed to accept the presumption that Chile lacked experience in this field.

/Administration, of

Administration, of the assumption common among development theories and programmes that the major task is the creation of "modern" societies. Such societies will have public organizations structured and operating as a Weberian bureaucracy, representative democracy patterned after Western practices, political stability backed by strong organizational pressures for conformity of attitudes, absence of collective bargaining in public organizations, etc. The emphasis is on the measure of the organization's or society's achievement in incorporating such standards, not to the extent to which such measures facilitate the achievement of the society's long-range development and welfare. The advantages of existing patterns, which may seem to an outsider to lack co-ordination or impersonalism, are seldom considered.^{25/}

In some cases, the insistence on importing the new principles can be surprisingly strong. For example, the delegates at the Inter-American Seminar on Development Administration in 1965 pointed out a great number of specific problems and disappointments in the applications of the merit system. The final report concluded that "it is an imprecise, slow, and inflexible system in a changing environment". Nonetheless, it was declared that "the merit system is indispensable in development administration".^{26/}

The export of these concepts to Latin America, and the attempts to transfer institutional reforms in general, have reinforced several unfortunate tendencies:

(a) A belief in the politics of anti-politics.^{27/}

The false image is created that there are technical answers to political questions. The reaction to an inability to create viable change strategies for implementing or using imported techniques has been

^{25/} See the "Comments" by Orlando Fals Borda to Frank Tannenbaum's "The Influence of Social Conditions", in Martin Kriesberg, Public Administration in Developing Countries (Washington, 1965) pp. 33-47.

^{26/} Unión Panamericana, Progreso de la Administración para el Desarrollo en América Latina (Washington, 1967), pp. 25-26. Specific problems are described on pages 11-16 and 20-24.

^{27/} Warren Ilchman, "Productivity, Administrative Reform, and Anti-politics: Dilemmas for Developing States", in Ralph Baraibanti (ed.) Political and Administrative Development (Durham, N.C., 1969), pp. 472-526.

the search for more techniques. The problem of strategies of change in political terms remains unstudied, as if somehow this was irrelevant. Thus the response of Latin American engineers to their impotence to carry out their techniques is to demand more control by engineers of the policy area, under the false pretense that the engineers can administrate non-politically.^{28/}

- (b) A belief in planning for planning's sake, administrative reform merely for efficiency, cybernetics for the sake of imitation, and "co-ordination" and "uniformity" because they appear to create harmony

In short, reforms are carried out for reforms' sake. The emphasis is on changing the means and the ends are lost from sight. For example, "common sense" diagnostics are made which focus on certain symptoms, such as the duplication of functions, and the structural causes of the institutional reality of the public sectors are ignored.

When this happens, the results can be very contrary to that expected. Havoc and injustices can be created in the name of efficiency or co-ordination, when the well-meaning intent is the opposite. While it is true that in many areas of policy the accumulation of "special cases" and "exceptions" can imply privileges for a few, which many would interpret as undeserved, it is also true that there is little in

^{28/} For example, a public declaration of the nucleus of engineers of CHILECTRA (Compañía Chilena de Electricidad) regarding a possible nationalization of the company related that "it would be very harmful for the interests of the community if the nationalization of CHILECTRA was carried out by other than technical-economic criteria, since this would mean the alteration of the professional and administrative structure of the company and would prejudice the normal development of its operations". From El Mercurio (31 August, 1969), p. 9.

Latin America that is homogeneous and that should be treated as if it were susceptible to uniform standards and treatment.^{29/}

- (c) Over emphasis on investments and not enough on the reorientation of the uses or on the maintenance of the resources that Latin Americans now have ^{30/}

Often there is much more concern over the "co-ordination" and priorities among new investments than to the need for making them. Cost-benefit analysis considers maintenance costs but the effective organization necessary to carry out this maintenance, is seldom planned.

This prejudice is related to an over-specialization in the use of techniques and objects. There is a tendency to restrict the use of a technique or object only to the production of services or goods for which it seems most appropriate, by United States' standards of economy.^{31/}

^{29/} If it had not established a system of special biases and special deferences, in the name of "reciprocity", the Latin American Free Trade Association would not have achieved the amount of success (albeit very limited in any case) and equity that it has had. See Ernst Haas and Philippe Schmitter, The Politics of Economics in Latin American Regionalism (University of Denver School of International Studies, 1966), Chapter V.

The lack of homogeneity exists within towns and nations, and even in social groups in one area, as well as among nations. Carlos Estevan Martins and Fernando Enrique Cardoso found an internal stratification and a surprising array of social roles in some urban slums of Brazil. La Favela: Estratificación interna y participación política, paper delivered at the Seminar on Marginality in Latin America (Santiago, Chile, 23-27 November, 1970). This implies that one consistent policy or institution is unlikely to be satisfactory in dealing with the problems of the poor.

^{30/} A good discussion of the excessive emphasis on investments is found in Gonzalo Martner, Un enfoque estructuralista del desarrollo, la planificación y la administración (Instituto de Administración, Universidad de Chile, material docente).

^{31/} This often happens in the field of transport, for example, in which too much can be made of the argument that the "abandonment of the railroad must be considered, because the highway is becoming essential for short distance passengers and/or freight hauls", especially when one tries to apply this to nations that have many social demands, besides highways, on scarce capital; when the railroad might be absorbing economic weaknesses that would reappear elsewhere in the economy if it were abandoned; and when the railroad can greatly expand its clientele and services by a simple re-conceptualism of its "function" in less "modern" terms. The quotation is from the Bolivia Transport Study prepared by a consortium for the Bolivian Government (La Paz, 1968) vol.5, p. 323. A good criticism of this type of attitude is found in A.J. Youngson, Overhead Capital a Study in Development Economics (Edinburgh, United Kingdom, 1967) pp. 8-9, 70.

The result in Latin America is a structure of production that satisfies the consumption of a minority of persons, instead of one that provides goods for the benefit of the majority.

- (d) A minimal real participation of politicians, of the public, or even of public executives during technological changes.

The preoccupation has been almost exclusively in terms of facilitating the reception to imported reforms.^{32/} At the national level the stress has been on finding élites who will act as sponsors or carriers of the reforms.^{33/} Protection of citizens' rights is left to the legal system and limited to post-hoc adjudication. There is no conceptualization of how to incorporate widespread participation, or even a dialogue among interested organizations in the planning and administration of social overhead capital, which can be the bulk of government investment.

- (e) Imported strategies of change and a continual dependence on foreign experts for the modification and up-dating of techniques and decision-criteria, instead of the development of a capacity for the self-generation of new ideas

The strategies of change almost always have been those of modernization, in the best of cases they have been those of rational development, and the possibilities of political development have been ignored. This conclusion is based on the following concepts of strategies of change:^{34/}

^{32/} An unusual criticism of this by a competent information systems analyst is Manuel Sadosky's "La computación en el mundo moderno. Realidades y perspectivas en América Latina", in Amílcar O. Herrera (ed.) América Latina: Ciencia y tecnología en el desarrollo de la sociedad (Santiago, 1970), pp. 98-119.

^{33/} Unión Panamericana, op. cit. especially the article by Saul M. Katz, "Guía para modernizar la administración para el desarrollo nacional", which is appendix E in this publication.

^{34/} We have borrowed and modified a distinction between modernization and development made by Robert Biller, "Some Implications of Adaptation for Organizational and Political Development", in F. Marini, ed., The New Public Administration (Syracuse, 1970).

(i) Modernization. This involves the transfer to an organization or a country of certain symbols, material elements or structures which are considered "modern". Almost always the quality of "modern" is determined according to an interpretation of what exists or should exist in "developed" countries.

(ii) Rational development. This is the introduction of a new combination of general procedures and systems for problem-solving and decision-making. A new technical vocabulary is articulated. A new capacity for the self-generation of variations in the technical and decision-making routines is implanted. For the subject matter of the organization, a new scientific or professional "paradigm" is articulated.^{35/}

(iii) Political development. This includes not only a substantial improvement in the capacity to resolve problems but a greater ability to negotiate among different "paradigms", or cause-effect models, which may be implicit or explicit in the thinking of organizational members, clients and potential clients. There is a greater willingness and ability to create, look for, discover and define political demands on the organization and the political and economic resources it administers.

In adopting imported administrative concepts, the Latin Americans have created: new control systems without the necessary information (as has succeeded in many cases where the merit system has been incorporated); new information systems unrelated to the decision-making process (as has happened in many cases of new budgetary systems); or new information and control systems without an adequate conceptualism of the informal or organizational structures (as has taken place with new accounting systems).

While the transplanted systems are meeting with difficulties and disappointments in Latin America, new ideas to meet or circumvent the shortcomings of these systems are created in the United States. The Latin American governments, realizing this, return almost automatically for international technical assistance which will facilitate the transfer of the latest concepts.

^{35/} Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago, 1964; first published 1962). Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier (New York, 1964), pp. 145-172.

This continual dependence is reinforced by the general acceptance of the notion that developing nations must follow stages of growth and "maturity" similar to the sequence experienced by more "modern" nations. Thus, even when the great limitations of the merit system are being clarified in the United States, missions sent to Latin America continue to insist that the latter needs to pass through a "merit system stage" before considering alternatives, such as the career system.^{36/} Yet it is quite possible that the career systems (assuming that this might be desirable) has more in common with the spoils system than with the merit system. The merit system might only bring about the creation of a body of public employees who cannot be removed, who are promoted automatically or by seniority, and who will resist later technological or organizational changes.

(f) A schism in Latin American Public Administration between administrative law and administrative behaviour

The separation of these fields in the United States means that the concepts of Public Administration developed there are inadequate for understanding the relationship between laws and behaviour, or between laws and organizational change, in the public administration.^{37/}

(g) A deep antagonism towards "political instability"

This antagonism causes the theorist and practitioner alike to ignore long-term stable rules of the game which exist in many Latin American political cultures and which serve, because they are so stable, as obstacles to change. Violence, inflation and unkept promises may occur in patterns bounded by certain rules, not always understood by

^{36/} Frederick Mosher summarizes the experience of the United States in replacing the merit system by the career system in his Democracy and the Public Service (New York, 1968).

^{37/} A discussion of European attempts to overcome this breach is found in Fritz Merstein Marx, "Inventory of Administrative Study in Europe, The Speyer Conference", Public Administration Review (July-August, 1969), pp. 359-66.

/the participants,

the participants, and serving as cues for economic and political decision-making.^{38/} Naïve proposals to eliminate these mechanisms, without considering their real importance for the political and social structure, may be counterproductive as well as futile.

- (h) Economic and social changes such that those economic and social classes or sectors which have the most continue to get the most

Administrative changes in Latin America tend to benefit most those who already have the most. In its more obvious forms this means that tax reforms tend to be regressive in impact or, in the best of cases, to increase the efficiency of collections from the middle class and not the upper class; users' or advisory councils tend to provide one barrier more in public knowledge about what happens in public corporations; and planning tends to make it easier for certain businessmen or industrialists to assess their markets, often more than it aids governmental agencies to inform themselves regarding the intended actions of the businessmen or industrialists. Less obvious cases of this tendency to bless the blessed are the making of investments in those economic sectors or regions which already have the most developed economic infrastructure, backed by a strong "political infrastructure" of interested political forces; the formulation of regional administration and development schemes which tend to increase the power of local oligarchies and inter-regional dependence, all in the name of decentralization; and requiring that people demonstrate a certain businesslike orientation (i.e., an ability to imitate "modern" customs and tastes) before granting to them a measure of responsibility for the administration of development projects that affect them.

^{38/} The stability of the rules of the game is indicated in James Payne, Labor and Politics in Peru (New Haven, Conn., 1967), and in Claudio Veliz, Obstacles to Change in Latin America (Cambridge, England, 1967).

THE GENERALIST TRADITION

While the tendency of various movements in the pragmatic tradition have been optimistic about the possibilities of having a scientific administration, in the generalist traditional administration is considered as an art. According to this view, the public executive should be properly cultured to sense the needs of the moment. He should be moral, intelligent, productive and disinterested. The British administrator of the Empire's domain, with his education in the humanities and heralded ability to either efficiently carry out projects assigned to him or to innovate responses to problems where orders were lacking, a major model of the ideal generalist.

In this tradition, like contemporary movements in the pragmatic tradition, representation is exercised through the responsible executive. However, in this case exposure and overt means of control are less important to assure a "representative bureaucracy" than are training and selection of the executives. These executives, would interpret the needs of the "public interest", and would exercise their best judgement in recommending and carrying out solutions. Much of the literature of this current is preoccupied with finding definitions of the "public interest" to aid these executives or devoted to case studies of the executive "in a situation having to make a decision".

Among many Latin Americans one may find an image of the ideal public administrator which is similar to this bias.^{39/} It would be presumptive to link this with the generalist tradition in the United States or in England rather than recognize its historical roots in the patrimonial bureaucracy of the Spanish-American empire.

^{39/} An example is an article by Reinaldo Harnecker in the Revista Chilena de Ingenieria (April, 1968). He favours the engineer-administrator who would combine the ideals of the human relations movement with traditional patrimonial authority.

The Identity Crisis in the Academic Field
of Public Administration

Public administration as an academic subject in the United States, mixing partisans and concepts of both the pragmatic and generalist traditions, has been linked since its birth to political science. Public administration as a sub-field of political science has tended to concentrate on the training of lower level bureaucrats, and on the study of administrative agencies as political organizations, leaving the study of policy substance and the development of new administrative concepts to other fields. Entering into the 1960s it was a field with decreasing prestige and a lack of direction.

In a recent conference on the state of the field, an attempt was made to define and resolve this identity crisis.^{40/} The basic question was the justification and limits of a field of public administration, considering that the study of administrative techniques is dominated by economics and business administration, the study of authority and power in organizations by sociology and social-psychology, the study of policy-making by political science, and the study of substantive policies by the various specialized fields.

In Latin America, the tendency has been toward the separate development of public administration and political science as academic subjects. The development of curricula in Public Administration has often been under the close supervision of United States' university professors who were eager to establish a public administration free from the domination of political science. The emphasis has been on the training of new bureaucrats and the implementation of certain reforms, especially in personnel and budgeting. These reforms were to be non-political, or - more accurately - anti-political in nature. They were copies of reforms popularized in the United States. A Latin American

^{40/} James C. Charlesworth (ed.) Theory and Practice of Public Administration Scope, Objectives, and methods, publication co-sponsored by The American Academy of Political and Social Studies and The American Society for Public Administration (Philadelphia, 1968).

experience with reforms was ignored or denied to exist. Thus, secondary importance was given to the development of studies of the politics of administration in Latin America and little attention was given to creating a capacity for self-analysis and for experimenting with definitions of one's own problems.

In both the United States and Latin America, the academic field of public administration has been ill prepared to study the political implications of the new administrative techniques, such as planning, programme budgeting and cybernetics; the politics of the anti-politics of the new technocrats; the rules of the game of various administrative systems; and the validity of the assumption that there is a universally-applicable model of public administration. These topics have been important in what we will call the political sociology approach, an approach which has only recently been related to the academic field of public administration

THE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY APPROACH

The academic fields of sociology and political science have developed their own approaches to the study of public administration with less emphasis on producing guidelines for identifying, recruiting, training and controlling responsible public executives than on describing the internal and external relations of public organizations. There has been relatively little dialogue between this current and those more closely identified with the field of public administration until very recently, even though public administration in the United States has been a sub-field of political science and despite the fact that all the approaches have common historical references including the writings of Max Weber, the human relations school, and Chester Barnard.

The political-sociology current has sought to construct organization theories which, although they define and inter-relate political concepts of authority, compliance, power, legitimacy and conflict, have only

/occasionally considered

occasionally considered the treatment of these concepts in political theory.^{41/} To explain the interrelation of these elements of organizational behaviour, sociologists have tended to use the analogy of the biological organism which "adapts" to environmental changes or "functions" to meet the basic needs of man and society by making the necessary resources exchanges of social, political and economic resources with other societal units.^{42/} Increasing complexity has been added to the organism concept by focusing on the role of leaders, the formation of power élites and the possibilities of disfunctional behaviour in and by organizations.

For the sociologists, the distinction of public and non-public organizations has been of secondary interest.^{43/} For the sociologists, all organizations are political bodies in the sense of being accurately described with political concepts.

In sociology and political science, critics of the organism analogy stress the political strategies used by organizations to gain their members participation and to bargain for positions of authority or for certain political goals in the political system. Early pluralist theories tended to define the organizations' policy outcomes as results of internal jockeying and compromises, but more recently there has been more interest in the high tolerance for continual factionalization and conflict in organizations, and the importance of ideology and precedent as the means by which some order is brought into the chaos of the pluralistic world.^{44/}

^{41/} The similarities have been studied by Herbert Kaufman, "Organization Theory and Political Theory", The American Political Science Review (March, 1964) by Dwight Waldo, "Organization Theory, An Elephantine Problem", Public Administration Review (1961), and by Sheldon Wolin Politics and Vision (Boston, 1960), last chapter.

^{42/} Talcott Parson, The Social System (Chicago, 1951). The journal Behavioral Science is addressed to the study of systems in all levels of social and biological interaction.

^{43/} For example, Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York, 1961).

^{44/} Compare, for example, Norton Long, "Power and Administration", Public Administration Review (1949), p. 2, and Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process (Boston, 1964).

For the pluralists, public administration is just one more set of organizations among many which establish complicated and temporary political coalitions (with congressional, judicial and private interest groups). Public administrators are politicians. They do not merely administrate someone else's directives.

The various schools of the political sociology approach collide on the issue of the relative importance which should be given to deduction and to direct observation in "describing" the political organization. Elitists are accused of assuming rather than proving the coincidence of political and economic power, and of jumping to conclusions about who benefits from policies, while the pluralists are accused of being apologists for the system of feedback democracy and incremental changes which they describe and of not showing adequate interest in who benefits from policies.

These arguments over methodology are important in recent developments in the field of public administration. The creation of the fields of development administration, of comparative administration, and of administrative systems has been spurred by the desire to incorporate the methodologies of the political sociology current into the field of public administration.

Development Administration, Co-operative Administration
and Administrative Systems

A number of public administration professors, wanting to break their field away from its dependence on practices in the United States and from its trial and error approach of developing concepts, have concentrated on applying the methods of the political sociology current to the study of public administration. The set fields of comparative administration, development administration and administrative systems were created as umbrellas for these persons.^{45/}

^{45/} Other scholars have tended to join these bandwagons. It is not uncommon for anthologies on administrative development to include both traditional and non-traditional approaches. For example, Irving Swerdlow (ed.) Development Administration, Concepts and Problems (Syracuse, 1963).

While the use of methods of political sociology has brought new orienting concepts and empirical measures to the study of public administration, there has been no escape from many old dilemmas. The new studies, as well as the old, whether prescriptive, evaluative or descriptive in purpose, include, implicitly if not explicitly, normative assumptions about the following:

(a) The basis for differentiation and comparison of public bureaucracies

This criteria can be a set of assumed universal needs of all societies, strategies by which the bureaucracies exchange political, social and economic resources with other organizations, or the characteristics of an "ideal" modern society. The natural inclination in each case is to conclude, on the basis of the variables which are selected, that the United States is superior to Latin American countries.

(b) The time dimension and test of significance used for differentiating "change" from "non-change" ^{46/}

On the one hand, an apparently significant change in the public administration could only be another kink in the periodical cycles of reform.^{47/} The professionalization of an agency may be interpreted as a successful reform but may really mean the reinforcement of tensions and rigidities.^{48/}

On the other hand, an agency's work may be criticized for lacking practical results, while it may be found later that this work was a necessary requisite for greater changes at a later date.^{49/} A small number of unpublicized changes could be more important than grand reform programmes.^{50/}

^{46/} An exploratory essay is Hahn Been, "From Ecology to Time: A Time Orientation Approach to the Study of Public Administration", International Review of Administration Science (1966), pp. 103-13.

^{47/} This observation was formulated in relation to Peru by Juan Ignacio Jimenez. See Unión Panamericana, op. cit. pp. 110-11.

^{48/} Two interesting case studies are Antonio and Jeanne Posada, C.V.C. Un Reto al Subdesarrollo y al Tradicionalismo (Bogotá, Colombia, 1966) and Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomena (Chicago, 1964).

^{49/} Frederick Mosher, "Algunas notas acerca de la reorganización de los organismos públicos", in Roscoe Martin (ed.) Administración Pública (Mexico, 1967).

^{50/} Albert Hirschman, Journeys Towards Progress: Studies of Economic Policy in Latin America (New York, 1965).

(c) The persons and number of activities to be included in the "system" to be studied

Each study assumes that certain groups and certain of their needs will or should benefit from institutional changes, and that other groups and other needs are too indirectly affected to be taken into consideration. Studies in "development administration" argue that it is important to look at the whole cultural system or political system and not just at the public administration apparatus, as an isolated unit.^{51/} In studies of "systems" we are told to look at the whole system involved in reaching an over-all objective and not just at a single institution. But these are relative concepts and the problem of appropriate boundaries of a "system" to be studied is only arbitrarily resolved.

(d) The "Requisites" and "Realities" of the Society which intervene in the Success or Failure of Changes

Subsumed here are attitudes towards the suitability or non-suitability of an administration which is admittedly political, and the desirability of preserving or changing cultural norms. Thus some may emphasize political interference and cultural resistance to technical solutions as the cause of failures to restructure the administration, while others may criticize the reformers for trying to impose a structure incongruent with the political demands, cultural mores or economic and social resources of the society.^{52/} In defining the requisites and realities in each case the researcher is defining the present needs and appropriate future values of that society.

^{51/} This can be approached from two directions. Whereas Pye, Riggs and Crozier are interested principally in the impact of social, family, religious and political values on administrative behaviour, Waldo suggests that the culture can be influenced by the bureaucracy by adopting an administrative manner of organizing its social affairs. Lucian Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building (New Haven, 1962); Fred Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries (Boston, 1964); Michel Crozier, op. cit. Dwight Waldo, "Administración Pública y Cultura", in Roscoe Martin (ed.), Administración Pública (Mexico, 1967).

^{52/} The tension between these points of view is evident in Alban Lataste, Cuba, Hacia una nueva economía política del socialismo? (Santiago, Chile, 1968). After giving a reasoned argument why the administrative structure in Cuba developed up to 1965 was inappropriate, both for political and "technical" reasons, he disagrees with the attempt in that year to make the public administration more sensitive politically instead of concentrating more on making it conform with the requirements of rational administration and long-term planning.

(e) The importance and nature of self-steering and autonomous growth

Current academic literature describes organizations and societies in terms of the capacity for dynamic open-ended feedback information and problem-solving systems, as opposed to static systems that seek equilibrium.^{53/} This new focus purports to be "change" oriented, focusing on the learning capacity of organizations and the possibility that tensions in organizations are healthy. The merit of this focus is that it points out the striking similarities between problems of administrative reform and of educational reform, where both must face the inherent contradictions in the ideal of "autonomous learning".^{54/} But the United States' literature is weak on conceptualizing public organizations that seek after, as well as react to, new conceptions of their role in the society, and which are determined to incorporate real public participation in the bureaucracy.

Descriptive, evaluative and prescriptive studies will inevitably make a selection of values on each of these five dimensions. The boundaries and components of the "system" under study are arbitrary components of the conceptualization of the problem being studied.

Change cannot be measured "objectively" since one cannot compare what happened with controlled change as opposed to what would have happened without it, unless arbitrary time, space and other dimensions are defined for the "system" under study. The need for services and the performance of governments in providing these services cannot be "objectively" determined by cost accounting, linear or non-linear programming, systems analysis, cost-benefit analysis, or any other of these techniques, because all of these, whenever they are applied to

^{53/} Karl Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York, 1963).

^{54/} It is possible that there has been more initiative in the field of education than in public administration towards creating new types of institutions for Latin America. See Lima Lauro de Oliveira El Método Paulo Freire (Cuernavaca, Mexico, 1968), and Ivan Illich, "The futility of schooling in Latin America", Saturday Review (20 April, 1968), pp. 57-59, 64-5.

evaluate or programme any governmental activity, incorporate the normative dimensions described above. A tremendous amount of literature in economics and engineering debates over the suitability of alternative econometric formulas and economic policy criteria, as if the differences were technical questions, when in fact the differences often are normative positions on these dimensions.

The study of public administration in the United States is only at the embryonic stage of recognizing, let alone clarifying, this value selection. The United States has not exported suggestions and questions which Latin Americans might use in defining their own problems. It exports ready made "solutions" with the expectation that some compromises will have to be reached between the recipient culture and these "solutions".

A Latin American Field of Public Affairs

We believe that Latin Americans should consider the development of a field of public affairs based more on its own experience than on non-Latin practice and conceptualization. This field would integrate the fields of public administration, economics, political science, sociology and anthropology in the study of public policies and their implementation.

In making this recommendation, we depart from the following generalizations, which have been elaborated in this article:

(1) Latin Americans have been overly captivated by foreign organizational methods, by foreign advice and imported plans. They have tended to depreciate the value of analysing their own large amount of unstudied experience in testing varieties of strategies of change.

(2) There are no universal and value free methodologies for the study and reform of the public administration, and the models and procedures developed in the United States are mainly irrelevant in Latin America.

In its present stage of development, the field of public administration has little to offer to the resolution of the substantive policy problems which face Latin Americans or for the design of appropriate means for achieving these policies. The field offers little which Latin Americans

/could use

could use for judging the suitability of the use of administrative tools (like linear programming or cost-benefit analysis), for making sure that the value-implications of the use of these tools are well understood, and that they do not replace public dialogue and a qualitative policy analysis.

Based on their own experience and goals, Latin Americans could examine independently such problems as the following:^{55/}

(a) "Structural" diagnostics of the public sector

A primary necessity is a reassessment of the economic, political, social and historical variables which have influenced the construction of the present institutional structure in each nation. This means not only evaluating how political demands by political groups (including the bureaucrats themselves) have been translated into policy, working rules, or inaction in the public administration, but how changes in the political organization of the public administration might have proceeded and been requisite to significant changes in the political system. In this manner, there would be a better understanding of how reforms of the administration might be received and compensated by political actors who have certain expectations of the administrative system. Not to understand this aspect of the administration is to invite unintended political adjustments to reforms which can have a much greater impact than the reforms themselves in ways which might be considered both positive and negative later on.

(b) Integration of the socially marginal groups

Ordinarily the symptoms, and not the roots of the problem, are attacked. While integration is sought, the structural causes of marginality are ignored. These causes might only be confronted effectively by changes in the structure of production. Only with such drastic measures can there be an effective public participation in public decisions.

^{55/} There is no order of priority in this list nor is it intended to be exhaustive.

(c) Administration of nationalized enterprises

The field of Public Administration is not prepared to help Latin Americans confront the challenges stemming from the nationalization of basic resources or of other important enterprises. Typically the period of "statization" of an enterprise is really a period of tutelage, during which the foreign ex-directors or ex-technicians of the enterprise stay on as "advisors" and orient the national directors and technicians to "modern" administrative and operating practices. "Nationalization" often really means the delivery of the enterprise to local professionals who are more oriented to international standards than to national needs when programming investments in and the uses of the enterprise. There tends to be favouritism towards private enterprise standards, which is somewhat ironic considering that a purported goal of nationalization is to make the enterprise more responsive to the demands of the community and the policies of the government.

(d) Institutional restructuring for continual self-reform

In the name of reform, most present studies indicate means for changing one set of rigidities for another - for example, substituting bureaucratic discretion which operates implicitly in favour of certain classes with an explicit clientelism. Thus many suggest the creation of "consejos" for bureaucratic agencies. What is needed is more attention to what would be necessary to reorient the use of the societies resources to a broader public, including consideration of new political organizations to increase both the number of beneficiaries and the types of benefits of existing transport, power, industrial and agricultural facilities.

(e) Role of technical assistance

A basic problem is to determine how much and what types of technical assistance is necessary, in order that the administrative agencies are capable of "autonomous learning". It would be helpful to study the experiences with technical assistance of each type of change and the difficulties which would be found in trying to replace a process of "modernization" with a process of "rational development" or "political development". For example, the procedures of international agencies

/might be

might be reoriented so that technical assistance would be limited to suggesting procedures by which the host country could experiment with definitions of its own problems and solutions rather than insisting on elaborate plans of action of rationalization and investment.

(f) Evaluating administrative performance in carrying out a public policy

Ideally, performance would be judged against the goals of the institutions of providing certain services to certain people.^{56/} However, knowing who benefited and to what degree cannot be a precise determination. It can only be approximated, and the conclusions will depend heavily on how the problem is defined according to the five normative dimensions described on page 25.^{57/}

In examining such problems, a Latin American field of public policy should integrate cultural and political factors in the studies rather than treat these as "obstacles", constraints or as uncontrollable variables. This could be done by considering the public bureaucrat whatever his level of responsibility, as a political representative and by studying his actions as part of larger political and cultural systems.

It is quite appropriate to use concepts of political representation in describing or evaluating even the supposedly technical aspects of the bureaucrat's work. The information and criteria every bureaucrat uses for his decision-making "represents" in an arbitrary manner by focusing attention on certain people and certain problems. The structure of the organization and the means of communication within it are important determinants of which groups and which problems will receive priority or preference in the bureaucrat's decision-making. Every bureaucrat has

^{56/} Time and cost studies are of limited value for assessing administrative action in such terms. Certainly they shouldn't be the principle instruments for such evaluation. Perhaps their major utility is in creating a sensitivity to time and cost by the functionaries of an organization. However, even for this they can be counter-productive and very costly. A discussion of cost systems, in which the emphasis is on a flexible methodology and on their use as supplements to qualitative judgement, is found in ECLA, Sistemas de Información Ferroviaria (Santiago, Chile, 1969), pp. 104-114 (E/CN.12/842).

^{57/} New information systems in public organizations rarely are designed to indicate the needs of the public, for its own perspective, and the extent to which these are being satisfied by the agency. The persons who do not benefit from the existing or proposed policies are seldom described. Rather, the performance of the agency is described in terms of certain imported standards.

his own definition of the appropriate service role of the organization and the means for carrying out this service, with important implications for what groups and problems should receive preferred attention. There is no "objectivity" in any bureaucracy, private or public.

A study of the bureaucrat's role within a larger system requires an arbitrary definition of the limits of that "system". The only solution is continual experimentation with system boundaries, and a realization that even marginal changes in system boundaries might result in a very different view of what is that bureaucrat's "function" in the society. Ideally, we could analyse any past, present or proposed change in an organization in terms of the organization's relations with the family and educational systems which prepare its members, in terms of the political bargaining system which makes demands on the organization and in which it seeks a position of authority and prestige, in terms of the economic system in which it competes for claims on the society's resources, in terms of the cultural and social systems, etc., all at the same time so that we wouldn't have to assume any major factor was a constant. This would require an analysis of an unimaginable number of combinations of factors, making large assumptions in order to derive common measures, and efforts much more costly than any group could or should sustain. In place of this, what is required in studies which are made, is clear definitions of system boundaries, a great deal of experimentation, an awareness and tolerance of the fact that normative and political assumptions are inevitably included.

The incorporation of political and cultural values will mean that the changes in the public administration which are advocated may not be the most ideal technically.^{58/} They may not resolve the problem such that

^{58/} Speaking of the stages of administrative reform through which agencies are led these days, Ilchman concludes that "there is no evidence that, on the grounds of efficiency or the capacity to produce, there is an increasing level of production as one moves through the stages. If anything, the stages should suggest that increasing complexity makes many decisions more costly and cumbersome". Warren Ilchman, "The Unproductive Study of Productivity: Public Administration in Developing Nations", Comparative Political Studies (1969), p. 234.

the results can be measured. But the primary goal (not the operationalized or measurable version of the goal) may be more effectively approximated in the real world.^{59/} Rather than viewing politics as an unfortunate obstacle to progress, the necessity of considering alternative political strategies to implement programmes would be a major preoccupation of a field of public policy. Outright and explicit politicization of the State's activities would be considered as a possible bonus rather than an evil to be avoided at all costs.

^{59/} Oscar Oszlak, Planificación para el Desarrollo y el Proceso de Planificación, paper delivered at the Meeting of Experts on Administrative Capability for Development (Santiago, Chile, 16-21 November 1970).

