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IMPLEMENTING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS:

A STATE-OF-THE-ART REVIEW

FINAL REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

The Implementation Challenge

Program implementation--the process of transforming development policies and plans into desired results--has recently emerged as a major area of study. Descriptive accounts of the implementation process, now oriented toward "New Directions" or "Basic Human Needs" programs, frequent the development literature. A few of these accounts focus on program successes. More often, however, implementation failures are emphasized. Such failures are characterized by insufficient benefits, unintended consequences or unequitable distribution. Where they occur, these implementation failures tend to prolong, and exacerbate the conditions of the rural and urban poor--a situation that has far-reaching economic, social, and political ramifications.

There is growing consensus that improving program implementation will require substantial revisions in conventional development strategies. In particular, the heavy emphasis and reliance on program planning will need to be greatly supplemented with appropriate implementation knowledge and action guidelines. As of now, readily applicable implementation principles and guidelines only exist in embryonic form--their emergence impeded for several reasons. First, most scholars and practitioners have approached implementation from a narrow, non-systems perspective. Although there are some notable exceptions, concerted efforts to understand and deal with implementation as a major policy and programmatic issue were not initiated until the early 1970's. In addition, much of the writing on development programs is either anecdotal in nature or based on limited empirical evidence. A second inhibiting factor has been the radically changing definition of the development task. New and highly complex thrusts centering on "Basic Human Needs", "Equity With Growth", employment generation, use of appropriate technology, small farmer involvement, and "bottom-up" rural and urban integrated development schemes have quickly gained general acceptance in international forums and developing countries. As a result, a great deal of attention has been devoted to substantive policy and program issues. Relatively little time has been spent on exploring the question of contextually appropriate implementation strategies. Now, as many "New Directions" type programs move into the execution stage, it has become obvious that conventional implementation approaches are only partially suitable, especially in the least developed countries. Given this situation, there is an immediate need to review the current state-of-the-art with the objectives of identifying program implementation improvement opportunities. This report responds that that need.

Some Definitions

Development programs are complex sets of public sector activities undertaken to accomplish policy goals and objectives. For our purposes, two types of program implementation will be reviewed. The first includes ongoing public sector activities with a broad functional or sector focus in such areas as local administration, health, and public works. These programs are typically implemented by large bureaucratic organizations. The second kind of program--development projects--are more limited and time bound socioeconomic activities involving the application

of resources to specified, discrete development problems. Examples might include an illiteracy eradication program, an integrated rural development program, and a national highway improvement program. The first type of development program frequently encompasses, but is usually distinct from, project activities--the latter being very specific in purpose, funding, and time horizon. Projects are directly engaged in altering resources, and thus represent fundamental units of purposeful activity available to developing countries and assistance agencies for achieving development results.

Implementation is the management of specified resources and activities to directly and indirectly affect the behavior and status of target group populations. It encompasses those internal resources and activities for which the implementing organization has direct control as well as those external to the organization for which it has little or no direct control. Implementation takes place during the execution stage of a program. Implementation begins after a program has been designed and approved. Formal program planning and the planning/approval process both influence implementation, e.g., the way the program is activated and carried out. But implementation is also affected by events (both expected and unexpected) which occur while the program is underway. Due to its complexity and variability, program implementation requires detailed planning, organizing, directing, and controlling--in short the implementation process needs careful management.

The term management refers to the mobilization and direction of resources to achieve desired results. Resources are broadly defined to include technical, financial, material, human, and organizational factors. In relation to implementation, the role of management is to ensure that a program is executed as planned, or modified in light of changing circumstances. By implementation strategies we mean the several management approaches which have been prescribed for implementing development programs.

Scope and Format

This report reviews the state-of-the-art on program implementation in developing countries. Part I contains an overview of the scholarly and academic literature on program implementation. Part II expands on this review by focusing on program implementation policies of developing countries and assistance agencies, along with their accompanying operational procedures. Part III compares and contrasts the implementation strategies which are prescribed in the academic and scholarly literature (as reviewed in Part I) with the actual policies (as summarized in Part II). Conclusions are then drawn about the congruence or fit between prescribed and actual program implementation strategies. The scope of each Part, along with a description of our research approach, is detailed below.

1. Scope of Part I

This part of the report reviews current program implementation approaches and strategies as reflected in the academic and scholarly literature. The following themes are covered: (1) a general overview of program implementation characteristics; (2) an assessment of factors which have been identified as facilitating and impeding program implementation under various sets of developing country conditions and resource endowments; and (3) a delineation of the major prescriptive implementation strategies. The importance of the implementation topic, especially with respect to "New Directions" programs, is evidenced throughout the review.

The scholarly review, although lengthy, should be viewed as initial and exploratory. Implementation is a rapidly expanding area of study and numerous publications legitimately fall under the program implementation heading. Since this review was completed under severe time and resource limitations, its scope has been limited to the literature which could be assembled, digested, and organized in approximately one-person month's time. Where choices on what to include were needed, we leaned toward recent publications--specifically those containing actual program implementation as practiced first by developing countries, and secondly by international assistance organizations. This hopefully facilitates a consideration of implementation factors across countries with different resource endowments, administrative structures, and political commitment. We also agreed that the review should deal with program design and evaluation issues only to the extent that they can be directly linked to implementation. In practice, it is often difficult to distinguish where program planning stops and where implementation begins. However, for our purposes, a distinction is attempted.

Two other minor conditions also apply. First, the report excludes a review of actual assistance agency program and project implementation documents since a related study has been commissioned for that purpose. Second, the scope should be primarily restricted to program implementation in developing countries. Since this field is a fairly new one, we have decided to include some developed country implementation experience when and if it appears relevant. A more extensive introduction to the literature on policy implementation can be found in Public Sector Implementation: An Overview and Bibliography, Development Management Research Series, Report No. 2, available from the Maxwell Training and Development Programs of Syracuse University.

2. Scope of Part II

In this Part, the program implementation review is extended by focusing on program implementation policies of developing countries, donor countries, and multi-lateral assistance organizations. The objective in the second section is to provide development personnel with a general introduction to official program implementation policies. We hope this information will prove provocative and will encourage a more thorough and careful study of these policies and their accompanying procedures. The term "policies" encompasses both the official and operational positions which developing countries, donor countries and multi-lateral assistance agencies have adopted in relation to development program implementation.

Our approach in pulling together and summarizing various program implementation policies was direct. We relied almost exclusively on readily available documents and official publications obtained from the libraries of the major assistance agencies. This approach yielded a less than comprehensive policy review. The materials available to us, incomplete though they are, suggest some central themes that are both important and generally supported. Since the guidance for this section of the review allowed considerable discretion, it was decided that a useful role would be to provoke a thoughtful reconsideration of the issue at hand--program implementation policy. This part of the report is arranged to accomplish that objective.

3. Scope of Part III

This part of the report compares the major program implementation perspectives and draws some general conclusions. Each conclusion is accompanied by a list of major policy-related implications. The strategies, comparisons and conclusions are summarized in a comprehensive "inventory" of implementation.

4. Annotations and References

The review also contains a substantial number of bibliographic annotations, both for the academic literature and official policy documents. By contractual agreement, the list of annotations is narrow and focused, rather than exhaustive. Explanations of many implementation concepts are provided in the text of the report. In addition, many implementation references have already been annotated in one of the following bibliographies and will not be repeated here: Development Planning and Implementation in Developing Countries: A Bibliography on Development Project Management, by Dennis A. Rondinelli and Aspy Palia, East-West Center, East-West Technology and Development Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1976 and Public Sector Implementation: An Overview and Bibliography, Maxwell Training and Development Programs, Syracuse University, New York, 1977.

A standardized format is followed in the annotations. First the purpose and scope of the referenced work is summarized along with a description of the methodological approach, process, and techniques. Next the major findings and conclusions of the work are highlighted. Finally an attempt is made to capture the relevance or value of the work to the overall state-of-the-art review. Although this approach was followed throughout, the reader will note that the annotations vary considerably in length and substantive content. This is primarily a result of dealing with a wide variety of references, some of which appear more suitable to annotation using the established format than others.

The annotations are followed by the list of references assembled and reviewed for the various segments of the review.

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The preparation of the review was a joint effort. James Brown, a Washington, D.C. based consultant, shared responsibility for designing the research format. He also conducted the policy document search and prepared an initial draft of Part II along with the document annotations. James and I discussed many of the issues presented here before and during the research period. Nancy Zeidner of Ipos Facto in Washington, D.C., helped locate and obtain the literature and policy documents. Hailu Abetena and Philomena Makolo, along with Sue Gleason, Amy Swartz, Kathy Johnson, Lawrence Regg, Del Thomas, Els Van Wingerden, and Ute Maisl assisted in the review and preparation process. Sylvia Watts provided editorial assistance with the Final Report.

PART I: SCHOLARLY AND ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVES
ON PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

"When all is said and done, the proof of a development policy's success is measured by the goods it delivers and their use by the public. To be sure, commitments by presidents and their planners to particular development policies can serve numerous other objectives. They can be symbolically important in themselves and may enhance support for presidents regardless of the actual policy outputs. They may also be used to satisfy foreign demands for evidence of governmental intentions to expand national economies. Yet, despite the variety of ends such development policy commitments may serve, their principal objective is the creation of observable policy outputs that aid development."

Gary W. Wynia, Politics and Planners: Economic Development Policy in Central America, 1972.

". . . the term 'implementation' understates the complexity of the task of carrying out projects that are affected by a high degree of initial ignorance and uncertainty. Here 'project implementation' may often mean in fact a long voyage of discovery in the most varied domains, from technology to politics."

Albert O. Hirschman, Development Projects Observed, 1967.

PART I: SCHOLARLY AND ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVES

ON PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

A. AN OVERVIEW

To begin the review, we present several implementation generalizations which are frequently found in the policy sciences literature. These generalizations provide an overview of implementation characteristics as conceptualized to date. In later sections we will examine these characteristics in developing country contexts.

Before proceeding, some mention should be made about the current level of implementation knowledge. The appearance of a long list of references at the end of this review is misleading. True, a lot of material can be assembled on various dimensions of implementation. However, most of this material has a narrow perspective and is not related to general principles about the implementation process. There is, at present, no widely accepted theoretical or analytical framework for examining the implementation issue. Two prominent implementation theorists have recently noted this difficulty:

While these studies have been highly informative, their contributions have been limited by the absence of a theoretical framework. To date, no one has advanced a theoretical framework within which policy implementation can be examined. Without such a framework, it is difficult to further our understanding of this process in disparate policy areas and jurisdictional settings. (Van Meter and Van Horn: 1975, p. 451)

Two other implementation observers add:

There is (or there must be) a large literature about implementation in the social sciences--or so we are told by numerous people. None of them come up with specific citations to this literature, but they are certain it must exist. . . It must be there; it should be there; but in fact it is not. There is a kind of semantic illusion at work here because virtually everything ever done in public policy or public administration must, in the nature of things, have some bearing on implementation. . . Nevertheless, except for the few pieces mentioned in the body of this book, we have been unable to find any significant analytic work dealing with implementation. (Pressman and Wildavsky: 1973, p. 166)

The state-of-the-art has improved somewhat in the past few years as is reflected in this review. In general, however, the study of implementation is an emerging field characterized by many diverse concepts and approaches.

1. In the scholarly literature, implementation usually means the execution or carrying out of a policy.

Most conceptual work in the area of implementation takes a "public policy" perspective. Public policy scientists are concerned with how major societal policy issues such as poverty, health, or welfare are formulated, decided upon, and executed. Thus, from the policy science point of view, implementation is usually defined as the carrying out, accomplishing or fulfilling of a policy. The relationship between public policy and policy implementation has been described as follows:

A program consists of government action initiated in order to secure objectives whose attainment is problematical. A program exists when the initial conditions--the "if" stage of the policy hypotheses--have been met. The word "program" signifies the conversion of a hypothesis into governmental action. The initial premises of the hypothesis have been authorized. The degree of which the predicted consequences (the "then" stage) take place we will call implementation. Implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them. (Pressman and Wildavsky: 1973, p. XV)

The concept of implementation, then, implies both a beginning and an end; an action started and a goal which is or is not achieved.

Most authors note a direct link between policy and formulation or planning and actual policy execution or implementation. (Van Meter and Van Horn: 1973; Bunker: 1972; Williams: 1975) Planning consists of an "advance laying out of a program of actions" with implementation following as the "carrying out of a program of actions." (Levine: 1972) According to this generally accepted view, knowledge of an appropriate implementation strategy is necessary before a program can be adequately designed. Thus, Williams concludes that "in its most general form, an inquiry about implementation. . . seeks to determine whether an organization can bring together men and material in a cohesive organizational unit and motivate them in such a way as to carry out the organization's stated objectives." (Williams: 1975)

The public policy definition of implementation gives the concept broad dimensions and scope. As applied to an actual policy or plan, implementation encompasses all program processes involved in execution, be they of technical, organizational, or economic origin. From an administrative control perspective, each of these processes provides opportunities as well as constraints for managerial action.

2. There are two competing views of policy implementation: compliance and politics of administration.

The traditional "implementation as compliance" approach stresses that clear policies and procedures emanate from the political process. Therefore, implementation involves the step-by-step carrying out of predetermined plans.

This approach takes as its starting point an assumption that subordinates "comply" with the policy directives of their leaders. (Campbell: 1977; Rabinowitz: 1976) It minimizes the importance of implementation by treating it as routine, predictable and apolitical. The compliance view is based on the conventional belief that politics (policy formulation and design) and administration (policy implementation) both are and ought to be separate spheres of activity.

The "politics of administration" approach, one that is currently gaining widespread support, holds that "implementation is a continuation into another arena of the political process." (Rabinowitz: 1976) This view holds that policies and procedures are strongly influenced, through refinement and reformulation, during the policy implementation stage. Implementation is seen as evolutionary and dynamic. As Rabinowitz views it,

If one . . . considers the politics of program administration a continuation of the legislative-political bargaining process rather than an altogether different and apolitical process, then one wants primarily to understand more about the conflicting imperatives in the politics of administration and how they can be managed. . . . Implementation becomes an attempt to reconcile three potentially conflicting imperatives: What is legally required; what is rationally defensible in the minds of the administrators; and what is politically feasible to attract agreement among the contending parties having a stake in the outcome. (Rabinowitz: 1976, p. 401)

According to the "politics of administration" approach, the implementation process is not highly predictable. (De: 1974) However, with careful research and examination, it should be possible to accumulate some basic knowledge about implementation characteristics--knowledge which could be used to improve the direction of management of this elusive process.

3. In developing countries, the "politics of administration" view of policy implementation is most accurate.

Prior to the 1970's it was common to find observers of Third World implementation matters taking the "compliance" approach. Smith argues that this approach is misdirected because it neglects the important policy implementation process role in developing country contexts. (Smith: 1973, p. 197) The compliance approach derives its major assumptions from experience with Western political and institutional conditions--conditions which are non-existent in most other areas. For example, many developing countries do not have a formal legislative system where organized interests can participate in and influence policy formulation. Thus,

The real role of interest groups and other interested groups, including political parties, comes when the policies are implemented by the government. It is at the implementation stage of the policy process when the policy may be abandoned by the government, implemented or modified to meet the demands of interested parties. (Smith: 1973, p. 198)

Smith contends that the highly politicized nature of implementation, combined with administrative shortcomings and related factors, makes policy implementation difficult to predict and manage in developing country contexts. Many authors support this position that implementation in developing countries is a very complex task. (Fritz: 1978; Swerdlow: 1975; Waterston: 1973; Weiss: 1976)

4. Implementation characteristics are partially determined by the nature of the policy being carried out.

Since implementation deals with executive policies, it follows that the substantive content of "the implementation process will vary depending on the nature of the policy to be carried out." (Van Meter and Van Horn: 1975, p. 458) The inherent complexity of a policy objective has a direct influence on implementation characteristics. Policies can be distinguished according to (1) the amount of change which is involved in their implementation and (2) the extent to which there is goal consensus among the participants in the implementation process. Accordingly, policy implementation should be most successful where minimal change is required and goal consensus is high. It should be least successful where major change is required and goal consensus is low.

B. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION CATEGORIES

Implementation is a new development buzz word. There are frequent references to implementation at international conferences and in the development literature. Therefore, it is not surprising that a plethora of implementation approaches and perspectives have emerged. Many observers are taking the opportunity to explain their versions of why particular programs succeed and fail and, I might add, offer their own customized prescriptions for making improvements.

In this context a brief review of the current state-of-the-art is formidable, and certainly inconclusive, for several reasons. First, many approaches are of recent origin, and only appear in partial form as their authors continue to elaborate various concepts and dimensions. In addition, some perspectives only cover a particular type of program or sector activity, making it difficult to assess their full importance. Others contain overlapping concepts or internal inconsistencies. In short, the state-of-the-art is in the midst of being developed, and an accurate snapshot of this evolving process is not easy to obtain.

The major focus of this section is to categorize what is currently known about program implementation in developing countries. This includes an examination of important conditions or factors which the literature identifies as being associated with--possibly as determinants--the program implementation process. Our initial effort here will do little more than to cluster these factors within several commonly found conceptual approaches to implementation. These approaches will be distinguished by their contributing authors and their underlying assumptions.

The several approaches are discussed and compared within one of two major program implementation categories. The first category encompasses general or macro program concerns as reflected in broad based administrative or sector development activities. Examples include the implementation of continuous ministerial operations or the execution of local government "law and order" functions. The second category is more bounded and micro in nature. It includes a range of discrete project activity implementation approaches.

One final note before proceeding. It is easy to forget in looking at different implementation approaches that development program "success" and "failure" are relative and subjective terms. Thus, we should keep in mind an astute observation made by Hirschman over ten years ago which still rings true. He states:

. . .all projects are problem-ridden; the only distinction appears to be between those that are more or less successful in overcoming their troubles and those that are not. (Hirschman: 1967)

In this view, our review seeks to note, but then look beyond, difficulties frequently encountered in the implementation process. In other words, we devote less attention to implementation problems and failures, and more attention to realistic opportunities for influencing program success.

1. General Administration Implementation Approaches

General Administration programs are typically broad-based and continuous in nature. Administered through national or regional bureaucratic organizations, they often include country-wide services in the areas of health, education, agriculture, or local administration as well as sector specific and area bound activities. (For various ways of describing this program category see Chambers: 1974, pp. 15-21; Korten: 1977, p. 17; and Paul: 1977, p. 85.) It frequently is not recognized that a majority of development activities in Third World countries fall into the General Administration category--they are ongoing and recurrent, not project specific and capital in nature (Chambers: 1974, p. 29). Thus, General Administration type programs deserve considerable attention.

Three conceptual approaches dealing with the implementation of programs in the General Administration category are found in the literature. They are labeled for purposes of this review as: (1) the Organization Capacity approach; (2) the Bureaucratic Values approach; and (3) the Western Technology approach. Each of the approaches is discussed below.

a. The Organization Capacity Approach

The overriding and distinguishing feature of this general approach is the position that program implementation performance can be directly attributed to levels of administrative capacity or capability. The term capacity, as used here in much of the literature, has a broad connotation. It refers to the level of ability in a developing country to implement programs through its bureaucratic structure.

A large segment of literature, especially in the area of development and comparative administration, discusses the pivotal role of administrative capacity in carrying out development efforts. (Katz: 1969; Korten: 1972; Rothwell: 1972; Siffin: 1977; Sigelman: 1976; Swerdlow: 1975)

Common implementation concerns are clustered according to whether they refer to administrative capacity at the national or local level. At both levels, capacity shortcomings are frequently attributed to: (1) the lack of trained manpower; (2) poor public servant attitudes; (3) lack of coordination and integration; and (4) inappropriate bureaucratic structures. (Chambers: 1974) Inadequate incentive systems are widely noted.

1. National Level Capacity

Many authors attribute poor implementation to a lack of national level ability, especially in commodity procurement and financing, to provide timely administrative support. (Flanucane: 1974; Hunter: 1976; Nellis: 1972) Specific areas which appear to be very weak in many of the least developed countries include:

- Ability to analyze the development context--Many countries still lack means to understand relevant features of the physical, technical, economic, social and institutional environment in which development takes place. (Agarwal: 1973; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976)
- Ability to appraise and adapt both hard and soft technology--Technology includes tangible tools and intangible techniques; both kinds of technology need to be considered during the implementation stage of a program. (Siffin: 1977)
- Ability to mobilize, allocate, and manage financial, material, and, perhaps most importantly, human resources--This is a basic shortcoming; it refers to the capacity to fully use (often through motivation schemes) available resources to accomplish development objectives. (For a discussion of various components see Caiden and Wildavsky: 1974; Black, Coleman and Stifel: 1977; Swerdlow and Ingle: 1974; and Paul: 1977)
- Ability to develop responsive and flexible organizations--This means the capacity to foster relevant structural changes and procedural effectiveness in private and public development organizations. (Chambers: 1974; Esman: 1978; Gable: 1973; Swerdlow: 1975)

To a large extent, the level of national administrative capacity appears to be determined by the level of a country's economic development. (Hall: 1975) Other things being equal, the relatively more developed countries have more organization capacity than the least developed ones.

ii. Local Level Capacity

In the last few years a great deal of literature has emerged which suggests that strong local organizations are instrumental in development program success, especially development which is characterized by both growth and equity. (Chambers: 1974; DAI: 1975; Esman: 1978; Owens and Shaw: 1972) The evidence gathered by the Cornell Rural Development Committee, in their case study review of rural development experience in eighteen Asian countries, supports this by noting,

The relationship between aspects of rural development and the extent and effectiveness of rural local organizations is complex and not all one-directional. . . Nevertheless, we think there is a strong empirical basis for concluding that local organization is in many respects and in most cases a necessary if not sufficient condition for accelerated rural development, especially development of a sort which improves the productivity and welfare of the majority of rural people. (Uphoff and Esman: 1974)

In many developing countries, local organization and administrative capability is a severe constraint to effective program implementation. (Honadle and Ingle: 1976; Honadle: 1977; Kadzamira: 1976) One observer explains it in this way:

But another set of preconditions also determines the ability of developing nations to implement integrated development plans: local administrative capacity is, perhaps, the most critical input needed to make the policy operational; and expanding that capability is one of the most intractable problems facing international assistance agencies and Third World governments. (Rondinelli: 1977)

A central theme running throughout the literature on this subject is the lack of leaders and institutions at the local level with the authority and resources required to carry out all types of development activities. (Korten: 1977) Inappropriate structuring in terms of horizontal and vertical linkages, lack of authority to make procedural changes at the local level, and an excessive number of levels through which a request must travel before it can be acted upon, are all cited as indicators that local organizations and administrative units do not have the capacity to properly implement development programs.

b. The Bureaucratic Values Approach

Closely related to the organizational capacity approach is a body of literature which stresses that bureaucracy, as it currently operates in Third World countries, is inappropriate for implementing development programs. This approach views bureaucratic organization as a separating and alienating institution for those clientele, such as the poor in developing countries, who neither fully understand or share its operational values and prescriptions. (Thomas: 1977) Such values, historically ascribed to bureaucracy by Weber,

include legal-rational behavior, standardized procedures, objective rather than subjective criteria, and equity of rule rather than equity of case. This position is elaborated by Thomas as follows:

. . . for organizations to function effectively, they must be ordered on criteria which are understood and accepted by the clients served by those organizations. In other words, there must be some measure of fit between the political and administrative culture of organizations and the culture of the society in which the organization exists. In developing societies where cultural norms and functional modes differ from those underlying the bureaucracy, the probability of a good fit is low.

Since most development efforts are carried out via the use of bureaucratic organizational structures, this lack of fit becomes an important concern. The capability of an administrative system does not depend solely upon the abilities of its administrators, it also depends heavily upon the capacity of its clients to use the system effectively. If the administrative system operates such that only those who share the values and norms inherent in its dynamic are able to participate in the benefits it has to offer, then there is little possibility for marginal client groups to link successfully with that system. (Thomas: 1978, p. 6)
(Emphasis added)

In development programs, the presence of inappropriate values often shows up unexpectedly in the form of serious implementation problems. Typical are the existence of major value conflicts (Havens: 1975; Hirschman: 1967; Marson: 1971) and a gradual erosion of overall commitment for rural oriented "growth-with-equity" programs. (Blair: 1976; Hansen: 1973; Vepa: 1974)

c. The Western Technology Approach

Many authors attribute implementation successes and failures, the current tenor of the literature being on the latter, to the transfer of Western managerial technology. (Siffin: 1977; Korten: 1977; Moris: 1977; Mendoza: 1977; Rondinelli: 1977) In brief, there is a deep concern over the transfer of what might be termed "inappropriate implementation technology."

This theme is mentioned frequently by Western and Third World scholars and needs to be reviewed in some detail. The argument is that many administrative concepts and practices accepted by western assistance agencies including A.I.D., the United Nations, and the World Bank are not suited to the development needs of Third World countries. Although this critique has been reflected in development literature for some time, it has gained renewed impetus with the recent shift in development emphasis to equity and the provision of basic human needs oriented assistance.

There are, as will be discussed below, many specific dimensions within this approach. However, two issues are predominant. First, it is felt that the value orientations of western management approaches are unsuited to

the internal administrative needs of Third World institutions and organizations. (Siffin: 1977; Moris: 1977; Mendoza: 1977) This theme complements the "Bureaucratic Values" approach reviewed above. Moris labels this dimension "administrative culture." He explains,

Administrative culture is the combined outcome of a long process of informal work socialization and the interaction of complex administrative structures. It is much less readily amenable to direct transfer (than are administrative techniques), perhaps hardly subject to transfer at all. (Moris: 1977, p. 77)

Moris contends that some segments of "administrative culture" must accompany the more tangible "administrative techniques" in order for a truly effective technology transfer to occur. Yet, he notes that almost nothing is known about the administrative culture prerequisites that underlie the effectiveness of techniques in the parent society. Given this dilemma, Moris proceeds to itemize no less than twenty common East African administrative culture characteristics which differ substantially from those in western societies. From this he concludes that bureaucratic implementation problems are of systemic "cultural" origin and cannot be dealt with by simple technique oriented solutions. In fact, he notes that implementation problems or weaknesses may themselves be a peculiarly western phenomenon as follows,

Why then does the (developing country administrative) system not collapse from its own inner weaknesses? The answer is that the above traits are "weaknesses" only from the standpoint of the particular assumptions that underlie administrative effectiveness within the western managerial tradition! Viewed as functional prerequisites in a social system, these same traits become organizational strengths that help to explain the extraordinary persistence of traditional bureaucratic focus under adverse conditions. (Moris: 1977, p. 80)

The second issue is that the managerial tools and techniques which western nations urge developing countries to adapt are overly complex, excessively planning or design oriented, and generally inadequate to deal with Third World implementation resource requirements. (Rondinelli: 1976; Chambers: 1977; Siffin: 1977; Taake: 1975) Rondinelli has labeled this a syndrome of "imperious rationality" which donors bring to bear on recipient countries. Chambers details how this syndrome operates,

The complex procedures delay projects. Delays to projects increase pressures for donors to spend. Pressures to spend exert biases towards the less poor developing countries, towards larger projects, towards urban areas, and within rural areas, towards those who are better off. In short, complex procedures divert development efforts away from the poorer rural people. (Chambers: 1977, p. 9)

Many aspects of the western management transfer process have been singled out as contributors to program implementation problems. Korten has summarized the major points found in the academic literature as follows:

1. The U.S. public administration technologies which were exported were inappropriate both to the task of development and to the environment in which they were to be used.
2. The emphasis on rules, procedures, formal structures, position classification, PPBS, and formal organizational specifications was better suited to system improvement within well-institutionalized socio-political systems than to the need of Third World nations for system development. Furthermore, these tools and techniques were not adequate for establishing organizations that would produce new outputs, stimulate new forms of behavior in their environment, and continue to innovate over time.
3. The separation of planning and implementation left the planners far removed from reality and generated in some planners a sense of omnipotence and a disdain for the lesser folk who were simply to follow their directions.
4. Comprehensive, multisectoral planning called ". . .for unavailable information, nonexistent knowledge, and a political stability in constant pursuit of aims undreamed of in. . .[the experience of most developing countries]."
5. The emphasis on planning was at the expense of the implementing managers on whose effectiveness and imagination the success or failure of a project was often dependent. The planning and control models failed to encourage ". . .an ability to rapidly identify and solve problems, an aggressive attitude toward overcoming obstacles, and a sense of power to change and implement. . ." at lower societal and organizational levels.
6. The technical assistance effort in administration was largely isolated from newly emerging insights in organization theory which was seriously challenging the "simplistic" models of the 1930's.
7. Planning activities tended to ignore the reality that power and knowledge is widely dispersed and that policy choices arise out of political competition among divergent interests. (Korten: 1977, p. 4)

In the final analysis, the Western Technology approach has become a far reaching critique of implementation strategies transferred to and imposed on developing countries. We should point out that there is negative bias implicit in this approach--it seeks to explain why implementation failures have occurred. A more balanced treatment of this approach, one that gives equal priority to successful implementation transfers, is needed but currently unavailable due to a noticeable lack of success oriented implementation literature.

2. Project Implementation Approaches

Development project implementation is the focus of a large number of recent studies. Compared to the literature available in the General Administration

category, project materials are more empirical and relate to individual instances of implementation performance. An overview of project research suggests that three implementation approaches should be included in this program category.

a. The Uncertainties and Latitudes Approach

The principal spokesman of this approach is A. Hirschman. His early and very comprehensive implementation study of development projects was undertaken in 1966, and is presented in Development Projects Observed.^{*} Hirschman inquires into the behavior of eleven World Bank projects (referred to by him as "privileged particles of the development process") which were diversified with respect to sector and geographical area and had been in the implementation stage for several years. Hirschman hoped that the findings from this varied sample would suggest some hypotheses on comparative project implementation behavior. As he explains,

My purpose was. . .to inquire whether significantly different experience with projects might be traced to what, for want of a better term, may be called their 'structural characteristics.' These range from economic and technical attributes. . .to organizational or administrative properties (for example, the organization that builds the project may also be in charge of operating it, as is typically the case in railways, but not in highways which are operated by independent truck owners). As a result of such characteristics some projects make greater implicit demands on human effort and on the socio-political environment than others. For example, some projects require technological innovation while others could not hope to succeed without lessening, at least within their own confines, racial, religious, or other hostilities among various sections of the community. To view project behavior as rooted in such structural characteristics and society at large should make a two-fold contribution to our understanding. (Hirschman: 1967, p. 4)

The contribution he refers to includes: (1) going far to explain and anticipate development successes and failures and (2) accepting a view that countries, even those with unequal endowments or capacity, develop as a result of how they actually manage the resources which they possess. The book greatly helps to increase understanding in both of these areas.

^{*}Hirschman uses but does not stress the term "implementation" in his study. His is one of the few available books which focuses on development implementation from both a conceptual and empirical perspective. It is interesting that few scholars currently writing about policy and program implementation mention Hirschman's work, even though many of the ideas they present are introduced and thoroughly discussed with case examples in his book. In our opinion, this is still the best single academic work in the area of project implementation.

Hirschman's approach is referred to in this review as "Uncertainties and Latitudes" since he highlights that implementation is set off from planning, and that it responds to many conditions which are totally unexpected at the time an activity is planned and approved. His account forcefully and convincingly depicts the implementation process as a vast arena of ignorance, uncertainties, difficulties, and (so as not to despair) of ample opportunities. As the basis for his widely referred to "Hiding Hand" principle, he observes that,

. . . each project comes into the world accompanied by two sets of partially or wholly offsetting potential developments: (1) a set of possible and unsuspected threats to its profitability and existence and (2) a set of unsuspected remedial actions that can be taken should a threat become real. . ." (p. 11)

Since project personnel often underestimate the second of these factors, namely the creativity dimension, Hirschman argues that it is also ". . . desirable to underestimate to a roughly similar extent the difficulties of the tasks we face. . ." In fact, he posits that some sort of invisible, beneficial hand does seem to operate to hide difficulties from us, thus the notion of a "Hiding Hand." Operationally, this principle suggests that, in selecting projects, it is probably better to overestimate tangible benefits and underestimate potential difficulties, since once embarked, it is likely that unexpected problem solving talent will emerge.

Following a discussion of this principle, the remainder of the book is devoted to discussing the unsuspected threats (called uncertainties) and potential unsuspected remedial actions (called latitudes and disciplines) that emerge during the implementation process. Hirschman's uncertainties fall into two categories: those connected with project output production--the supply side--and those connected with the use of outputs by intended beneficiaries--the demand side. Supply uncertainties are grouped into the three categories of technology, administration (or the human/managerial factor), and finance. Two types of demand uncertainties are also discussed. The first and most common danger is inadequate demand for project outputs--the familiar "white elephant" case. The opposite risk is for excess demand of outputs, a situation which can occur when outputs, such as water for irrigation, are limited. The result is frequently a high level of conflict between the actual and potential user groups.

In singling out effective "demand" for project outputs as a legitimate area of project implementation, Hirschman makes a valuable contribution. What this does in effect is to extend the scope of project objectives, and thus project management, beyond what is produced by the project organization to a consideration of what impact the production should have among the targeted user population. This is a much broader conception of program management than is conventionally found in the literature.

Hirschman's project observations lead him to an important conclusion about the occurrence of implementation uncertainties. Dividing the implementation process into two stages, construction and operations, he notes,

. . . problems arising during construction belong to the supply side, whereas problems arising during operation can originate in either the supply or the demand side. (p. 37)

This last statement demonstrates Hirschman's contention that some knowledge can be gained about the implementation process which may be useful in improving development efforts.

Hirschman spends considerable time reviewing implementation problems which are unforeseen and frequently extend beyond the control of planners and managers. Yet, on a more positive note, he contends that actual differences in project behavior are primarily determined, not by independent events, but by the various degrees of "latitude" or freedom which project personnel have to mold and influence program direction, regardless of outside occurrences. This latitude (labeled discipline), or the lack thereof, is largely determined by project specific propensities and pressures to which all project personnel are subject.

Hirschman's "latitude" categories include space, or location, and time. He points out that mediocre planning is likely to accompany site-bound projects such as integrated area development schemes due to their intrinsic appeal to program decision-makers. Likewise, project timing is often critical especially with respect to projects which depend heavily on nature. Since this is so, it follows that adherence to an implementation schedule is more critical in some types of projects than others. It is also noted that adhering to a schedule, however desirable, may have other effects--it may increase implementation costs and/or it may affect production performance. Thus, it is necessary to consider the three project management dimensions of time, cost and performance throughout the implementation stage.

In summary, Hirschman explains the implementation process in terms of two sets of factors. The first, environmental uncertainties, represents potential difficulties to development personnel. The other set, project latitudes, is seen as internal opportunities for implementation flexibility. Hirschman views implementation as an interactive process between a project and the broader environment in which it operates. He concludes that structural characteristics of projects affect the major interaction patterns, and therefore, performance success and failure. By understanding and dealing with the "latitude" factors, it is possible to influence the course that project implementation takes. In the final analysis, therefore, Hirschman's book is rather optimistic. A central theme is that, with intelligent management, it is possible to influence project success irrespective of existing conditions.

A significant theme in Hirschman's work which has been substantiated and refined by subsequent observers is as follows: implementation is basically an interaction process between existing patterns of action in an environment (for many different groups and at many different levels) and patterns of action internal to the program or project. A program, in an operational sense, seeks to realign existing patterns of interaction and institutions in order to accomplish development objectives. Hirschman describes and analyzes many of these realignments. Another author, T. Smith, goes further

in conceptualizing these implementation elements and characteristics. His approach is presented next.

Like Hirschman, Smith sees the implementation process as ". . .an attempt by government to induce changes in patterns of interaction between or within individuals, groups or institutions." (Smith: 1973, p. 200) For our purposes, Smith's model is most important in that it suggests a classification scheme for viewing the interaction patterns which give rise to important "uncertainties." He views the implementation context as comprised of four components: (1) an idealized policy; (2) the implementing organization; (3) the target group; and (4) environmental factors. The patterns of interaction which are realigned during implementation (referred to by T. Smith as "tensions," "transactions," and eventually "institutions") occur both within and between the four implementation context components. Smith contends that it may be possible to use this model to understand, and eventually devise ways to minimize, disruptive implementation interactions.

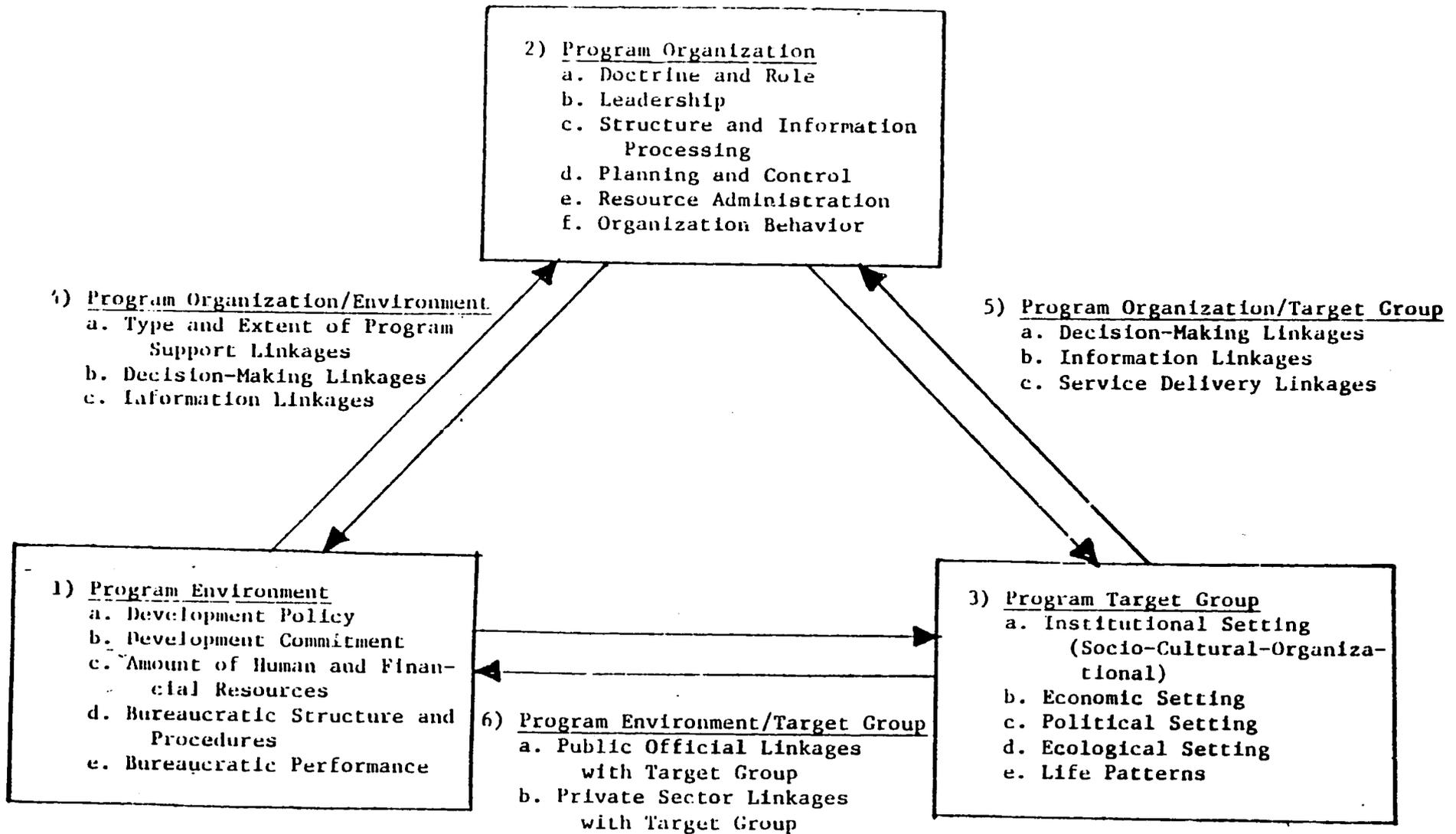
In order to gain a clearer understanding of Smith's model, we have adapted it to a program context as depicted in Figure 1. As the Figure indicates, there are six major program locations or settings where implementation interactions take place: (1) within the environment of the program organization; (2) within the program organization; (3) within the target group; (4) between the environment and the program organization; (5) between the program organization and the target group; and (6) between the target group and the environment. Generic types of implementation interactions mentioned in the project literature are also specified in Figure 1. Each of these interactions represents a potential implementation "uncertainty" for program and project personnel. But, following Hirschman's reasoning, each also represents an area of "latitude" where discipline can be successfully applied. For example, project leadership may be reassigned at a critical stage of the program--a major uncertainty; however, knowing that this is a frequent occurrence in a development project, planners may have established a procedure for quickly replacing leaders--a latitude. Thus, Smith views implementation as an uncertain, but partially manageable, dynamic political process.

Many authors reviewing implementation performance have demonstrated that "uncertainties" frequently occur within the Figure 1 program interaction locations. A few examples are summarized below by the location of the interaction.

- U. Lele finds in her study of seventeen rural development programs in sub-Saharan Africa that ". . .the effectiveness of implementation depends on the efficiency and the coordination ability of the regional administrations and of the general institutional development at the regional and local level." (Lele: 1975, p. 190) This demonstrates the importance of interactions within the Program Environment.
- G. Honadle finds, based on a Liberian project case study, that internal project organization dynamics can play an important role in distributing development benefits.

Figure 1:

Location and Generic Types of Implementation Interactions



(Honadle: 1978; also see Honadle: 1977; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976; Chambers: 1974; and Rondinelli: 1976) Thus, within Program organization interactions influence implementation.

- J. Tandler, in a recent A.I.D. sponsored study of nine programs in Latin America, finds that small farmer organization projects succeed when target group organization arrangements are direct, necessary, and exclusive. (Tandler: 1976; for related findings related to benefit distribution, see Ingle: 1977) Thus, Tandler's experience suggests that interactions within the Program Target Group are very important to implementation success or failures.
- P. Cleaves, in a study of bureaucratic politics and administration in Chile, shows how program organizations can be controlled, reinforced, or enervated for the implementation or thwarting of objectives. (Cleaves: 1974) Between Program Organization/Environment interactions often lead to program organization "mutation" or evolution during the implementation process. This organizational evolution can substantially affect implementation performance. (Thomas: 1974; Honadle and Ingle: 1976)
- J. W. Thomas, in a review of irrigation experience in South Asia, notes that, "It is quite probable that installation (project) techniques will have some effect on farmer utilization, operation, and maintenance, as they did in Comilla. . . . Farmers who have participated in the installation of the well, having spent four weeks working on it, are likely to have a much greater understanding of well operations as well as personal investment in it." (Thomas: 1975; also see Havens: 1975; Lele: 1975; Development Alternatives, Inc.: 1975; Yudelman: 1975; Tiffen: 1974) Much of the literature on small farmer participation and involvement stresses that interactions between the program organization and the target group influence implementation success.
- Although more difficult to categorize and measure, interactions between the program environment and the target group also influence implementation. Examples might include the organizational structures which exist in an area prior to the initiation of a project. (Esman: 1978)

Project implementation performance has also been analyzed in terms of the latitudes inherent in various project structural characteristics. For example, projects have to be classified according to whether they are experimental, pilot, demonstration or production. (Radosevich: 1974; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976) It is generally assumed that production projects, more than the other three types, have less "uncertainties" and greater "latitudes." (Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976, p. 99; Reisman and DeKluyver: 1977)

Another study focuses on "policy process" and "project structure" factors to explain the delays and cost overruns in nineteen Central American highway projects. (Wynia: 1972)

Overall, and when applied in this manner, the Uncertainties and Latitudes approach is useful for understanding project implementation performance.

b. The Nature of the Project Approach

The core of this perspective is that some projects are by their very nature intrinsically more difficult to implement than others. It is therefore reasonable to expect that implementation successes and failures will be a function of certain definable project related characteristics.

Many project related characteristics have been singled out as being important to implementation. In Section A we discussed two general factors which often emerge as implementation determinants: extent of goal consensus and amount of change required by the program.

J. W. Thomas and R. Hook discuss the importance of initial and continuing goal consensus in their manual on Creating Rural Employment. They note,

Unless there is a strong political commitment to adhere to the basic objectives of the program and to reinforce the procedures that serve these objectives, the program will, over time, undergo a fundamental alteration which will change its political purposes. (Thomas and Hook: 1977, p. 124)

In fact these authors indicate that rural public works programs are frequently implemented more successfully than other types of rural development programs because it is relatively easier to maintain political agreement upon this kind of program than on more politically sensitive ones (e.g., land reform or resettlement). Of course, the amount of change required in implementing a program also influences the political support or opposition which a program generates.

With the recent emphasis on "New Directions" programs, a distinction between two different kinds of development projects has emerged: traditional capital or technical projects and "new" people or social projects. The "Nature of Projects" approach is characterized by literature which discusses the implications of these two kinds of projects. The general implementation premise supported by the literature is that, other things being equal, implementation problems and failures are most likely to occur when self-sustaining behavior change among one or more target groups is included as a success criteria for project performance. This position is widely supported. (Vepa: 1974, Iglesias: 1976; Hirschman: 1967; Kortzen: 1977; Weiss, Waterston and Wilson: 1976; and Black: 1977) Vepa, for example, points out that "social" or "people" oriented projects impose ". . . new problems of implementation which need to be clearly recognized at the outset by planners and implementors." Citing several case studies he explains the rationale for this as follows:

The organization of the programme involved the local populations which also contributed to their success. . . The case studies clearly bring out the need for translating the vague social objectives into a programme of action and targets which are easily understood by the field personnel. Most significantly, such programmes must have the willing support of the people for whose benefit they have been formulated--and this, in the ultimate analysis, is the hardest task of all in the process of implementation. (Vepa: 1974, pp. 183-184)

Several common features of people oriented projects are mentioned as reasons which contribute to their implementation difficulty. These include: dispersed locations, relatively small size, difficulty in monitoring and assessment, devolved nature, and management intensive character, among others. All of these features make the implementation task of major behavioral change oriented projects more complex and unpredictable than purely technical ones.

c. The Implementation Cycle Approach

Many development scholars, and especially those involved in teaching or training, conceptualize implementation as a cyclical process. (Hirschman: 1967; Maxwell Training: 1977; Waterston: 1969; Wynia: 1972; Radosevich: 1974; Rondinelli: 1975, 1976; Rondinelli and Radosevich: 1975; Solomon: 1978; East-West Center: 1977) They view implementation as a series of interrelated phases, each possessing unique and observable characteristics.

Hirschman applied the cyclical approach in his project review. He observed that most projects are implemented by first constructing or activating some entity, then by operating and maintaining it, and finally by having operations continue subsequent to project completion. He further notes that "uncertainties" and "latitudes" are often grouped or arranged according to these implementation phases. For example, the type of uncertainty found in a project depends on whether a project is in the construction stage or the operations stage. Many other implementation observers have taken a similar perspective and their ideas are discussed below.

The assumption which underlies the implementation cycle approach is that development programs and projects move through a series of stages from the point of their conception to the point when their goals are accomplished. The eventual success of a particular project depends on performing key "project management functions" at each stage. This perspective has been described as follows:

The success of development project systems depend, ultimately, on the successful performance of project management functions. Within the broad systems framework that envelops a project structure, is a specific set of components, processes, and relationships that must be planned and coordinated. Internal decision-making and operating processes must be integrated, through the management of complex linkages, with the environmental pressures and forces exerted on the project organization. Project management functions

include both highly analytical and qualified processes of planning, appraisal, programming, scheduling and controlling of material and financial resources and production activities, and, more ambiguous and less quantifiable functions of problem solving and of organizing, motivating, leading, coordinating and redirecting human resources and social and political influence. (Radosevich: 1974, pp. 26-27)

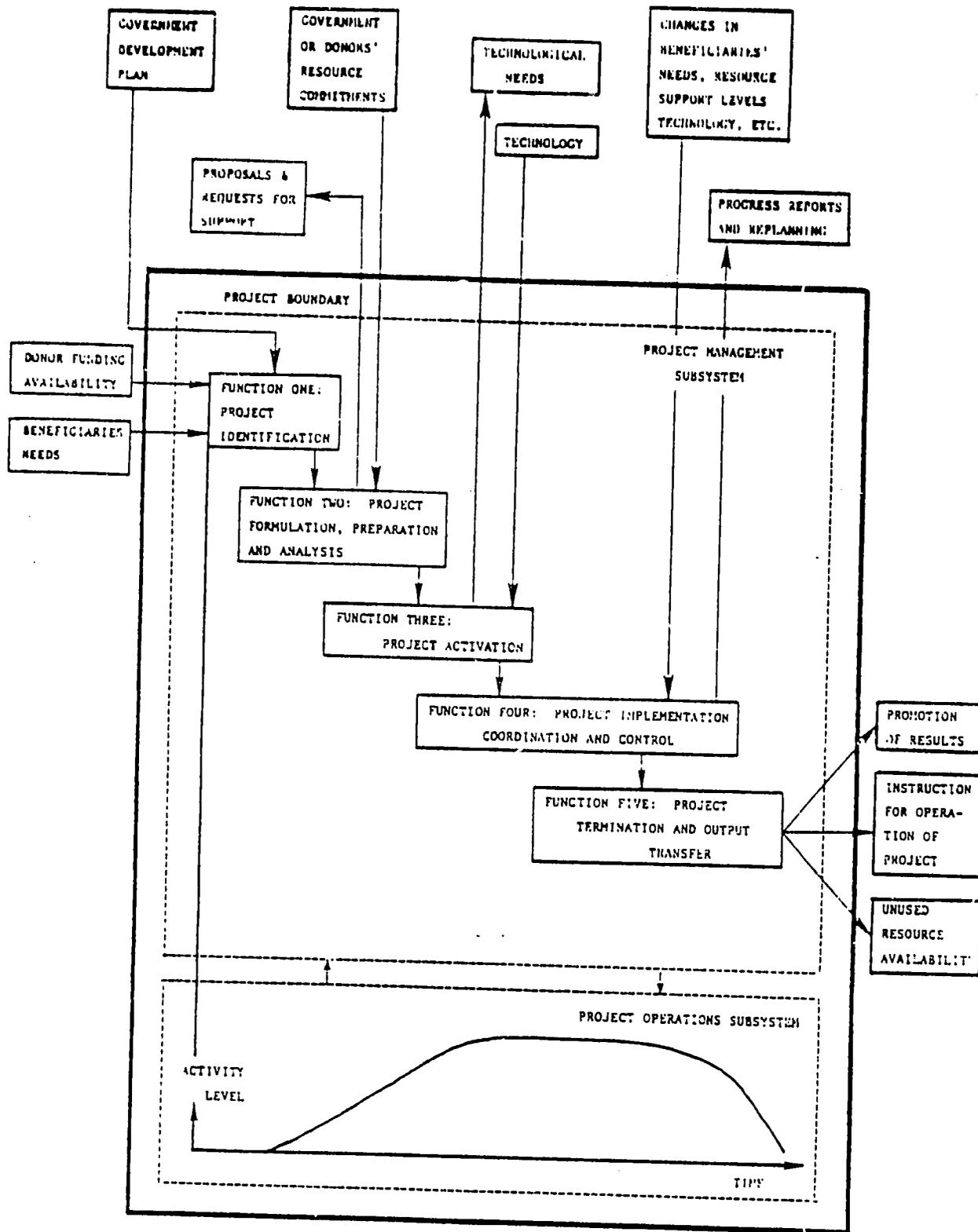
A functional description of major project stages and functions, as depicted in Radosevich's article, is presented in Figure 2.

The implementation cycle, as a subset of the general management cycle, encompasses specific program phases which are directly related to implementation. Although development observers differ somewhat on the precise composition of this implementation cycle, most support a model with five distinct categories. A graphical presentation of this model is presented in Figure 3.

Available evidence suggests that most projects move through, in a cyclical and interactive fashion, five implementation stages. The first, Implementation Analysis, Planning and Redesign starts before project implementation formally begins. In response to feedback on unexpected changes in the task-environment, this stage may be reinvoked in the form of reanalysis and redesign activity. The second phase is Program Initiation and Start-Up. This phase includes organizing and activating, steps that begin following formal negotiation and approval. In most programs this is referred to as the contracting and procurement stage. Following that comes Program Operations, sometimes referred to as the coordination, monitoring and control stage. At this point the program can be expected to be fully operational, and target group members should begin to use program outputs in the intended manner. Since programs usually operate within a specified time frame, a fourth stage incorporates Program Phase-Out Activities. During this phase decisions are made to either institutionalize operations or terminate them. Finally, the literature usually refers to an Impact Assessment stage where program experience is evaluated, and recommendations are made for future activities. In actual practice much of what is referred to as impact assessment or program evaluation can occur during the program operation and completion stages. For a recent classification of development literature by program phases refer to D. Rondinelli and A. Palia, Project Planning and Implementation in Developing Countries: A Bibliography on Development Project Management.

Various scholars have discussed problems which tend to occur within the several implementation stages. Specific problems which have been identified as occurring at each of these stages are elaborated below. This list incorporates implementation problems listed by various authors, but draws most heavily on problems identified by Rondinelli and Radosevich. Several excellent project case studies using this approach are also available from the East-West Center. (See East-West Center: 1977; Garilao: 1977; Whang: 1977; Noranitipadungkarn: 1977; Tjokroamidjojo: 1977; and Love: 1977)

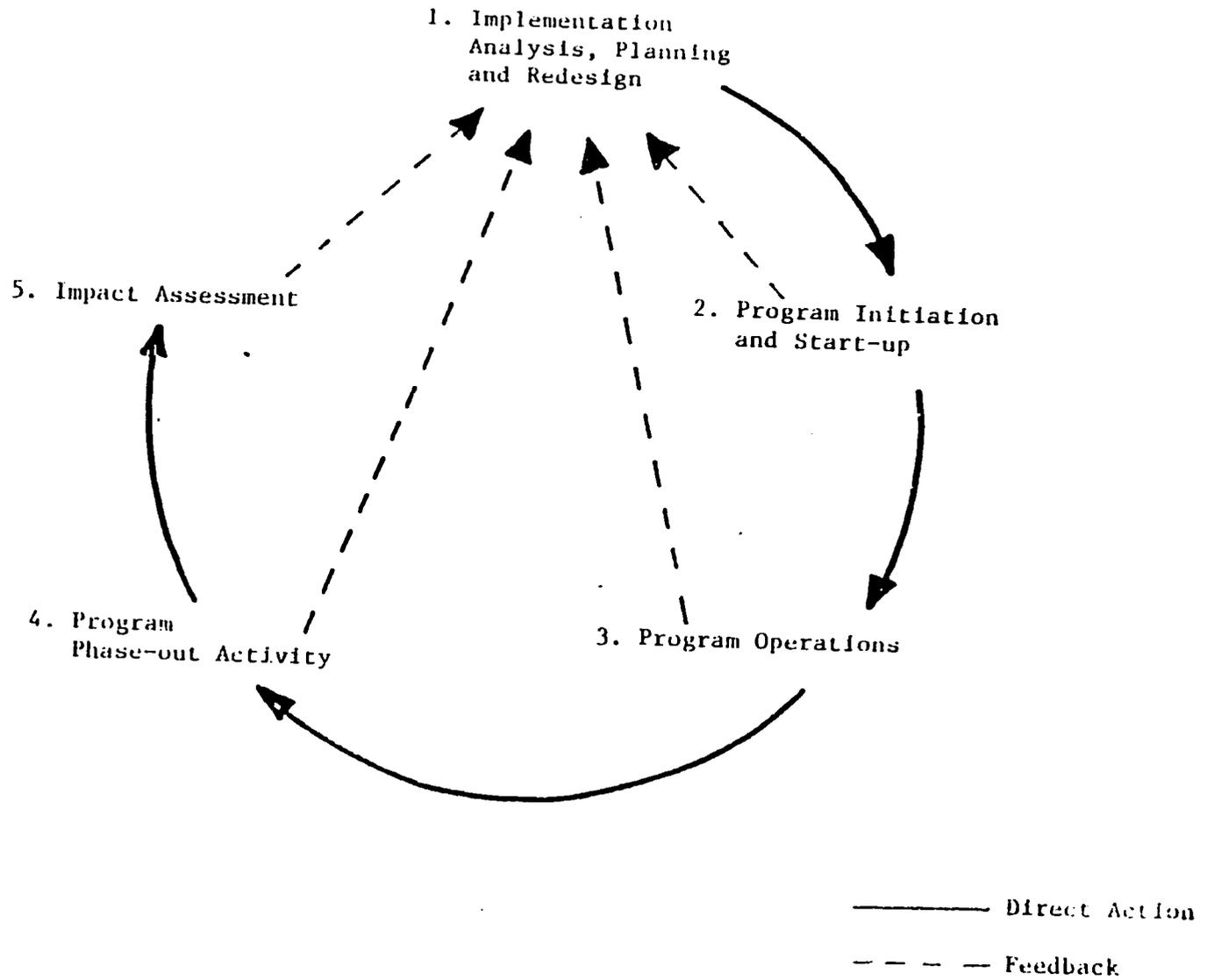
Figure 2: A Functional Description of the Development Project System



Adapted from Radosevich, Development Project Management; 1974

Figure 3:

The Program Implementation Cycle



- i. Implementation Analysis, Planning and Redesign Problems (See Rondinelli and Radosevich: 1975; Chambers: 1977; Honadle: 1977; Allison: 1975; Hargrove: 1975)

Availability of investment funds or potential returns, in financial terms, influences project selection more than a careful consideration of a broad variety of factors which may influence the overall impact of the project such as social, cultural, political, and environmental conditions.

Technical considerations often tend to receive more weight than social, cultural, or political factors.

Not enough effort is exerted to obtain relevant data on project feasibility and deal with problem areas in the project design.

Inadequate knowledge of local and national conditions, and insufficient assessment of implementation capability. This may involve either an over-estimation or an understatement of potential capacity.

The short-run goals, objectives and the interest of donor agencies tend to have more weight than the long-run goals and objectives of the recipient countries.

- ii. Program Initiation and Start-Up Problems (See Rondinelli and Radosevich: 1977; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976; and Rabinowitz: 1976)

Initial administrative hurdles and bureaucratic delays in (1) Obtaining the preliminary official sanctions (green light) and necessary legal and political clearances to actually activate the project; (2) Obtaining office space, office equipment, transport facilities that are essential for the establishment of the program organization; and (3) Getting appropriate management staff appointed.

Delays in the selection and recruitment of personnel from local sources due to a shortage of trained manpower.

Delays and time lags in getting appropriate technical manpower from abroad due to selection, recruitment, and retraining for new responsibilities.

Delays in getting appropriate logistics and essential supplies ready for the actual execution of the project.

Failures and/or delays in organizing and scheduling for project implementation.

Delays in getting essential policies enunciated, legislation enacted, and formal operational procedures developed. These are necessary for the smooth execution of the project.

- iii. Program Operations Problems (See Rondinelli and Radosevich: 1975; Hirschman: 1967; Vepa: 1974; Wynia: 1972)

Unnecessary political interference in the normal operation of the project.

Operational inefficiency due to lack of trained managerial and administrative personnel.

Inadequate incentives to attract well-trained and highly skilled manpower from local sources and the lack of sufficiently favorable conditions to maintain them once employed.

Difficulties and delays in obtaining equipment, material supplies, and other essential supplies because they are unavailable locally and/or costly and time-consuming to obtain from outside (abroad).

Lack of interaction and coordination among the different government departments that are supposed to support project operations.

Lack of sufficient commitment to effectively involve local people (prospective project beneficiaries) in project operations.

Unfavorable local conditions (social, cultural, economic, political, environmental) for carrying out the project as originally intended.

Lack of active and continuous local support due to unfulfilled target group expectations.

- iv. Program Phase-Out Problems (See Rondinelli and Radosevich: 1975; Bardach; 1976; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976; Development Alternatives, Inc.: 1975)

A general emphasis on and pre-occupation with tangible and physical project returns rather than the creation of the means and the conditions for development of self-sustaining systems. In other words failure to foresee and plan for what is desirable to happen beyond the life of the project.

Lack of sufficient exploration of the different methods and approaches through which the achievement of project goals and objectives can be attained in the long run.

Unfavorable local conditions for institutional development-- social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, etc.

v. **Impact Assessment Problems (See Rondinelli and Radosovich: 1975; Weiss Waterston, and Wilson: 1976)**

Failure to understand the management uses of evaluation in guiding the project to achieve its goals and objectives.

Neglect in spelling out evaluation in the project design.

Failure to keep appropriate records of ongoing project activities for use in the final evaluation.

Delays in completing evaluations.

Failure to undertake evaluation at the termination of the project due either to the lack of time, resources and personnel or unfavorable political conditions.

Most of the implementation problems at any one stage in the cycle can be traced back to deficiencies in an earlier stage. In general, deficiencies in the Implementation Analysis and Planning stage appear to have the most substantial overall effect on implementation performance. However, no matter how excellent the implementation plan is, problems will tend to emerge as projects are implemented.

C. MANAGING IMPLEMENTATION: CONVENTIONAL AND EMERGING STRATEGIES

Several descriptive accounts of the implementation process were discussed in the previous section. Using these descriptions as a point of reference, we will now move to a state-of-the-art examination of current academic thinking on prescribed implementation strategies--the management of the program implementation process. The "management of" or "managing" of implementation refers to the mobilization and direction of resources to accomplish desirable program results.

Prescribed implementation strategies will be grouped, similar to the Implementation Approaches presented above, within the General Administration and the Development Project program categories. Our review surfaced three distinct strategies which fit into the General Administration category. They include Institution Building, Administrative Reform, and Folk Management. The three major project categories include Implementation Analysis, Target Group Involvement, and Organizing/Operating.

1. General Administration Implementation Strategies

The General Administration strategies share a common theme--they are all concerned with improving the development implementation performance of Third World country bureaucracies and institutions. The point of divergence among the strategies is on "how" to proceed in making the administrative improvements. In this section we will stress observable differences and implicit operational assumptions about available administrative and managerial

support, the appropriateness of western administrative approaches, and the basic desirability of transferring relatively complex program management systems into developing country contexts.

a. The Institution Building Strategy

This strategy is founded on the premise that poor development implementation performance is a result of inadequate institutional capacity or capability. Thus, institution building emerges as the appropriate mechanism for bringing about administrative reform. According to a founder of the Institution Building strategy,

Institution building may be defined as the planning, structuring, and guidance of new or reconstituted organizations which a) embody changes in values, functions, physical, and/or social technologies, b) establish, foster, and protect new normative relationships and action patterns, and c) obtain support and complementarity in the environment. (Esman: 1969)

The notion of creating "viable development institutions" is fundamental to the institution building strategy. (For a comprehensive review of this Institution Building literature see Blaise: 1973)

The existence of viable institutions is what Esman refers to as the "end states of the institution building process--the directions toward which ventures should be moving." (Esman: 1969) As Esman conceived it, the criteria for these "end-state" institutions would be specific for each activity, but in general have the following attributes:

- Technical capacity, the ability to deliver technical services which are innovations to the society at an increasing level of competence, whether they be teaching agricultural sciences, enforcing income taxes or providing family planning services.
- Normative commitment, the extent to which the innovative ideas, relationships and practices for which the organization stands have been internalized by its staff--for example the merit system for personnel selection or participative roles for students.
- Innovative thrust, the ability of the institution to continue to innovate so that the new technologies and behavior patterns which it introduced may not be frozen in their original form, but the institution can continually learn and adapt to new technological and political opportunities.
- Environmental image, the extent to which the institution is valued or favorably regarded in the society. This can be demonstrated by its ability to a) acquire resources without paying a high price in its change objectives, b) to operate in ways that deviate from traditional patterns, c) to defend

itself from attack and criticism, d) to influence decisions in its functional area, and 3) to enlarge and expand its sphere of action.

- Spread effect, whether the innovative technologies, norms or behavior patterns for which the institution stands have been taken up or integrated into the on-going activities of other organizations.

The Institution Building writers have focused their efforts on the process of putting in place the conditions required to "build" an institution. Esman's model of the institution building universe defines a series of "conditions precedent" for an institution and, in addition, places the institution in its environmental context:

"In the guiding concepts there are two groups of variables or factors that are considered important to understanding and guiding institution building activity. These are the "institution variables," which are essentially concerned with the organization itself, and the "linkage variables," which are mainly concerned with external relations." (Esman, 1969)

The empirical question of whether "viable" institutions have actually been created by the building process is given less treatment in the literature. The preliminary ideas advanced by Esman have only recently been refined and presented in terms which allow an empirical assessment of their utility.

Several years ago, Practical Concepts Incorporated (PCI) became interested in measuring and evaluating organizational performance in less developed country contexts. Drawing on the Institution Building experience, PCI undertook a research effort to refine Esman's "end-state" institution concepts in the form of an Institutional Viability Model (PCI, 1974). This model focuses on the development of "viability" indicators and a practical measurement approach.

In the Institution Viability Model, an institution is defined as a significant practice, relationship or organization in a society or culture; an established organization or corporation. Viability is defined as capable of living, capable of growing or developing, capable of existence or working, functioning, or developing adequately, capable of existence or development as an independent unit as when a colony becomes a state. The definition for viability gives meaning to the term "established organization" in the definition of an institution, i.e., an institution or organization capable of existence and development as an independent unit. In developing this model, PCI's first step was to define the characteristics that made an organization viable and then define ways of measuring institutional viability.

The following three properties were determined to be essential to an organization, and instrumental in establishing viability:

- Image: The cognitive dimension of what people think about an organization: knowledge, on the part of those internal as

well as external to the organization, as to what the organization is and does, and why it exists;

- Connotation: The affective dimension of attitudes held about an organization: the assessment of where individuals internal and external to the organization place the organization's image in their structure of personal beliefs and priorities;
- Purchasables: Money and the things that have been or can be bought or purchased.

This model of measuring organizational viability differs from traditional measures of organizational performance by focusing not only on the effectiveness and efficiency of the organization, but also on its ability to continue to produce in an effective and efficient manner in a new situation, that is, to continue to develop as a functioning unit. In measuring effectiveness (the actual production of power to produce an effect) and efficiency (productivity without waste), the focus is on end-states which tell us whether organization X is or is not fulfilling its mission. Viability goes beyond an assessment of effectiveness and efficiency in the near term to deal more directly with the organization's ability to continue to produce without waste in new situations by assessing integrated effectiveness--total effect--over the life of an organization.

The Institution Building strategy has been applied extensively in developing countries. Most of the research attention has been given to ministry level or sector specific programs such as improvements of divisions and bureaus or the creation of major educational/research institutions. In recent years there have been several attempts to make the Institution Building strategy easier to understand and use. (Duncan: 1975)

Of the three General Administration strategies reviewed here, this one currently appears furthest removed from the implementation of "New Directions" related policies. Little has been written by Institution Building proponents on how this strategy can be directly used to support the implementation of rural and urban programs. There is widespread awareness that ministerial programs have substantial development impact, but little has been done to orient the Institution Building literature to issues of local administration (as opposed to national) and to the areas of urban and rural development. Potentially rewarding concepts that are closely related to the Institution Building strategies include: Management training at all levels (Paul: 1977; Siffin: 1977; Black: 1977; Swerdlow and Ingle: 1974); Institutional capability and productivity (Katz: 1969); and improved incentive structures (Moris: 1977; Mendoza: 1977).

The Institution Building strategy, as employed to date, has several limitations. Its overall complexity makes it difficult to readily understand and apply in specific situations where a lack of administrative capacity has been identified as a major constraint to successful implementation. Secondly, there is a tendency to look upon institution building as an end in itself rather than a means to the development of truly "viable" development institutions. In general, the Institutions Building strategy is potentially valuable

for developing countries. However, it requires substantial re-examination and extension if it is to be effectively used in conjunction with "New Directions" development objectives. One prescription for the Institution Building strategy, which reflects the tenor of the literature is,

The policy warrants a re-examination. Institutions staffed with qualified personnel are needed. The trick is to develop the incentives necessary to insure that the institutions are answerable to the groups they are established to serve. Mutual accountability must be built in; effective service delivery systems are needed. (Morss: 1977, p. 18)

Other literature which may assist in moving the Institution Building strategy toward the accomplishment of development objectives includes the pieces by Pooler and Duncan: 1972; Thorsen: 1972; and PCI: 1974.

b. The Administrative Reform Strategy

The major theme of this strategy is that prevailing bureaucratic values are largely incompatible with the successful implementation of development programs, especially those with a "New Directions" orientation. Thus, there is an immediate need for major administrative reform. Two different approaches for accomplishing the required reforms are described in the literature-- the integrated sectoral management approach and devolutionary reform approach. Both of these are discussed below.

The integrated sectoral management approach begins with the premise that programs will be successfully implemented to the extent that they operate within a favorable national administrative environment. A statement of this position, as applied to rural development, follows,

. . . rural development can be accelerated and given a specific direction and purpose (in this case the reduction of rural unemployment and, through it, rural poverty) if more attention is paid to preparing the "soil" for effective rural projects and less to tinkering with this or that aspect of the project itself, however successful it may have been in some particular context of time and environment. . . Thus, while favorable national environments cannot by themselves induce development neither can projects succeed without such an environment. (Ahmed: 1975, p. 141)

Proponents of the integrated management approach look to fundamental and comprehensive administrative reform as the suitable method for "preparing the soil" for more successful implementation. What is needed is the development of more appropriate administrative structures, or as one spokesman notes,

The key is to develop structures which nurture and facilitate rather than stifle the exercise of such (management) capability. Doing so may well be the most critical challenge currently in the development field. (Korten: 1977, p. 21)

The integrated management approach argues that thinking in narrow sectoral or single administrative level terms is obsolete, as evidenced by the poor implementation performance of conventional "trickle down" and "community mobilization and development" strategies. What is required for responsive development implementation is an integrative, lateral system combined with vertical administrative structures. The characteristics of the emerging system of institutional structures envisioned within this strategy include,

- A national planning unit responsible for integrating economic and social planning capabilities and concerns.
- A matrix organizational structure with at least three dimensions reflecting sector, program, and geographical lines of coordination.
- A major authority at each administrative level responsible for all governmental activities within the geographical area, possessing a regional planning capability closely tied to implementation, and having political as well as administrative accountability.
- Sectoral ministries responsible for providing staff technical support and for maintaining technical standards with representatives at each administrative level responsible to the regional authority.
- High priority intersectoral programs, such as family planning, with program management units at the appropriate administrative levels.
- Highly organized communities providing major sources of initiative through a number of interlinking organizations including youth groups, women's groups, cooperatives, health committees, irrigation authorities, etc., and involving wide participation in leadership roles. (Korten: 1977)

This approach has gained many proponents in recent years. (Ahmad: 1975; Belshaw, Bjørlo and Shah: 1973; Brown: 1975; Chambers: 1974; Gaikwad: 1975; Kadzamira: undated; Korten; 1976a and b; Lele: 1975; Morss: 1977; Rondinelli and Ruddle: 1977; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976; Kulp: 1977)

Conceptually, the integrated management approach is very appealing. This strategy recognizes the numerous factors that can constrain program implementation and attempts to deal with them simultaneously. In operation, however, this strategy has itself been constrained by the heavy and frequently unreasonable resource and behavioral demands which it places on developing country bureaucracies. In essence, this strategy itself lacks implementation feasibility! Korten: 1977; Morss: 1977; and others attempt to deal with these limitations by arguing that this strategy will be effective under

certain conditions. In the practice of the developing countries and technical assistance agencies, however, the fact remains that these minimum pre-conditions do not usually exist.

Another segment of the administrative reform literature focuses on the structuring of local administration and local organizations.

Thomas suggests that "devolutionary strategies" are required for participatory and equitable development programs. Based on the premise that most bureaucratic values are inappropriate, he concludes that devolved organizational forms are both effective and compatible with existing developing country approaches. Citing the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) experience and several domestic U.S. programs, he proposes that implementing organizations be developed with several structural characteristics:

- Devolution--the sharing of power accomplished primarily through partnership and contracting mechanisms.
- Clustering--limited and semi-autonomous capacity identified with the specification of authority granted to an organizational unit both in jurisdiction and time.
- Temporal boundedness--limited authorized time for task accomplishment and performance.
- Political-administrative integration--the entity that enables the integration of administrative/technical/professional services with political power and responsibility within the organization. (Thomas: 1978: p. 30)

The literature on the devolutionary implementation approach is quite extensive, the Thomas material being a fairly comprehensive attempt at summarizing the current thinking in the area. (For a recent Bibliography in this area see Beyna, et al.: 1977)

An increasing amount of attention is being given to the importance of local organizations in the development process. (DAI: 1975; Owens and Shaw: 1972; Esman: 1978; Tendler: 1977; and Uphoff and Esman: 1974) A recent article which clearly explains the role of local organizations--referred to as constituency organizations--stresses that organized local constituencies are essential to permit government service-providing agencies to reach and interact effectively with their target clients. (Esman: 1978) As related to rural development, constituency organizations perform four major functions:

- (1) They mediate between administrative agencies and their mass publics;
- (2) They control administration;
- (3) They facilitate mutual assistance; and
- (4) They make claims.

Esman sums up the rationale of this perspective by noting that the constituency organization approach emphasizes,

. . . active linkages and transactions between service agencies of the state and their low income mass constituencies are essential to the administrative process itself, (and) to the effective design and implementation of development programs. A precondition

of these linkages and transactions, thus an important task for development administrators and their political allies, is to see to the organization of these constituencies.

c. The Folk Management Strategy

Folk Management, a term coined by R. Iversen of Syracuse University, is used here to encompass various implementation efforts which employ indigenous management approaches and techniques. Folk Management has recently emerged (and in some instances re-emerged in slightly different form) in response to the problems encountered with the Institution Building and Administrative Reform strategies. Much of its support comes from those who are desirous of promoting self-sustaining development processes within a basic human needs framework.

Folk management is based on several premises. The first is that national and local administrative capacity in developing countries is "a fairly inelastic scarce resource." (Chambers: 1969) Thus, it is not feasible to make substantial improvements in general administrative capacity in a short or intermediate time frame. A second premise is, as discussed in relation to the Bureaucratic Values approach above, that the incentive structures of many administrative units are non-developmental in nature and function, with a strong elitist bias. Thus, it is unwise to rely on currently constituted governmental units to accomplish development results. Third, Folk Management assumes that a substantial amount of large unused indigenous management capacity (or potential) exists at all societal levels--in Hirschman's words, certain administrative and management "traits" are evident in all human environments. (Hirschman: 1967) Thus, the proponents of Folk Management seek ways to productively harness the management resources and skills which already exist and are generally acceptable in improving implementation performance. The underlying rationale is as follows,

On the other hand, it is occasionally found that such nonconventional sources as are locally available can satisfactorily and perhaps even advantageously be substituted for conventional inputs. This outcome would suddenly make trait-taking very appealing: it would permit a country to put the stamp of its own resource endowment and personality on its undertakings, and might even make it hit in the process on its own comparative advantage when it had considered its own resources as strictly second-rate and perhaps as backward. (Hirschman: 1967, p. 135)

In many ways Folk Management represents an application of appropriate technology principles to the area of development management--thus the label of appropriate managerial technology. For example, Folk Management stresses low overhead, compatibility with local social conditions, comparatively light capital investment, optimum use of available resources, and easy operation and maintenance locally without intensive support requirements. As an implementation strategy, Folk Management has taken on many different forms. A few of these are summarized below.

Chambers feels that an effective management system at the local level, based on simple and practical procedures, can markedly improve the performance of rural programs. (Chambers: 1977) As he puts it,

Without a management system which allows, encourages and rewards the exercise of initiative and performance of good work, it is scarcely surprising that field staff have often appeared to those in the centre to justify adverse comment. . . . But on the basis of many subjective impressions, and also of the experimental work . . . , it appears that most field staff have a far greater capability for managing their work than most of their superior officers assume.

The four main shifts implied by these analyses--from urban bias to rural; from plan formulation and budgetary to programming, implementation and monitoring; from capital projects to recurrent resource management; and from hierarchical, authorization administration to more decentralized and democratic management of field staff --combine with the earlier argument for more attention to procedures to make a case for reallocations of manpower resources and for training and recruitment for new skills. (Chambers: 1974, p. 31)

In addition to many other implementation suggestions, Chambers suggests that programs be undertaken which are ". . . administrative sparing, both in intensity and in the persistence of their requirements." (Chambers: 1969, p. 8)

Other forms of Folk Management deal with: Program scale (The literature strongly suggests that relatively small programs effectively adapt and use local management capability--Development Alternatives, Inc., 1975; 1977; Caiden and Wildavsky: 1974; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976); Administrative culture (The need to use existing structures to avert transfer of technology problems--Moris: 1972 and 1977); and Front-line training or knowledge-training-communications systems (Ideas put forth by T. Owens and R. Iversen to teach at the local level in terms that are readily grasped and transferred--Owens in Swerdlow and Ingle: 1974, p. 32).

2. Development Project Implementation Strategies

A considerable number of books, articles, and research reports are available which present project specific implementation prescriptions. (Belshaw and Chambers: 1973; Chambers: 1974; Diaz-Cisneros: 1974; Espinasse: 1973; Gable and Springer: 1973; Gaikwad: 1975; Hirschman: 1967; Honalde: 1977 and 1978; Honadle and Ingle: 1976; Hunter: 1974; Iglesias: 1976; Lele: 1975; Mickelwait, Sweet, and Morss: 1978; Montgomery: 1972 and 1974; Morss: 1974 and 1977; Packard: 1970; Reder: 1971; Rizzo and Koteen: 1976; Practical Concepts Incorporated: 1975; Rondinelli: 1976, 1977, 1978; Rondinelli and Ruddle: 1976; Solomon: 1970; Tandler: 1976; Thomas and Hook: 1977; Yudelman: undated; Deip, Thesen, Mctiwalla, and Seshadri: 1977; East-West Center: 1977; Kulp: 1977; Moris: 1973; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976 and many others in my list of references). In all of this material, with the exception of a brief piece by Morss: 1977 and the rural development sector

book by Chambers: 1977, there are no attempts to synthesize project implementation strategies.

In this report we are using a simple typology for classifying project strategies. The typology consists of three categories: (1) prescriptions about implementation analysis and assessment; (2) prescriptions about target group involvement; (3) prescriptions about organizing and operations. With some bending and squeezing, it is possible to consider the range of implementation prescriptions under one of these headings.

a. Implementation Analysis and Assessment Strategy

A rapidly growing body of literature emphasizes the importance of high quality implementation planning. Recognizing that project implementation performance can be directly traced to implementation planning (both substantive and process dimensions), the proponents of this strategy urge that more careful "implementation analysis" be undertaken to assure implementation feasibility. (Allison: 1975; Williams: 1975; Honadle and Ingle: 1976; Honadle: 1978)

Implementation analysis takes several different forms. Each of them attempts to assess which of several suggested implementation approaches are most likely to succeed. Operationally, implementation analysis also involves the generation of additional implementation approaches when the available ones turn out to be unfeasible. To date most attention in this area has been focused on assessing the probability that project organizations will function properly. A few observers have attempted to deal with the evolutionary or "mutative" character of project organizations. (Thomas and Hook: 1977; Honadle and Ingle: 1976; and Honadle: 1978)

Less attention has been given to assuring that the other essential "implementation interactions" also take place. Several initial sets of guidelines and questions are now available to assist implementation planners in their implementation analysis task. These are summarized below.

Rizzo and Koteen, in their draft entitled "Guidelines for Appraisal of Recipient's Project Management Capacity," set out a methodology for assessing,

. . .the managerial strengths and weaknesses of (foreign assistance) recipient's leading implementing organizations. Appraisal results are then incorporated into project design and development, and proposed corrective action. Appraisal can thus provide a sounder basis for decisions in incorporating a managerial capacity building component into sector project assistance (grants and loans). Appraisals are usually an integral part of each stage of project design and development implementation, monitoring and evaluation. (Rizzo and Koteen: 1976)

As stated here, these authors see management capacity or implementation appraisal and re-appraisal as occurring at each stage of the project implementation

cycle—appraisal is a continuous process. Rizzo and Koteen suggest that a management appraisal should encompass eight different elements. They provide information gathering questions and usage guidance for each element. The elements include: (1) appropriate role; (2) quality of leadership; (3) supportive organization setting; (4) sound organization structure; (5) effective planning and control; (6) efficient resource administration (personnel, financial management, material management); (7) constructive organizational behavior; and (8) service delivery. Their short piece is a very clear and comprehensive statement of the implementation analysis rationale.

J. Moris takes a somewhat different approach to this issue. Although he does not use the term implementation analysis, his list of questions focuses on making sure that programs are being administered properly. As discussed earlier, Moris feels that many development projects by design are transferring inappropriate managerial techniques. As a result implementation problems are created. Thus his list contains questions to pose in transferring management concepts and skills, hopefully in order to make the transfers more successful. The questions are:

- Which background or "administrative culture" assumptions are crucial to the success of the given managerial techniques whose transfer is being planned?
- Which of these assumptions are reasonably congruent with the premises already being observed in the receiving administrative system?
- Which other linkages between the assumptions are a precondition for successful transfer?
- What program contexts would appear to offer a congenial social setting for implanting and encouraging the whole corpus of managerial innovation necessary to make the transfer effective?
- And, finally, is the transfer itself a desirable objective, given the complexity of the necessary supporting arrangements?
(Moris: 1977)

Moris' approach and questions are still phrased in general terms but with some reworking they could be adapted to project settings. In some respects they operate to assess the "folk management" dimensions of all development programs.

A third approach to project implementation analysis is presented by Honadle and Ingle: 1976 as further extended by Honadle in 1977 and 1978. Their approach differs from the previous ones in two ways. First, their guidelines are for rural projects which have explicit distribution or equity objectives. Secondly, they include an actual case study application of guidelines to a rural development project in Liberia. The general, organizational guidelines

and more specific action principles are placed under three headings. They are:

- APPRAISAL: This is an examination of organizations which are expected to affect a project or its target group. These organizations exist prior to the creation of the project. Thus appraisal is an analysis of an existing situation.
- DESIGN: This is the specification of organizational relationships embodied in the proposed project. Design is concerned with internal project organization, linkages between the project and other organizations, and the effect of these linkages on external organizations and on benefit distribution.
- IMPLEMENTATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION: This is management direction of or reaction to "program mutation." Thus it involves monitoring, controlling and redesigning after project operations have begun. (Honadle and Ingle: 1976, p. 20)

The case study application demonstrates that the guidelines are helpful for identifying and analyzing benefit distribution related project dynamics. They were also found useful for designing organizations which support positive patterns of distribution impact. (Honadle: 1978)

A fourth and final approach to implementation analysis is to focus on the type of project manager which can adequately assess implementation constraints and fully respond to more feasible implementation alternatives where and when they arise. The role required of such a manager has been referred to as that of a development systems manager with four essential characteristics:

- He must define his responsibilities in terms of the results to be achieved.
- These results must depend on achieving voluntary support from individuals and independent organizations beyond his direct control.
- He must be committed to building the political power and performance capacity of organizations external to his own, especially community level organizations comprised of the poor.
- He must be prepared to subordinate his authority to the guidance of broadly representative local boards or committees. (Korten: 1977, p. 36)

This managerial role is very similar to that of an entrepreneurial manager as described by Mendoza: 1977. Both roles actively involve appraising the project organization and its environment for potentially successful implementation opportunities.

The results of the implementation analysis should provide the substantive input to the project implementation plan. This plan, it is argued, should at minimum include an implementation schedule or network, an organization responsibility chart, a specification of monitoring and reporting arrangements, a procurement plan, and contingency plans as deemed necessary. (Avots: 1978; Delp, et al.: 1977; Practical Concepts Incorporated: 1975)

b. The Target Group Involvement Strategy

The Involvement strategy overlaps with the Analysis and Assessment strategy, but has a different focus. The premise of the Target Group Involvement strategy is that projects which require substantial behavioral change will most likely succeed when target group members fully participate in project planning and implementation. In a development project context, the "target group" may include developing country administrators, funding organization personnel and project staff, as well as rural or urban beneficiaries.

The key role of target group involvement or participation in project decision making was the principal finding of the DAI "Strategies for Small Farmer Development" study (DAI: 1975), and their more comprehensive treatment of information flows and host country involvement in project design and implementation in the "New Directions" Mandate report. (DAI: 1978) The Involvement strategy also has many other proponents in the literature. (Chambers: 1974; Montgomery: 1972; Rondinelli: 1977, 1978; Uphoff and Esman: 1974)

Explanations of why and how target group involvement contributes to sustained behavioral change are tentative. One study based on an empirical analysis of 50 rural development subproject activities, concludes that target group involvement directly influences the access (both the flow and content) to valued information within an organizational setting. That is, participation contributes to the structuring and communication of appropriate opportunities and incentives for productive behavioral change. (Ingle: 1977, p. 135; for supporting evidence see Havens: 1975; Honadle and Ingle: 1976)

Where the Target Group Involvement strategy is decided upon--as is common with basic human needs development activities--the project implementation plan should detail how participation is to be arranged and sustained. This frequently involves project management training and "organizational development" or "process consultation" interventions at all major administrative levels. (For a discussion of project management training strategies see: Solomon, Heegaard, and Kornher: 1978; East-West Center: 1977; Maxwell Training: 1978; Owens: 1974)

c. Organizing and Operating Strategy

Development projects typically deviate from their plans during implementation. (Hirschman: 1967) Given this, most observers suggest that implementation changes should be fully expected and, in fact, looked upon as desirable adjustments necessitated by the nature of the dynamic development setting. Development Alternatives, Inc., in their Small Farmer Strategies study, note,

The first requirement for an implementation process is the recognition that revisions in project planning are desirable and can constitute attempts to increase the chances of project success. (Development Alternatives, Inc.: 1975, p. 36)

Projects need to be "organized and operated" both according to plan and according to the nature and degree of unexpected changes in the environment.

A number of implementation prescriptions have been proposed for organizing and operating development projects. Since this area has been well researched and thoroughly reviewed by many authors (see especially Rondinelli and Palia: 1976; Weiss, Waterston and Wilson: 1976) we will deal with it only briefly in this review.

Organizing and operating development projects is a complex and time-consuming task. Detailed decision making is required at every major stage of the project implementation cycle. Several authors indicate that the selection of an organization used to implement a program is important. (Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976; Honadle: 1977; Rondinelli: 1978) The choice of project implementation organization has usually been limited to one of the following: (1) expansion of existing bureaucracies; (2) creation of an autonomous or semi-autonomous organization; (3) establishment of a project organization reporting to the center; (4) establishment of an organization reporting to field or regional agencies; and (5) contracting for services or relying on an external agent. The reason why types of organizations are important has been explained as follows,

If an existing agency or organization is to be used, it must be determined whether reforms or administrative changes are necessary to increase the chances of success. If a new agency is to operate the project, it must be decided what kind of organization will be established, where it will be housed, from whence it will get the required personnel, and what kinds of training will be necessary. Further, because development is a field that is rife with uncertainties, sufficient flexibility must be built into organizational structure and processes to allow adaptation to changing conditions which experience shows are sure to occur during implementation. While there is no doubt that the initial design of a project is important, ex-post project evaluations have indicated repeatedly that 'building a development project is never a self-fulfilling process.' Uncertainties and contingencies, human and technological inadequacies, and competing interest must continually be dealt with. Analyses of World Bank projects have noted that success can depend much more upon the rate at which project executing agencies develop the capacity to implement field projects than upon the initial design of the project. (Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976) (Emphasis added)

Timely and efficient project organizing and operation are necessarily dependent on high quality, but not overly sophisticated, project monitoring and impact assessment systems. Systems which receive fairly broad coverage

in the literature include those recommended by Kulp: 1977; Practical Concepts Incorporated: 1975; Development Alternatives, Inc.: 1975, 1978; Solomon: 1970; Chambers: 1974; Belshaw and Chambers: 1973; and Delp, Thesen, Matiwalla and Seshadri: 1977. These articles cover various management information systems approaches to organizing and operating development projects.

PART II: IMPLEMENTATION POLICIES
OF ASSISTANCE DONORS AND RECIPIENTS

"What then are the major or moderate implementation problems? The most pervasive and persistent seem to relate to 'management.' They are generally hard to define but could be said to encompass most of what are usually considered institutional problems. The central problem is lack of managerial capacity, defined as the ability to plan and execute a specific action program at two levels: (1) in the government administration, a situation that affects all projects in a country; and (2) in the project's management. Other facets of this problem are a dearth of several types of skilled manpower (accountants, technicians, economists) as well as those with general administrative capabilities; inadequate administrative methods and procedures; ill-defined organizational setups; and lack of coordination among agencies. The definition has sometimes been stretched to include restrictive salary policies and inefficient regulations."

A. Israel of the World Bank staff,
"Toward Better Project Imple-
mentation," March 1978

"Competent and effective administration of the policy instruments for attaining plan objectives is a sine qua non for the successful implementation of this Plan. In the past, shortcomings in the planning process reflected inadequacies of the administrative environment within which the plans were formulated and implemented.

"These deficiencies are summed up in the need for an organized capability for developing and implementing policies and projects on a unified and organized basis among the multiplicity of departments, agencies and instrumentalities of the government. The heavy reliance placed on the government to attain national development was not matched by an increase in the capability of the administrative system. Consequently, performance and levels of achievement have fallen short of expectations and aspirations."

1974-1977 Development Plan,
Republic of the Philippines

PART II: IMPLEMENTATION POLICIES
OF ASSISTANCE DONORS AND RECIPIENTS

The first part of this paper reviewed the major program implementation perspectives contained in the academic and scholarly literature. In this section we want to examine the prevalent implementation policies of development assistance donors and recipients. Having completed this, it will be possible to draw some general conclusions about the existing "fit" between "scholarly" implementation recommendations and actual program implementation strategies followed by assistance donors and recipients. This analysis, contained in Part III, will allow us to formulate some implementation prescriptions based on the current state-of-the-art.

Before proceeding with the policy review, a few words should be said about the difficulties encountered in completing this section of the report. Although not evident at the outset, we found current information on implementation policies hard to locate and obtain. Operating within a limited time-frame and budget, we were forced to rely on readily available secondary documents and official publications. Most of these were obtained from the staff and libraries of the major assistance agencies.

Of the policy materials we were able to obtain and subsequently review, thirty (30) were national plans for developing countries. (For a list see Table 1.) Documents and internal working papers were also assembled from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), the United Nations (UN), the World Bank (IBRD), the Overseas Development Administration of Great Britain (ODA), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Canadian Institute for Development Assistance (CIDA).

This approach yielded a large, but by no means, exhaustive, set. A more systematic survey would have entailed additional travel (domestic and international), along with interviews of key policy staff in the assistance agencies and host governments.

Another difficulty encountered in the policy review relates to the difference between the policies and the internal procedures of the assistance agencies and the host governments. General statements of institutional policies are more readily available than descriptions of procedures. This is especially true with the National Development Plans reviewed below. In many cases we are not able to determine whether the policy statements are congruent with the internal operations of the various agencies. Where possible we have attempted to locate documents which allow a review of the operational procedures of the various agencies, as well as their general policy statements. This has been most feasible in the case of USAID, the World Bank and the United Nations. It has been less feasible with respect

LIST OF COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT PLANS
REVIEWED FOR THE REPORT

COUNTRY	PERIOD OF IMPLEMENTATION FOR THE PLAN	IMPLEMENTATION PLAN
1. Algeria	1974 - 1977	YES
2. Botswana	1973 - 1978	NO
3. Burundi	1968 - 1972	YES
4. Camaroon	1971 - 1975	YES
5. Ceylon	1972 - 1976	YES
6. Chad	1966 - 1970	Minimal
7. Chile	1970 - 1980	NO
8. Costa Rica	1974 - 1978	NO
9. Ethiopia	1970/1971 - 1974/1975	NO
10. Gabon	1971 - 1975	YES
11. Jordan	1964 - 1970	YES
12. India	1974 - 1979	YES
13. Ivory Coast	1971 - 1975	YES
14. Kenya	1974 - 1978	NO
15. Korea	1972 - 1976	YES
16. Laos	1969 - 1974	YES
17. Lesotho	1970/1971 - 1974/1975	YES
18. Liberia	1967 - 1970	YES
19. Niger	1971 - 1974	NO
20. Nigeria	1970 - 1974	YES
21. Philippines	1974 - 1977	YES
22. Saudi Arabia	1975 - 1980	YES
23. Senegal	1973 - 1977	NO
24. Sierra Leone	1974/1975 - 1978/1979	YES
25. Sudan	1970/1971 - 1974/1975	NO
26. Swaziland	1973 - 1977	YES
27. Taiwan	1971 - 1980	NO
28. Togo	1971 - 1975	NO
29. Upper Volta	1972 - 1976	NO
30. Indonesia	1969/1970 - 1973/1974	NO

to the developing countries. Due to these difficulties in gathering representative policy documents, we suggest that our policy review be seen as exploratory and tentative. Additional information is needed before definite policy conclusions can be drawn.

A. THE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION SETTING: A NEW DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

In the past several years a major reorientation has occurred in development strategy which has widespread implications for program implementation. The development strategy changes that are taking place are reviewed here for both multi-lateral assistance organizations and donor country agencies, as well as for the developing countries.

1. Donor Agency/Country Assistance Strategy

Policy pronouncements of the major assistance donors reflect a strong commitment to a "new development strategy"--one that is directed at improving the well-being of large numbers of impoverished families on a sustained basis.

The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has reported that,

AID's development assistance strategy is cast in different form today than it was several years ago. The key elements are, we believe, consistent with the main themes of the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act.

- By concentrating our aid in the three key sectors of food and nutrition, population and health, and education and human resources development, we seek to help developing nations increase their capacity to meet basic needs of their people.

- Projects and programs are especially directed toward reaching the poor majority within the populations of these nations. We urge recipient governments to design policies and programs to assure that the benefits of economic growth accrue to all the people and not a select few. Influencing LDC institutions, policies, and systems are indirect but essential means of assuring that benefits reach the broadest group within the poor majority.

- Private and voluntary organizations (PVO's) are increasingly active, with AID support, in planning, implementing, and evaluating development programs which draw upon their unique capacities to reach directly large numbers of poor people.

- AID is stressing the importance of integrating women into the development effort.

- Moreover, while it is slow going, we are emphasizing programs which involve the poor as active participants in the development process itself, avoiding any suggestion of a handout. (USAID, Implementation: 1975)

This policy change is also reflected in AID's program design, implementation and evaluation procedures.

The World Bank is moving through a similar reorientation. As one of their reports notes,

Past strategies in most developing countries have tended to emphasize economic growth without specifically considering the manner in which the benefits of growth are to be distributed. The assumption has been that increased growth per se would lead to a reduction in poverty as the benefits of an expanding economy spread among the people. Accordingly, the emphasis has been on increasing the rate of growth, with a corresponding concentration of effort on the "high growth," modern sector of the economy--to the virtual exclusion of the traditional sector, where the small-holders, tenants and landless make up the bulk of the rural poor. (World Bank, Rural Development: 1975)

By contrast, the new strategy has a different focus, as indicated in the same document,

Rural development is a strategy designed to improve economic life of a specific rural group of people--the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas.

This new development strategy has taken on many different names. It is referred to as "New Directions," "growth with equity" or "Integrated Rural Development" strategy by AID, as a "New Style" or "Functional Coordination" strategy by the World Bank, and as the "Basic Human Needs" or "Rural Modernization" approach by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. (A comparative profile of the assistance strategies prepared by D. Rondinelli and K. Ruddle is presented in Table 2.) Whatever it may be labeled, this new strategy is now almost universally accepted as the prime policy of bilateral and multi-lateral donor agencies. Significantly, this is the most fundamental shift in development strategy in the last 30 years of foreign assistance.

2. Strategies of Assistance Recipients

Our review of the recent Development Plans of 30 Third World countries revealed them to be pursuing a variety of development strategies, few of them clearly defined. Most Plans represent a combination of political needs and economic interests, with some elements in direct conflict. In general, the development strategies of assistance recipients are diffuse, but there is considerable evidence that they are gradually adopting the "new strategy" articulated by the donors.

Most of the national planning documents contained references to the needs of low-income urban and rural dwellers, and allocated some segments of development funds to assist them. However, this orientation usually was not high priority.

The exceptions are the several plans which emphasize equitable and self-sustaining development for major groups in society. For example, the Five

Table 2*

COMPARATIVE PROFILE OF INTERNATIONAL
ASSISTANCE STRATEGIES FOR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

FUNCTIONAL COORDINATION STRATEGY—
WORLD BANK APPROACH

RURAL MODERNIZATION STRATEGY—
UNITED NATIONS APPROACH

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGY—USAID APPROACH

OBJECT
GROUP

Approximately 40% of the population in developing nations in absolute poverty (with incomes of less than \$50 a year) or in relative poverty (with incomes below one-third of the national average).

Small scale farmers, tenants and landless laborers.

Low income farmers and peasants living in rural areas, outside of cities, towns and industrial enclaves.

Those people living primarily outside of or at the lower income end of the modernized sector.

Subsistence farm families, pastoralists, landless laborers, unemployed market town laborers, small-scale non-farm entrepreneurs and craftsmen.

OBJECTIVES
DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGY

1. Increase agricultural output and productivity
2. Increase employment and raise incomes of the rural poor
3. Provide minimum acceptable levels of food, shelter, education and health services
4. Diversify economic bases of rural communities
5. Reduce overall number of people living in relative and absolute poverty

1. Transform rural regions from subsistence to commercial agricultural areas
2. Modernize rural inhabitants and change attitudes toward development
3. Increase per capita incomes of economically active population
4. Ensure minimum food supplies and basic nutritional requirements
5. Reduce outflow of population from rural to urban areas
6. Reorient and diversify rural economies

1. Strengthen local institutions order to involve the poor majority in development
2. Increase and diversify agricultural production
3. Integrate agricultural, industrial and commercial development
4. Improve nutrition
5. Localize infrastructure and increase access of poor to services and facilities
6. Increase employment and improve income distribution
7. Strengthen or create linkages between rural and urban centers in a regional spatial system

* As Referenced in:

Rondinelli, Dennis and Ruddle, Kenneth. "Coping with Poverty in International Assistance Policy: An Evaluation of Integrated Investment Strategies." A paper reported in part by the Urban Development Office of A.I.D., Contract No. AID/ta-C-1282, 1966 (mimeographed).

Table 2 (continued)

FUNCTIONAL COORDINATION STRATEGY--
WORLD BANK APPROACHRURAL MODERNIZATION STRATEGY--
UNITED NATIONS APPROACHINTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGY--USAID APPROACHMAJOR ASSUMPTIONS
AND PERCEPTIONS
OF THE PROBLEM

1. Rural poverty results from low agricultural productivity and lack of economic diversification in rural areas
2. Poor have limited access to services and technology
3. Vested interests limit opportunities for productivity and employment expansion
4. Slow rate of transfer of rural people out of low-productivity agriculture
5. Benefits of production increases are inequitably distributed
6. Land tenure, fragmentation and sharecropping limit opportunities for increased productivity
7. Inputs must be functionally coordinated in order to deal with variety of related problems
8. Quality of life in rural areas can be improved through mobilization of limited land, capital, and labor resources

1. Low productivity in agriculture due to persistence of traditional attitudes, mores and institutional structures
2. Small proportions of national resources are now invested in agricultural production
3. Traditional land tenure systems perpetuate subsistence agriculture
4. Lack of infrastructure, appropriate technology, services and facilities in rural areas constrain production
5. Gap between incomes of urban and rural workers is primary cause of rural outmigration
6. Changes in production techniques from primitive to modern can increase agricultural production and reduce income gaps
7. Coordinated inputs of services, facilities, and infrastructure can transform traditional communities

1. Dual goals of increased production and social equity are consistent and interrelated
2. Increased agricultural productivity depends on increasing access of small farmers to production inputs, technology, financial resources and markets
3. Local institutions must be created to deliver inputs and sustain growth
4. Equity requires employment expansion and human resource development
5. Rural spatial systems are neither horizontally nor vertically integrated, inhibiting creation of national spatial economy
6. Self-sustained growth requires functionally and spatially integrated production systems

OPERATIONAL
PREMISES

1. Successful rural development requires strong national government support
2. Rural programs can be designed to reach large numbers at low cost
3. Inputs must be supplied through low cost delivery systems
4. Rural organizations and cooperatives are essential elements of the administrative system
5. Central control must be balanced with decentralized spatial and project planning

1. Adverse geographical and ecological factors must be analyzed and appropriate solutions to problems tested within each rural region
2. Projects must generate economic resources for investment in directly productive enterprises and social services
3. Agricultural technology must be transformed and new technology adopted to increase output

1. Investment priorities should be balanced between urban and rural areas
2. Spatial considerations must be taken into account in allocating infrastructure and service projects
3. Planning strategies should consciously seek to develop spatial components at the lower end of the national hierarchy--market towns.

	FUNCTIONAL COORDINATION STRATEGY— WORLD BANK APPROACH	RURAL MODERNIZATION STRATEGY— UNITED NATIONS APPROACH	INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: USAID APPROACH
OPERATIONAL PREMISES (cont.)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Popular participation is required in project planning and implementation 7. Increased training is required for local planners and managers 8. Project costs should be recoverable to generate capital for reinvestment 9. Appropriate and adaptive technology packages must be developed for rural areas 10. Supplementary social services and facilities must be provided in a coordinated package 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Institutional and social changes must be induced in order to transform and modernize rural communities 5. Political and administrative mechanisms must be designed specifically to implement rural programs 6. Services, facilities, technical, administrative inputs and infrastructure must be combined into "minimum packages" 7. Programs must be implemented within a regional planning and development framework 	<p>small, and intermediate cities</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Programs must emphasize close food production and marketing 5. Successful implementation requires development and test of appropriate technologies 6. Land improvement programs are preferable to land resettlement and large scale colonization 7. Emphasis should be placed on small-scale social services and appropriate size infrastructure and facilities 8. "Bottom up" planning and local participation in rural development are essential for successful implementation
APPROACHES TO IMPLEMENTATION	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No single approach recommended—functional coordination of inputs is considered essential in any strategy 2. Experiment with: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Minimum package approaches b. Comprehensive national or area development programs c. Sector or special programs supplementing coordinated rural development projects 3. Bank to provide financial and technical assistance in research, project design and implementation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No single approach recommended—rural transformation should be the basic objective of any integrated strategy 2. Evaluate on-going programs in various developing countries and determine how they can best be expanded into integrated projects 3. UN to provide technical assistance in strategy design and evaluation of successful projects for potential replicability in other countries 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Each country must determine most appropriate approach based on internal needs and capabilities—spatial and functional components should be integrated in any strategy 2. Programs and projects should be designed by general guidelines stated in operational premisses, but tested against past experience 3. AID to provide financial and technical assistance through country missions for program and project design and funding for components in accordance with AID Development Assistance Priorities

Year Plan of the Government of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), 1972-1976, places a heavy emphasis on the rural poor, including the identification of specific rural institutions that need support or strengthening, and an allocation of resources to this purpose. It argues, "The success of the Plan depends on the unremitting effort to upgrade productivity in small-scale agriculture and industry."

More countries are likely to adopt the "new development strategy" as a result of international meetings, trade agreements, and new assistance requirements imposed by donor groups. The process by which such a change has occurred in the past is explained by the Hall Work Group as follows.

Even cursory review of the ideas and literature that have fueled development efforts clearly show that they originated in the donor countries and then spread slowly but surely to the under-developed world where they were often adopted without question. (Hall, 1976)

Hopefully, current changes are being made after a more thorough analysis of their suitability and overall development benefits.

B. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION PERSPECTIVES

At the outset one predictable finding should be stressed: There is no consensus among assistance donors and recipient countries about how to implement development programs. The several general administration and project implementation approaches discussed in the scholarly literature, as reviewed in Part I, all show up to some degree in the implementation policies of various assistance donors and recipients. Moreover, an even less pronounced consensus exists with respect to the implementation of "new development strategy" policies. In this section we will attempt to summarize the diverse perspectives contained in the policy statements and official documents, giving particular emphasis to the implementation of "new development strategy" programs.

1. The Range of Implementation Perspectives

The contents of the policy documents and national plans we reviewed cover a wide range of program implementation perspectives. The major ones include:

a. Implementation issues defined in terms of program phase or cycle

There seems to be some agreement (although not universal) that certain types of implementation opportunities and problems emerge during a particular project "phase." A UN document identifies these phases as: conception; formulation; analysis and evaluation; approval; implementation; reporting and feedback; transition to normal administration (ongoing concerns); and evaluation of results. (U.N., Dept., Administration, 1971) The implementation phase approach is explained in that document as follows. "The different phases may be under way at the same time and may influence each other. This, in fact, is true in most cases. For purposes of analyzing administration of development projects, however, it is desirable to discuss them separately

to bring out their specific institutional and administrative problems. While some of the administrative and institutional aspects are pertinent to all phases of project administration, others may be unique to a particular phase. Difficult questions arise about the timing and scheduling of different phases. Responsibility for different phases of a project may have to be entrusted to different organizational entities, thus raising questions of division of tasks and appropriate administrative arrangements for carrying them out, on the one hand, and coordination of all the tasks in pursuit of the given objectives, on the other." (p. 73) The World Bank and A.I.D. follow a similar type of approach in their implementation formulations.

b. Implementation issues defined by levels of development.

There appears to be an emerging consensus in the policy documents that two or perhaps three "levels of development" are present among LDC's, and that each level has unique implementation opportunities and problems. However, these levels are not clearly defined and differentiated.

c. Implementation issues defined by program sector

Implementation opportunities and problems do not appear to vary substantially across particular program sectors. The consensus is that similar implementation issues arise in most development sectors. The National Plan of India summarizes the prevailing view by noting, "While the steps taken or proposed to overcome the problems of implementation of the Plan in the various sectors below the apex level tend to be specific to the sectors, the steps required in regard to the Government departments themselves are broadly the same regardless of which sector of the Plan they are responsible for." (Vol. I, p. 93)

2. Implementation and Program Success

The policies of assistance organizations and recipient countries reflect a growing awareness of and concern over program implementation issues. A major reason for this increased attention is the recognition that implementation is an essential ingredient in development program success. This recognition is coupled with an awareness of the increased difficulty inherent in the implementation of "new strategy" programs.

Our review indicates that donor agencies and assistance recipients are only beginning to conduct systematic research on their implementation experience. Yet, the available evidence strongly suggests that implementation--always an important process--has become more critical with the advent of new style programs. This theme is voiced by A. Israel of the World Bank who observes, "In recent years, the composition of the Bank's portfolio has changed dramatically, reflecting a switch from infrastructure investments to projects aimed at maximizing the development impact. These projects are directed towards particular target population groups, mainly those involved in agriculture, and rural and urban development. These 'new style' projects are generally more complex in design and therefore more difficult to implement. Similarly, traditional infrastructure projects undertaken today have wider

development objectives than before. These can include training local staff, institution building, and more equitable distribution of income. And so these projects, too, have become more difficult to carry out." (Israel: 1978)

A few of the complex issues which surround the implementation of new style programs, as summarized from World Bank Sector Policy Papers, include: (1) How does a program reach the "poor majority" through traditional governmental machinery which is ill-designed for service to the poor?; (2) Even with the best intentions, can services be developed to stimulate a rural economy which is usually quite fragmented and has only a few organizational mechanisms?; (3) Given the complexity of low-income rural settings, can modest assistance inputs available have a positive effect on large numbers of the rural poor?; (4) Can the rural poor be assisted economically without having a countervailing negative impact on the social and political system?; (5) Can donor agencies, dependent as they are on showing results in three to five years, sustain a development effort for a sufficient length of time to have a genuine impact?

While questions such as these also arose prior to formulation of the new development strategy, acceptable answers seemed more readily available. Now, the once fashionable answers are gradually being discredited. For example, donors are having a difficult time identifying appropriate organizations through which to administer and distribute assistance resources. In the past, the World Bank has often resorted to establishing new project organizations within the government to administer its funds. A.I.D. and the U.N. have emphasized linkages with existing units, partially as mechanisms for reforming the administrative system. Now, it is important for implementing agencies to be large and sophisticated--so as to "efficiently" absorb multi-million dollar programs--and yet to be structured so that benefits reach the poorest majority. Obviously, the concerns of benefit distribution and new strategy policies complicate the program implementation process. The current implementation challenge is summarized by the A.I.D. Hall Work Group as follows, "The reorientation in development assistance to emphasize benefits to the poorest groups in the developing countries' population presents a major challenge. Neither the developing nor the donor countries have extensive experience in this task. Some developing countries have experimented with such approaches as village development, integrated sectoral development, and regional development--with varied outcomes. Some donor countries have attempted, again with varied outcomes, to develop integrated regional schemes covering human resource development, health, food and nutrition and population planning. The main lessons of these efforts are the vast difficulties of the tasks, the long time requirement, and the central importance of adequate management at all levels." (Hall: 1975)

3. Implementation: An Administration/Management Focus

Implementation issues of concern to assistance donors and recipients have generally been discussed under the rubric of "development administration" and public sector management. Development administration--generally defined as administration which occurs in developing areas--traditionally encompassed the improvement of LDC central ministries, including their planning and

implementation capacities, on the assumption that strong centralized authority was the principal means through which development could be supported in the Third World. More recently, development administration concerns have been expanded to cover all major dimensions of program implementation activity. Some areas of overlap between administration/management and program implementation are discussed below.

a. Implementation as administration/management

The major donor organizations recognize that program implementation is a function of administration and management. One U.N. document states, for instance, that "The implementation gap, a common occurrence. . . is to some extent a manifestation of. . . public administration systems." (U.N., Dept., Public: 1975) Based upon an extensive review of "new style" projects at the World Bank, A. Israel reports that the most persistent and pervasive implementation problems seem to relate to "management," and include what are usually considered as "institutional problems." (Israel: 1978) A.I.D., in its Project Assistance Handbook, states,

A critical element in development projects is the organization (or organizations) which will be responsible for implementing project activities. AID experience indicates that erroneous assumptions about project organizations and management/administrative factors have been a major cause of failure or lack of complete success of many development projects. (USAID, p. 6H-1)

Training seminars on program implementation, initiated in the past several years, stress the importance of administration and management. (Maxwell Training: 1978; World Bank, Project Management Course: 1977)

This view is also reflected in the national plans of many Third World countries, which identify the administration of their public agencies as major stumbling blocks to program implementation. The Sierra Leone Plan, for instance, states,

Public administration is the principal instrument through which the governments of the developing countries are carrying forward the process of rapid economic growth and social transformation. It is also the instrument of formulation and implementation of national development plans. Like most other former colonies of Africa and Asia, Sierra Leone inherited upon Independence in 1961, an administrative machinery of government that was meant essentially to perform the three main colonial tasks of maintaining law and order, collecting revenues, and dispensing justice. . . Largely through promotion of able existing personnel, accelerated fresh recruitment, and intensive programmes of domestic and foreign training, the public service has now been built up to a stage where it can, by and large, cope adequately with the day-to-day tasks of administration. There has been little time or opportunity, however, for the significant re-gearing of the administrative machinery to the needs of economic development. (p. 109)

The Liberia Plan likewise states, "The successful implementation of development programs and the effective day-to-day operations of the agencies of Government are dependent upon administrative competency." (p. 202) Jon Ho Kum, Director, Administrative Management Bureau, Government of Korea, put it much more forcefully in 1970, "Bureaucracy having a negative effect constitutes the hard core of the deterrent force operating against modernization efforts." (Vol. II, p. 88)

b. Managing program implementation

Most assistance donor and recipient policies stress the importance of properly functioning administrative/management systems. In A.I.D., the Policy Determination on Development Administration issued in 1977 is very specific on this issue. It states,

It is A.I.D. policy to assure the existence or development of competent management in the specific host country institutions responsible for carrying out A.I.D.-financed programs and projects to assure with reasonable certainty their successful completion. Core analysis and attention will be directed to managerial and institutional factors, particularly remediable deficiencies, early in program analysis and early in project design efforts. Such attention will be continued, and managerial concerns consistently addressed, at all stages of the program and project design review, and implementation processes. Appropriate implementation milestones and controls will be used to help assure results and to assure flexibility in adapting to changing conditions. (USAID, "Policy": 1977)

A.I.D. Project Assistance Handbook #3, Appendix 6H, "Guidelines for Managerial/Administrative Analysis," outlines part of the established procedure for carrying out this policy directive. Included in elements of analysis are program/project: (1) Leadership; (2) Structure; (3) Roles and Commitment; (4) Resources; (5) Outside Administrative Environment; and (6) Grass Roots Managerial Considerations. A.I.D. also requires that its project design documents contain a comprehensive "implementation plan" containing information on a project schedule, success milestones, a monitoring plan, an evaluation plan, the manner and types of contracts involved in the project, the methods by which project beneficiaries are to participate in decision making relating to subproject selection and design, and unique implementation actions which may be required. (p. 6H-13)

The World Bank is also concerned with the internal management of the projects they finance. Their position can be summarized as follows,

The projects which the World Bank (and the International Development Association) helps to finance in member countries are the countries' projects, and it is their responsibility to ensure an effective implementation process. Nevertheless, the Bank has a considerable interest in that process. Under its Articles of Agreement, the Bank is expected to ensure that its loans and credits are used effectively and for the purposes for which they were granted. In fact, the main function which has evolved for the

Bank is to assist the borrower in carrying out its projects--in identifying, helping to prevent, and solving the problems that arise in the course of implementation. (98, p. 287)

The Bank's approach to dealing with implementation issues is clearly articulated by A. Israel as follows,

Conventional wisdom says that to minimize implementation problems, projects should be prepared in as much detail as possible. However, this dictum needs some qualification. In practice the Bank deals with a whole spectrum of projects, and one rule cannot apply to all of them. At one end of the spectrum are the infrastructure projects and the civil works components (such as a dam or road). In these, detailed preparation of the engineering aspects will undoubtedly reduce problems that could arise when the project is being implemented. The Bank has sometimes found that it has been lending at too early a stage, and that it would have been better to have prepared some projects in more detail. At the other extreme of this spectrum are the "soft" projects, projects which have a high content of services compared with capital investment, or "soft" components of projects, including institution building, components of rural and urban development schemes, and population, which are heavily determined by behavioral patterns about which little can be known in advance. In such projects, flexibility during the project cycle is essential. It is still indispensable to prepare the project or component in as much detail as possible in light of the available information. This involves specifying objectives, and outlining the various inputs and arrangements with respect to organizations, institutions, and procedures that are expected to be necessary in order to meet the objectives. However, the preparation and appraisal work have to avoid a more elaborate analysis than is warranted by the available state of knowledge. Since, by definition, it will not be possible to anticipate the implementation problems of soft components as accurately as those for hard components, allowance should be made in the preparation and appraisal stages for reappraisal and modification. (98, p. 29)

The U.N. refers to these implementation considerations as "administrative planning," which it describes as follows,

Administrative planning as an inclusion of administrative and management components of major development programmes and projects in the development planning process itself is a comparatively new concept. Ideally, it requires that administrative planning should proceed simultaneously with development planning. The process of decision-making on strategy choices for national development should be accompanied by elaboration of their public administration implications. Subsequently, each project and programme ought to include administrative requirements for their implementation. The feasibility studies of projects and programmes should extend beyond economic and technical viability to include administrative feasibility.

The emergence of such integrated relationships between planning and implementation would greatly improve the possibilities of implementation of national development plans and programmes. In practice, few developing countries have initiated such comprehensive administrative planning. . . . In one or two countries, the promulgation of the plan was followed by attempts at administrative planning. . . . However, the time involved in the preparation of the administrative plan and the approval of political authorities put them out of step with the implementation of development plans. (U.N., Dept., Public, 1975, p. 46)

Until quite recently, the assistance recipients have paid considerably more attention to development planning than to the management of implementation. As one U.N. document concluded,

The advent of development planning saw the creation of central planning agencies in the 1960's and the preparation of national development plans in many countries. The initial problems about the quality of such plans and particularly their implementation, forced attention to the fact that it was not enough to produce economic plans by central planning agencies. For achieving results, planning and implementation had to be treated as facets of an integral but wider process involving creation and strengthening of concomitant institutions and processes, and linking them together. (U.N., Dept., Public: 1975, p. 45)

The general attitude of developing countries toward implementation is captured by the Nigerian Plan,

Implementing a development plan is as important as, if not more important than, drawing up the plan. Experience has shown that even with the best planning techniques, there usually exists a gap between plan formulation and plan implementation. (p. 333)

This attitude is echoed in the Korean Plan, which states, "The success of the Plan will depend on its administration and implementation." (Chap. 9, p. 119)

Despite these statements of concern, little substantive attention is given to implementation in most of the plans. The Nigerian Plan, for instance, is 342 pages long. Of these, only six are devoted to implementation, and these are of a most cursory and superficial nature. Only 15 of the 30 National Plans we reviewed had sections dealing with implementation, administration, or management. (For a list, see Table 1 .) Only six (including Nigeria) of these 15 focused on implementation in anything more than a passing way. The six most detailed plans were completed by Korea, India, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria.

Of the development plans available for review, the India Plan has the most comprehensive section on implementation. This may reflect India's long experience with development programming. After describing past implementation difficulties, the Indian Plan states,

It is proposed in this Chapter to make some departures from the past, and, after stating what the general and specific problems of implementation are, to indicate in some detail what has been done during the Fourth Plan period and what is proposed during the Fifth Plan to improve the implementation process. The problems of implementation arise out of weaknesses at all levels of the implementing machinery starting with the government departments at the Centre and the States, through the various non-sectarian organizations, autonomous Corporations, Boards and other authorities down to the organizations in the field, district or village level. (Vol. I, p. 92)

The plan then describes in considerable detail, and for specific sectors and organizations, implementation measures which: decentralize power and authority; delegate authority; reduce the number of organizational levels; increase organizational flexibility; rationally distribute work; introduce new management techniques; develop monitoring and evaluation systems; train for management; and improve financial management.

The Sierra Leone Plan takes basically the same approach. It describes implementation measures which include: streamlining and rationalizing of offices; installing planning units at all levels of government; improving financial management; developing a framework of organization and procedures to facilitate efficiency; increasing the administrative capacity to implement programs; and increasing staff.

No precise rationale is provided in any of the plans for emphasizing certain management approaches over others, and no one best solution is offered. If any thread can be said to exist, it is that the capacity of lower administrative levels requires substantial upgrading before program implementation can improve.

4. The Human Dimension of Implementation

Almost without exception, policy statements of assistance donors and recipients mention that human behavior is central to the program implementation process. The Ceylon Plan is representative of this theme when it states,

. . .the successful implementation of the Plan depends on the people --on the cooperative effort of thousands of individuals throughout the length and breadth of the country, the persons working in our fields, worksites, factories and offices who have to make their contribution day in and day out to the tasks that flow directly from the Plan targets. (p. 137)

The human dimension of implementation is important in several respects as discussed below.

a. The scarcity of managerial/entrepreneurial talent

Policy statements refer to a severe shortage of managerial and entrepreneurial skills required in the implementation process. This point is forcefully made in many of the documents we reviewed. One states,

Scarcity of development-oriented administrators, competent public enterprise managers, qualified scientific and technical personnel, and skilled supervisory personnel is a current refrain in many developing countries. (U.N. Dept., Public: 1975, p. 50)

The A.I.D. Work Group on Management Improvement and Development Administration also found that,

. . . There is need for substantial managerial input in sectoral planning and the implementation effort. While studies have been made in this area among the LDC's, especially where there have been schools of public and business administration, there are still qualitative constraints with regard to managerial-administrative expertise in both public and private sectors. The general scarcity of entrepreneurial and management talent is considered the most serious manpower constraint affecting this group of (Relatively Least Developed) countries. (Hall: 1975, Annex A, p. 18) (Emphasis Added)

The shortage of management talent is exacerbated by the migration of trained public officials to the private sector, and to other countries where personal rewards are greater. Complicating and aggravating this movement is what one U.N. document calls "significant changes in many countries".

The structure of public service seems to be undergoing significant changes in many countries. Hitherto, the emphasis was on the structure of public service based on principles such as merit, political neutrality, and security of tenure. The emerging practices give greater importance to political reality and in some cases to the active political role of members of the public services. . . (U.N., Dept., Public: 1975, pp. 50-51)

Whether economic and political conditions are getting worse is open to discussion, but it is evident that there is a steady outflow of highly-trained personnel from the public sector, and from the developing countries to the West. The U.N. document cited above summarizes this issue as follows,

The major task. . . essentially remains the training of the requisite number of persons in professions and skills needed in the public services and society generally. Simultaneously, they have to pay attention to the organization and reorganization of their public services to attract, retain and make the best use of qualified personnel. (p. 50)

b. The importance of commitment and leadership

The donor agencies and recipient countries agree that sustained commitment is essential to effective program implementation. The following statements reflect the prevalent attitudes. A. Israel characterizes his World Bank experience as follows,

An essential precondition for the success of a project is country or agency commitment to the project objectives. Without this commitment, most efforts are futile. The problem is much more complex than this dialogue might reflect. To begin with, the concept of country commitment is imprecise: it is necessary to define specifically who and what agencies in the country are committed to a certain project. This is particularly important with the complex new-style projects which have to be implemented by several agencies. (98, P. 29)

A.I.D.'s Project Handbook states the following in regard to project leadership,

In most cases the development project is proposed by the host country or institution because of a recognition of a problem or need by the leadership in a particular organization at a particular time. In many cases the leadership is articulate and convincing as to the appropriateness of the need for devoting additional resources to solving a specific problem. It is important, however, to look both backward and forward as to capabilities and source of prior leadership and the probability of continuity of the current leadership. Development projects often last a minimum of 5 to 10 years, hence, assumptions should be based on a review of the past and an estimate of the future. (100, 6H-2)

5. Organization: An Implementation Dilemma

A key implementation dilemma mentioned in policy documents is "organizing" development resources to effectively reach the poor majority. The dilemma has several facets. Traditional efforts to assist the poor stressed the strengthening of central government capacity and often had net negative effect on local autonomy and on the economic self-sufficiency of the poor majority. Efforts to reach the poor in novel ways seem to entail organizational problems, high costs, and low efficiency. While no answers to these problems are evident in donor or recipient policy statements, certain trends do appear.

a. Narrower reform measures

There is a slow but steady movement away from broad-based administrative reform toward a much narrower approach to management improvement. This trend has been clearly reflected in U.N. documents.

As a part of the U.N. Development Decade, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Public Administration Division, convened three meetings of experts in 1967, 1971, and 1975. The reports of these meetings, which included a substantial involvement of delegates from developing countries, portray an interesting evolution in program implementation approaches.

At the first and second meetings, heavy emphasis was placed on the need for basic, government-wide administration reform. However, by the time of the third meeting, this emphasis was toned down considerably, replaced by a focus on more discrete and targeted management issues, typically within the confines of a single ministry or department.

The Report of the 1975 meeting summarizes the current trend by noting,

Developing countries continue to be convinced of the need for administrative reform. At the same time, there is not always a consensus about the approaches to solve administrative problems or the commitment to take the necessary steps for administrative reform and rationalization. Examples are also not unknown in which specific measures to give effect to administrative reform proposals that were accepted in general were weakened or even ignored in implementation. . .it appears that major administrative reform programmes, because of their nature and implications, lend themselves better to public administration improvement in the long-range frame of reference. For the medium time-frame, alternative reform channels, such as administrative planning and the institutionalization of administrative improvement activities within existing departments may prove more practical. (UN, Dept., Public: 1975, p. 44)

A similar trend away from universal patterns of reform toward more specific solutions is evident in the National Plans of many countries. N. K. Mukarji, Department of Administrative Reform, Government of India, reflects the views of many countries when he notes,

It is generally recognized that development is different in each country. . .what is not always recognized is the corollary that administrative modernization must also be different in each country. . . There cannot. . .be a universal strategy for administrative reform. . . (Vol. II, p. 45)

b. An emphasis on local level capacity building

The documents we reviewed reflect a broad-based acceptance of local level capacity building. There is a continuing emphasis on decentralization, devolution, local participation, along with persistent difficulties in translating these concepts into successful practice. This focus is constantly repeated by development agencies and reflected in many of the national plans.

A representative statement of this position is that, "Government must decentralize authority to make decisions as rapidly as is practicable in

order to accelerate economic and social development and to make the effects of their programmes lasting." (UN, Technical, Decentralization: 1963, p. 6) According to this U.N. study, which was based on a series of papers submitted by developing countries, decentralization serves a number of purposes:

- Delegation: allowing appropriate decisions to be made locally, freeing the Center for more important issues.
- Improved coordination: central decisions often neglect essential coordination among ministries. Local decision-making increases the likelihood that key problems of coordination will be identified.
- Local participation: allows people to have a better understanding of government purpose, making it more likely they will adopt new ideas and support new institutions. Also, participation increases the suitability and feasibility of programs.

The study cites a few countries in which decentralization has been seriously attempted. These include India, Pakistan, United Arab Republic, Nigeria and some Latin American countries.

The important role which local capacity building plays in implementation is made clear in the Ceylon Plan, which focuses on the decentralization of planning and implementation, and on the strengthening of local levels of administration, cooperation and enterprise. This includes extension services, credit facilities, and organizations such as cooperatives that provide agricultural inputs and perform marketing functions. This Plan notes,

The arrangement for plan implementation described above represents a considerable decentralization of responsibility both for formulating plans for regional development and for their implementation. This corresponds to the Government's decision to decentralize the entire administrative structure. . . This will not only reduce the inconvenience experienced by the public in their transaction of business with the Government but will also help the development effort. (p. 131)

A similar, though less specific, approach is found in the Sierra Leone Plan. It states,

A viable, democratically structured system of local government can serve as a powerful tool for grass roots planning and for meaningful participation in the development process. Efforts to evolve such a system in Sierra Leone have not met with much success so far . . . (p. 119)

As the statement above notes, Sierra Leone and many other Third World countries have had difficulty in developing local capacity. An O.A.S. study of Public Administration in Latin American summarized the problems encountered in that hemisphere:

. . .with typical local variations. . .there are very few cases in which it has so far been possible. . .to apply satisfactory formulas of decentralization, without affecting the unity of action of the government and the corresponding functions of supervision and evaluation. This is, of course, a fundamental problem of organization, of which the Latin American governments and experts are perfectly aware and which they are making constant efforts to solve. (OAS: 1965)

c. The project approach

Development programmes and projects are receiving increasing emphasis in contrast to sector and national level activity. As indicated previously, concern with national-level, basic administrative reform is diminishing. It is being replaced by more specific, problem-oriented types of reform activity. This movement toward the more concrete is finding expression in an increasing number of "programme" or "project" activities. This holds true throughout the donor organizations. Developing countries are also giving higher priority to project activities, partially due to their relative ease of implementation. As one document summarizes the trend,

The programme and project levels are bound to remain focal points in development administration as they are especially suitable for management purposes. These levels lend themselves better to the integration of their policy, technical, financial, and operational dimensions. They also provide the optimal levels for the use of modern management techniques in public administration. For these reasons, many developing countries find they have to take special measures for improving programme and project administration. (UN, Dept., Public: 1975, p. 58)

6. Adopting "Modern" Implementation Strategies

In general, the policies of assistance donors and recipients do not reflect an appreciation of the "management technology" transfer issue. Modern administrative/management techniques appear to be adopted wholesale, with little adaptation to local conditions, in an effort to facilitate the development process.

a. Conventional development strategies

In the early 1960's, a questionnaire was prepared on public administration in developing countries by a group of international experts. Forty-one donor and recipient countries responded to it. One general and fundamental finding of the study was "that the administrative sciences are under a difficulty in finding adequate solutions to the administrative problems of the developing countries." (Emphasis in original) (Vrancken: 1963, pp. 39-40) This report concluded that there had been altogether too little effort to adapt concepts to the special needs of the developing countries, even when the concepts had proved unworkable or to have negative side effects in particular Third World countries. The report, of course, preceded the new

development strategy by a decade, but it anticipated many of the issues which were not subsequently dealt with and have only been aggravated as a result of the focus on the rural poor. Many modern techniques are being introduced without considering their long-run impact on program implementation performance. (See: UN, Dept., Budgeting: 1976; UN, Dept., Introduction: 1976; UN, Interregional: 1970; UN, Dept. Report...Techniques: 1970.)

The few documents that do mention the "appropriate technology" issue, are quite vague in their analysis and advise. A U.N. document is typical when it notes,

There is a growing recognition in developing countries that management techniques represent a significant resource for strengthening development administration. While there has been some controversy about the suitability and efficacy of specific management techniques in administering development plans and programmes, it is generally agreed that the management of large-scale, complex organizations, a concomitant of development administration, is impossible without appropriate techniques and tools which are commensurate with the task. (UN, Dept., Public: 1975, p. 60)

The basic question relates to the relevance of the existing implementation strategies and techniques to the conditions of the developing countries. This issue has not been dealt with satisfactorily to date, as the Indian Plan indicates,

While a great deal of basic as well as operational research has been undertaken during the past two decades in relation to the economic and technical aspects of development, few studies have been taken up. . . to develop insights in respect of the problems of motivation, communication, delegation and control, coordination and decision-making in government and quasi-government organizations. The result is that even though there is widespread feeling that the existing structures and procedures are not in consonance with the orientation and functions assumed by the government and other authorities, it has not been possible to plan scientifically the steps that are necessary to bring about a radical improvement in the administrative procedures and practices and attitudes. It is proposed, therefore, that adequate resources will be earmarked during the Fifth Plan period for taking up explorations, diagnostic and evaluatory studies in relation to the above-mentioned aspects of administrative mechanisms functioning at various levels. (Vol. I, p. 115)

The Indian Plan and other documents argue strongly for the position that increasing research attention must be given to the exploration of improved implementation approaches. As a U.N. document states, "one of the most serious deficiencies has been the absence of suitable methodology for appraising administrative capability and for developing strategies to improve it." (UN, Dept., Public: 1971, p. 54) The need for innovative approaches is reflected in several of the policy documents.

b. The new development strategy

There is an expressed concern among donors and recipients that technology adaptation issues have become more complex with the advent of the new development strategy. The documents we reviewed reflect a general consensus that inadequate attention has been given to this important subject. (See World Bank, Rural: 1975; UN, Dept., Public: 1975; Hall, Annex A: 1975.) The current status of work on this topic can be viewed as follows.

. . . implementing a socially equitable development strategy raises a number of complex issues. Although the new development goals are clearly stated in the policy papers of assistance agencies and in the plans of developing countries, well-defined strategies for implementation are more difficult to discern. Basic theoretical and operational problems, essential to executing the policies, remain unresolved. (Rondinelli: "Coping": 1976)

The complicated implementation issues created by the new development strategy suggest there will be no early solutions. It will be some years before newly-designed and funded research programs of A.I.D., the World Bank and the U.N. begin to find answers to some basic implementation concerns. The major question which remains unanswered might be phrased as follows:

What implementation approaches and techniques are most appropriate for accomplishing the objectives of the "new development" strategy?

Initial evidence, posited by the implementation policies of various donor agencies and recipient countries, suggests that conventional implementation mechanisms and methods are ill-suited in part for the new strategy. Moreover, there is some official concern that the continued use of existing implementation strategies may constrain the potential for development success, a possibility that could have substantial adverse effects on the poor majority.

The major donor agencies, including the World Bank, A.I.D., and the United Nations Specialized Agencies, are all evolving new implementation approaches in an attempt to find the optimum recipe for reaching the world's poor. (For a description, see page 3 of Table 2 , introduced earlier.) It is too soon to draw definite conclusions from the policy documents as to their degree of success. What is evident is that donors and recipients are becoming more conscious of the important role which implementation plays in "new strategy" development programs. Recently the major actors have been willing to devote additional resources to this area, and an apparent trend exists to further expand these initiatives.

In their expanded efforts, the donor and recipient countries are giving increased attention to the "appropriateness" of implementation technology. Terms such as "appropriate management technology," "intermediate management," and "folk management" are beginning to be heard in international circles. The current concerns of policy makers as reflected in our review certainly justify this movement.

Clearly, the area of program implementation requires more innovative thinking and experimental research. Yet, there is a potential problem associated with the development of standardized, rational procedures. As one observer notes,

International requirements for project planning and implementation not only impose on developing nations a set of "rational" procedures that are often unrelated to political, administrative, and cultural constraints, but the attempts of Third World countries to conform may be adverse to their own interests. (Rondinelli, "International," 1976)

Care must be taken to avoid imposing additional Western-conceived and Western-designed ideas on the developing world, whose organizational capacity is already groaning under the weight of past assistance.

PART III: PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION: A COMPARATIVE
OVERVIEW, CONCLUSIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The crucial need is to reduce the likelihood of error in the design and implementation of development efforts. Technological expertise will ever be limited in its capacity to contribute to this need: it can often say what won't work, or what is necessary if not sufficient to effective action. It cannot guide the selection of large goals and major means. Granted that public administration has no superior track record in dealing with such basic needs, it does have a distinctive potential for making a vital contribution.

The agenda of public administration has enlarged beyond the instrumental orientation of twenty years ago. In principle, and somewhat in practice, it encompasses the analysis of relations between public organizations and their sociopolitical environments. It examines the limits and potentials of bureaucracy as an instrument of social change. It considers the implications of trying to act effectively under novel and relatively indeterminate conditions. This is the part of the agenda that needs attention and emphasis. The conventional subjects -- budgeting, personnel, and other technologies -- should be fitted within a framework that includes criteria and modes of analysis for making effective and discerning use of technologies.

William J. Siffin, "Two Decades of Public Administration in Developing Countries." In Education and Training for Public Sector Management in the Developing Countries, Joseph E. Black, et al, eds. The Rockefeller Foundation, March 1977, p. 59.

PART III: PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION: A COMPARATIVE
OVERVIEW, CONCLUSIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The state-of-the-art reviews in Part I and Part II set the stage for a comparative overview of program implementation approaches and strategies. In this section we will undertake such an analysis, concentrating on the congruence or "fit" between implementation strategies prescribed in the literature and the actual strategies followed by development assistance recipients and donors. The comparative overview will allow us to draw some general conclusions about the state of the art, and it will highlight unresolved issues deserving additional attention.

A. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION COMPARISONS

At present, the descriptions of predominant implementation Approaches and Strategies rely almost exclusively on elaborate narrative definitions. The few exceptions, notably the Institution Building and Implementation Cycle models, are limited in their scope and application. Thus, there is an evident need for a more comprehensive, operational implementation model (or an "organizing mechanism"*) which permits the incorporation of major Approaches and Strategies in this review.

In this section we introduce an organizing mechanism which may go part way in satisfying this need, both in summarizing the current state of the art and in serving as a point of departure for comparing prescribed and actual implementation strategies. In addition, this mechanism can help focus future additions to the literature as new concepts and research results emerge. At the very least, it provides a more precise framework for identifying what is being referred to as program implementation.

The inventory of program implementation comparisons is presented in Table 3. This inventory summarizes the program implementation approaches and their corresponding prescriptive strategies as presented in Part I of the review. It then compares these prescriptive strategies to the actual implementation strategies of development assistance recipients and donors. Based on this comparison, the inventory next identifies the extent of congruence between the two types of strategies, and leads to several program implementation conclusions. A discussion of these major conclusions, along with the implications of each, is presented below.

* An organizing mechanism as defined by Graham Allison in Essence of Decision, Boston: Little Brown, 1971, is a conceptual framework which facilitates inquiry into the reality of experiences without intending to identify casual relationships and patterns.

Table 3

COMPARATIVE INVENTORY OF PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION:
DESCRIPTIVE APPROACHES AND PRESCRIPTIVE STRATEGIES

ACADEMIC AND SCHOLARLY IMPLEMENTATION LITERATURE		OFFICIAL IMPLEMENTATION POLICY DOCUMENTS		Congruence Between "Prescribed" and "Actual" Implementation Strategies	Conclusions/Implications	
Program Implementation Categories & Determinants	Prescribed Implementation Strategies	Developing Country Implementation Strategies	Assistance Donor Implementation Strategies			
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION	A. THE ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY APPROACH	THE INSTITUTION BUILDING STRATEGY				
	Implementation performance depends on administrative capacity at the national and the local level.	Increase administrative capacity by building viable development institutions with clear doctrines, committed leaders, proper incentives, trained personnel, and external linkages.	Emphasis on building single institutions has decreased. Current priority given to developing capable leadership and efficient administrative procedures.	Although priority has decreased, donors still support some Institution Building activity in single ministries. Stress on committed leaders and efficient administrative systems.	Actual policies do not precisely follow the Institution Building Strategy. However, major Institution Building theme of capacity development is widely supported.	<u>The basic premises and themes of the Institution Building Strategy are difficult to comprehend and readily apply.</u> Additional attention is required to make the approach more operational
	B. THE BUREAUCRATIC VALUES APPROACH	THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM STRATEGY				
	Implementation performance is directly related to a shared value system between administrative staff and clients.	Increase the compatibility between development services and client needs by pursuing administrative reform at the national and local levels.	Need for administrative reform is widely accepted. Integrated strategies not viewed as suitable or feasible. Devolutionary strategies receive lip-service but usually fail for political reasons.	Accept need for administrative reform. Considerable support for integrated strategies. Increased attention on problems associated with carrying out devolutionary strategies.	Policy statements support need for administrative reform, but there is little evidence that integrated or devolutionary approach is feasible in most countries.	<u>The Administrative Reform Strategy is not extensively executed by developing countries.</u> There is a need for applied research aimed at making the reform strategy more suitable and feasible in IDC contexts
	C. THE WESTERN TECHNOLOGY APPROACH	THE FOLK MANAGEMENT STRATEGY				
	Implementation performance is negatively influenced by the transfer of inappropriate western managerial technology.	Increase the appropriate application of management techniques by harnessing indigenous resources and skills.	There is a growing, but minimal recognition of this issue. Indigenous solutions are not being considered in most areas.	Considerable awareness in regard to "hard" technology. Minimal concern with possibility that western management styles and procedures may be detrimental to development performance.	Actual policies only beginning to reflect the issue, and are silent with respect to Folk Management Strategy solutions.	<u>The Folk Management Strategy is not widely discussed or followed by assistance recipients and donors.</u> Additional consideration is required to determine whether this strategy is valid, and if so, how it can be articulated more effectively

Table 3 (continued)

COMPARATIVE INVENTORY OF PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION:
DESCRIPTIVE APPROACHES AND PRESCRIPTIVE STRATEGIES

ACADEMIC AND SCHOLARLY IMPLEMENTATION LITERATURE		OFFICIAL IMPLEMENTATION POLICY DOCUMENTS		Congruence Between "Prescribed" and "Actual" Implementation Strategies	Conclusions/Implications
Program Implementation Categories & Determinants	Prescribed Implementation Strategies	Developing Country Implementation Strategies	Assistance Donor Implementation Strategies		
A. THE UNCERTAINTIES/LATITUDE APPROACH					
Implementation performance is jointly determined by unforeseen environmental occurrences (uncertainties) and internal structural opportunities for management flexibility (latitudes).	Increase project latitude (potential management flexibility) by developing a high quality implementation plan.	Increased emphasis on need for better implementation planning. Impetus for change largely related to assistance donor project document requirements. Most country planning still macro-economic in nature.	This strategy is now given high priority by all donors, especially AID. Suitable techniques for completing assessments and analysis are still being developed.	The gap between prescribed and actual is narrowing, primarily as a result of assistance donor insistence. Developing countries lack expertise in this area.	<u>The Analysis and Assessment Strategy is being stressed by assistance donors and tacitly accepted by recipients.</u> Additional measures are needed to refine this strategy and integrate it with developing country methods and procedures.
B. THE NATURE OF THE PROJECT APPROACH					
Implementation performance is related to the extent of behavioral change required for project success.	Increase likelihood of achieving sustained behavior change by ensuring target group participation in project planning and implementation.	Acceptance of strategy varies largely as a result of political orientation. Many countries stress participation, but lack commitment and procedures for involving poor majority in project activities.	AID, the World Bank, and to a lesser extent, the U.N. officially support this strategy. However, no official procedures or guidelines exist for carrying this out. The strategy is "experimental".	Project statements stress the need for participation in project decisionmaking. Readily applicable methods for ensuring participation are being developed and tested.	<u>The rationale of the Target Group Involvement Strategy is widely accepted, but unevenly executed.</u> Practical ways to increase commitment and demonstrate feasibility are required.
C. THE IMPLEMENTATION CYCLE APPROACH					
Implementation performance is determined by the appropriate execution of management functions at critical stages of the implementation process.	Increase ability of project personnel to execute management functions by establishing appropriate project organization and responding to changes as they occur.	There is a high level of concern and interest in the improvement of project administrative and financial systems. Limited attention is given to creative problem solving and project feedback/impact evaluation.	Policies and procedures stress importance of project management systems. Emphasis on "compliance" with implementation plan. There is little concern for flexible management during implementation. There is limited, but expanding, attention to project evaluation and experimental learning.	Policy documents reflect consensus voiced in academic literature. However, donor agency procedures take a compliance rather than an evolutionary approach to implementation. Donors and recipients appear to be learning little from development implementation experience.	<u>The Organizing and Operations Strategy is inaccurately interpreted by major donors.</u> Donors need to accept a more experimental and flexible implementation posture in lieu of the compliance strategy which is now prevalent.

1. General Administration Implementation Category

Conclusion A: The basic premises and themes of the Institution Building strategy are held to be valid by assistance donors and recipients, but in practice they are difficult to comprehend and readily apply.

The assistance donors or recipients, along with the academic community, recognize that a shortage of administrative capacity is a major impediment to the development implementation performance of large-scale administrative and bureaucratic units, especially in the least developed countries. However, the policies of donors and recipients take a broader and more diffuse approach to administrative improvement than that suggested in the Institution Building literature. They are currently stressing some of the major tenants of Institution Building, such as developing committed leadership and valid environmental linkages, but this is taking place throughout bureaucracy rather than in single ministries or institutions.

Implications:

- Before the Institution Building strategy can be widely applied, additional attention will need to be given to making it easier to understand and use by developing country personnel.
- Additional administrative capacity strategies which are more suitable to the development needs of Third World countries should be considered. It may be time to give renewed attention to traditional "development of administrative functions" approaches.

Conclusion B: Policy statements reflect considerable support for the Administrative Reform strategy; however, neither the integrated management or the devolutionary approach is extensively executed.

Although there is a growing recognition in developing countries that prevailing bureaucratic values severely constrain development implementation performance, most major reform efforts have failed due to their lack of political support. The assistance donors, especially AID, are currently giving high priority to devolutionary approaches, and are supporting considerable research intended to make this approach more feasible in developing country settings. The integrated management approach is not well-suited in the current administrative environment of developing countries.

Implications:

- There is a need for continued research aimed at making the Administrative Reform strategy (especially the devolutionary approach) more politically feasible.
- Due to limited feasibility, lower priority should be given to comprehensive integrated sectoral approaches.

Conclusion C: The Folk Management strategy has not gained widespread recognition or support in implementation policy documents.

Assistance donors, and to a lesser degree assistance recipients, are becoming aware of potential program implementation dangers associated with the wholesale adoption of western managerial technology. As of now, there is no evidence to suggest that donors and recipients are supporting a Folk Management strategy.

Implications:

- Assistance donors and recipients should undertake a joint research effort to determine whether, and to what extent, the Folk Management strategy premises are valid.
- Successful Folk Management applications should be assembled and disseminated.

2. Development Project Implementation Category

Conclusion A: The Analysis and Assessment Strategy is being emphasized by assistance donors and has been tacitly accepted by the developing countries.

The recognition of implementation as a distinct and unique phase in the development project life cycle has broad support in donor agency and developing country documents. As a result increased planning attention is being given to the assessment of project implementation feasibility. Assistance donors are in the process of refining their analysis and assessment techniques. Developing countries are following suit, partially as a result of donor agency documentation requirements.

Implications:

- Enough donor agency support is being given to improving implementation analysis and assessment; however, improved, readily applicable planning techniques need to be developed.
- Additional information on the usefulness of implementation analysis is needed before developing countries will be convinced they should actively follow the lead of donor agencies in this area.

Conclusion B: The Target Group Involvement strategy is generally supported, but unevenly executed.

"New Directions" projects which attempt to improve the welfare and well-being of the poor majority require sustained behavioral change to be successful. These kinds of projects, although difficult to implement, are now given highest priority by assistance donors and an increasing number of developing countries.

The accepted implementation policy in regard to "New Directions" projects is one that ensures full target group participation in the planning and execution stages. However, actual commitment to this policy along with officially sanctioned guidelines for carrying it out are not yet evident within donor agency procedures or developing country development plans. In short, there is a lot of talk about participatory strategies, but little sustained action. The Target Group Involvement strategy thus remains in an "experimental mode."

Implications:

- Donor agencies must support additional research aimed at developing practical guidelines which can increase target group involvement in decision making.
- Donor agencies should support additional, novel efforts to examine the relevance of this strategy for Third World development. The evidence, if positive, should be used to convince developing countries that they should adopt the strategy on a broad scale.

Conclusion C: Donor agencies, including AID, are inaccurately interpreting and executing the Organizing and Operations strategy.

Donor agencies, including AID, are only beginning to address the dynamic and unpredictable nature of development implementation. As of yet, neither their policy documents or internal management procedures adequately reflect this fact. Thus, the Organizing and Operations strategy is being inaccurately interpreted and executed. This is a serious issue, and may be the most important finding of our review.

Evidence from numerous studies indicates that implementation is an evolutionary process, characterized by uncertainty. To be successful, projects must frequently deviate from their original plans. Yet, the policies and procedures of the donor agencies are clearly "compliance" biased. Mention is made of "redesign during implementation" and "incorporation of evaluation results" into future planning, but internal agency procedures do not stress these activities. In addition, and especially for AID, the internal rewards go to managers who plan and obligate projects, not to those who monitor and evaluate. Indicative of this for AID is that no set of internal project implementation guidelines currently exists.

Implications:

- Donor agencies need to accept a more experimental and flexible project implementation posture. An awareness that implementation will likely be an uncertain process should be first evident in the implementation plan. These plans should typically have a short time span and allow for periodic upgrading. A second necessity is for adequate resources and support in dealing with unexpected events. A new project implementation mode--one that is based on rewards for innovative responses and makes full use of impact evaluation--should be adopted.

- o The donor agencies, including AID, should devise implementation procedures that reward quality monitoring and evaluation, and pay proportionately less attention (given a relatively fixed amount of resources) to comprehensive project design. Comprehensive design is potentially detrimental because it contributes to a "compliance" mentality. This mentality stresses that complex activities should go according to plan, which can contribute to unenthusiastic monitoring. It also stresses problems and crises (reaction), rather than creative responses to potential opportunities.
- o Since implementation is a complex, multifaceted process it should be managed in a multidisciplinary mode--the implementor(s) should be sensitive to and able to comprehend the significance of a broad range of interacting forces. Implementation should be a collaborative venture that simultaneously draws on the talent of a number of disciplines and experiences.

B. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The state-of-the-art review suggests several recommendations and future directions. These include

1. Intellectual and programming priorities should be given to finding out how development projects succeed. From successful projects we can infer the types of administrative and contextual environment required to support those projects. Thus, models of general administration improvement can be oriented to maximizing the operational benefits of development projects.
2. Experimental and operational emphasis should be placed on "Folk Management" strategies--providing an environment in which LDC management innovation will prosper, and analyzing both the nature of those innovations and the context required to support them.
3. Effective implementation is an evolutionary process requiring changes in approaches and targets. Yet, bureaucratic structures still reward project planners and obligators rather than those who make sure that the expenditures achieve their ultimate impacts. Concerted attention should be given to developing administrative and project structures which reward innovative responses to program implementation opportunities and problems. Within donor agencies it appears that there is a clear mechanism available for doing this--greater priority can be given to impact evaluation and the effective use of evaluation results.
4. Institution building and organizational viability remain key factors in the development literature and development programming. Yet, the available models and approaches still lack relevance and utility to development personnel. Hence, concerted attention should be given to simplifying and adapting existing approaches. LDC personnel and institutions can be effective partners in such efforts.

SELECTED ANNOTATIONS FROM ACADEMIC LITERATURE

AND POLICY DOCUMENTS

A. SCHOLARLY LITERATURE ANNOTATIONS

Ahmed, Yusuf J. "Administration of Integrated Rural Development Programs: A Note on Methodology." International Labor Review, III (February 1975).

Y. Ahmed stresses that development administration as applied to rural development lacks clarity and specificity. This article aims to alleviate this situation by focusing on a conceptual definition of "integrated rural development" and by attempting to reflect on the functional relationship among the important elements of development administration.

Ahmed defines and discusses the anatomies of rural development programs "with special reference to employment, underemployment and the distribution of income." Stressing the point that the ultimate objective of integration is not to maximize coordination among administrative structures, but to achieve practical results, Ahmed argues in favor of administrative and structural changes (such as reforms in land ownership and the system of tenancy) that will enable a rural development program to become fully operational.

The study concludes that rural development can be accelerated under certain specified conditions and given a specific direction and purpose. To be able to achieve this, both a favorable national environment and the proper selection of development projects are essential. In the course of promoting such programs, an integrated administrative approach--the planned supply of simultaneous services that enables a rural development program to become operational--can help to minimize some problems.

Agarwal, P. P. "Some Aspects of Plan Implementation." Indian Journal of Public Administration, 19 (January-March 1973):16-25.

This article stresses that the problems of plan implementation extend far beyond what is usually realized or admitted. Agarwal notes that implementation extends from plan formulation to policy execution. As a result, he emphasizes the importance of essential consultations among all the parties concerned at all stages and levels. In the process, the use of system analysis and the need for reasonable flexibility in the course of plan implementation is emphasized.

Agarwa notes that important relationships exist between development plans and their implementation. Thus, plan implementation should try to correspond with the dynamic features of development plans. He says that this can be achieved when efforts in implementation take due recognition of these dynamic features and attempt to operate judiciously and efficiently.

Finally, he offers some suggestions that can be used as guidelines for plan adoption. These include careful initial planning involving detailed

feasibility analysis; cautious scheduling of necessary resources such as personnel, equipment, etc.; appropriate delegation of responsibilities; appropriate use of funds with a reasonable degree of flexibility and cost consciousness; and meaningful public participation in order to enlist required support.

Allison, Graham T. "Implementation Analysis: 'The Missing Chapter' in Conventional Analysis: A Teaching Exercise." In Benefit-Cost and Policy Analysis 1974, R. E. Zeckhauser, et al., eds. Chicago: Aldine, 1975.

The argument in support of implementation research runs as follows: First, implementation constitutes a fairly large proportion of public policy problems. It varies from as high as 90% to as low as 10%, with the average being about 50%. Despite this, current policy analysis, both formal and informal, pays little attention to implementation issues. The tools currently available for implementation analysis are rather rudimentary. However, guidelines do exist which offer reasonable prospects for making substantial improvements in estimating the costs and benefits of policy alternatives and in assessing their chances of implementation success. The author concludes that research aimed at developing methods for implementation analysis with a focus on identifying obstacles to and opportunities for implementation is more than overdue.

The article provides two specific focal points as to how an implementation analysis methodology should be developed.

"First, to develop a replicable methodology, beginning with a checklist or recipe, by which analysts can address implementation problems before a policy decision is made and build consideration of implementation obstacles into the comparison of alternatives presented to decision makers;

"Second, to develop guidelines by which analysts can design plans for decision and action that increase the prospects of successful implementation."

An actual case study involving a public policy decision on the construction of a state medical school in Massachusetts in 1969 is used to illustrate how the method can be applied.

Allison then describes the exercise and the initial checklists used for doing implementation estimates and plans. He describes three different sets of notes. Under "The Logic of Conventional Analysis" there is a brief checklist for traditional cost-benefit analysis. "Implementation Estimates" focus on guidelines for forecasting the capabilities, interests, and incentives of organizations to implement each alternative analyzed by cost-benefit analysis, and for adjusting estimated costs and benefits

in this light. He identifies a further set of considerations under "Implementation Plans." This includes (a) assessment of the decision maker's prospects to obtain alternatives and (b) design of tactics to pursue preferred alternatives through successive stages of decision and implementation.

At the end of the article, Allison summarizes the common pitfalls in these different areas:

1. Logic of Analysis
 - a. Misstate the problem or neglect some important objectives
 - b. Omit alternatives.
 - c. Neglect or misstate important categories or cost benefits
 - d. Invoke dubious facts or assumptions
 - e. Muffle uncertainties
 - f. Fail to highlight key findings
 - g. Make unsupported recommendations

2. Implementation Estimate
 - a. Miss organizational and political factors in implementation
 - b. Fail to adjust estimated costs and benefits in light of these operational factors

3. Implementation Strategy
 - a. Neglect important groups and individuals who have taken stands on the issue and will have an impact on the resolution.
 - b. Miss decision maker's problem, opportunity costs, and deadlines
 - c. Fail to state real alternatives that identify who must do what and how
 - d. Forget consequences of failure.

Chambers, Robert. Managing Rural Development: Ideas and Experiences from East Africa. New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1974.

This volume makes the case that current (since mid-1960) rural development policies tend to be altered in implementation so that they disproportionately benefit those who are already better off. The main objective of the book is to develop management procedures to correct these imbalances by securing better performance from government staff in rural development. Ideas and experiences are drawn mainly from East Africa.

Chambers describes various categories of rural development initiatives that have been in vogue and then states his own preference: improved management procedures for improved development--from urban bias to rural;

from plan formulation and budgeting to programming, implementation and monitoring; and from authoritarianism to democratic management of field staff. Areas of activity are identified for which management procedures are proposed in subsequent chapters. He deals with such problems as program implementation, performance of lower-echelon field staff, and participation of people and government staff at the local level. Chambers suggests some kind of procedural-reform strategy for improved results in rural development.

Chapter Five is likely to be the most useful. It underscores the need for "practical" planning models, simple functional evaluation systems, and more realistic agricultural research. Much agricultural research is identified as "inbred, inward looking," and parochial, resulting in a gap between research findings and the farmer. Government policies tend to encourage "perfectionist" research and overcollection of data, most of it unuseable and leading only to unrealistic action proposals. Given the importance of their activities, planners' time has high opportunity cost and should be treated as a scarce resource.

To combat these tendencies, Chambers suggests a series of shifts in focus and priority in research and planning, namely from complex to "quick-dirty surveys"; from maximization to optimization of returns; and from abstract rational planning to "progressive plan management." These shifts should be accompanied by a "well-designed management system" with clearly defined procedures directed toward supervision, work planning, implementation, staff evaluation and progress review. (Adapted from a review by Avtar Singh in "Books in Review," International Development Review 2 [1976]: 19-20, ed. Charles W. Hultman.)

Chambers, Robert. Simple is Practical: Approaches and Realities for Project Selection for Poverty Focused Rural Development. Paper submitted to the symposium on "The Implications of Income Distribution and Employment Objectives for Project Appraisal and Identification," jointly organized by the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, the Ministry of Overseas Development (U.K.), and the Institute of Development Studies (Sussex), 1977.

This article critically examines the conventional approaches to project selection (identification, design, appraisal, and choice) in light of some of the preconditions which donor agencies put forward to emphasize. The projects under consideration primarily involve rural development schemes which are designed to benefit the poorest group of the society.

Chambers attempts to underscore that the conventional technical method of project appraisal is rather unrealistic from the point of view of helping the rural poor. Specifically, he notes that it is wrong to start with a technical evaluation of project feasibility. He suggests that starting with

the village people from right where they are, and trying to find out approaches that can be useful to them, is a more simple and realistic alternative. Implicit in his argument is the idea that officials and expatriate personnel who usually carry out project appraisals are not aware of local conditions and needs.

Chambers concludes that the net result of this conventional approach and emphasis may lead to the neglect of small projects which could be much more helpful to small farmers. Therefore, he suggests that there is a need to simplify project appraisal procedures, to decentralize administration, and to encourage project officials to gain local experience.

This analysis has implications for administrative reforms and for the reorganization of project techniques and procedures. It suggests highly decentralized administrative structures and more in-depth information gathering regarding local people and local conditions on the part of the donor agencies. Further, it also requires more encouragement of local peoples' participation in project selection, design, and implementation.

De, Nitish R. "Public Administration and Plan Implementation." Indian Journal of Public Administration, 20 (October-December 1974):701-722.

This article is divided into two parts: the first part deals with an assessment of the current status of Indian public administration in relation to the problems of implementation of the Fifth Plan; the second part deals with certain parameters of action to bring about systematic changes which are concomitant with some of the issues discussed in the first part.

The author perceives that planning and policy implementation are a closely related and on-going process. He holds the principle that the integration of various socio-economic and political variables is not limited to administrative technology alone, but it is also dependent on management's attitude since their value system reflects actual behavior. He stresses that the management's (the elite's) attitude or their bias towards non-productive culture needs to be attended to immediately. It is felt that management is biased against the poor and that the administrative machinery is insensitive to public needs.

De stresses that action plans call for strict observation of rules and procedures in a work system. Therefore, governmental departments and their functionaries must be required to observe such rules and procedures. In order to ensure this, there is a need for revising auditing and evaluation rules and procedures. Finally, he emphasizes that there must be a close working relationship between the people and the administration. This must be based on mutual trust and confidence rather than on administrative manipulation. It is felt that in the long run this will smooth plan implementation.

Eaton, Joseph W., ed. Institution Building and Development: From Concepts to Application. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1972.

This book is the outcome of the joint efforts of scholars and organizations concerned with the important responsibility of training development specialists. The group of scholars who recognized this responsibility also realized that there was a shortage of relevant knowledge to teach. Therefore, they decided to deal with selected concepts that can be applied to the analysis of the "Institution-Building" process. Their efforts were focused on identifying organizational variables that can favorably or adversely influence institution-building for developmental purposes.

This book is a selection of readings covering divergent topics in development administration. "The Elements of Institution Building" by M. Esman, "The Institution-Building Model in Program Operation and Review" by T. Thorson, and "Technical Assistance and Institution Building: An Empirical Test" by W. Pooler and R. Duncan are notable examples.

The book is considered to be particularly useful for development planners, but is also applicable for others who work with, and are interested in organizational dimensions of development program implementation.

Governmental Affairs Institute: Managing Planned Agricultural Development. Washington, D.C.: Government Affairs Institute, Agricultural Sector Implementation Project, 1976 ; A.I.D. contract, csd-3630

The main thrust of this document is focused on identifying and compiling important guidelines, from existing proven theories and from successful practical experiences, which can be used by agricultural managers in less developed countries to improve the management of planned agricultural and rural development projects. The document can be used both as a reference work and as a source material for training agricultural managers.

The preparation of this document involved a literature survey (theoretical research) and an empirical study of field experience. Thus the exercise involved a massive literature search and extensive consultations with practitioners.

A general word of caution regarding use of the conclusions has been clearly noted. That is, inasmuch as the information used in compiling this document was drawn from so many sources, including different regions and many different countries, universal generalizations are not warranted. In other words, the conclusions should not be literally applied to all regions and all countries without adapting them to the prevailing conditions.

The document contains extensive information on how to go about implementing agricultural development projects as a vehicle for promoting rural development. A comprehensive bibliography is included.

Hunter, Guy. Modernizing Peasant Societies: A Comparative Study in Asia and Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Hunter attempts to draw a striking contrast between the experience of the developed and the developing countries with respect to the evolution of the administrative experience in the two settings. While the former were able to develop their experience through a rather slow evolutionary process over a long period of time, the latter are caught up in the paradox of immediately needing a relatively modern and efficient capability while not having enough experience behind them so as to be able to satisfy these needs.

He notes further that developing countries are beset by additional paradoxes within their environment. Although they need administrative decentralization, they cannot encourage it for fear of a loss of loyalty from outlying regions once decentralization has taken place. Besides, they cannot do away with the traditional hierarchies which may have outlived their usefulness for fear of its replacement with poor quality personnel, kinship favoritism, and corruption, all of which inhibit fair and effective administration.

Hunter underscores three major issues in administration that need immediate attention: delegation, coordination, and local involvement or participation. In order to achieve these, he suggests that administrative delegation must be more flexible and creative, interdepartment division of responsibilities and their coordination must be more flexible than rigid, there must be better coordination of technical personnel without being necessarily rigid, and there must be some means for the expression of the needs of those who are administered. Hunter took the Indian rural administration (Panchayat Raj system) as a good example of the solution to the problem.

Finally, he makes specific suggestions to help to minimize the administrative problems of the developing countries. These include: increasing staff, delegating responsibilities to local governments, and decentralizing administrative duties or creating special agencies for special tasks.

The implication of the solutions which Hunter has suggested can perhaps be interpreted as a call for large financial outlays for personnel training and for other necessary supporting materials. However, how far the developing countries are capable of fulfilling this is quite questionable.

Koteen, Jack. "Key Problems in Development Administration." In Administrative Issues in Developing Economies, Kenneth J. Ro Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972.

1. Koteen commences his discussion with the proposition that in the developing countries deficiencies in managerial capacities are greater than ever before. He stresses that national development programs have often fallen short of expectations because of this managerial weakness.

Koteen identifies four major problem areas in development administration. These include:

1. The shortage of qualified managerial manpower which is essential to the promotion of development programs
2. The need for introducing relevant improvements in institutions which can play key roles in development
3. Inadequacy in existing project management systems
4. The lack of effective action at the local level--primarily by the functionaries and representatives of different departments at that level.

He then further identifies specific deficiencies in the current situation for each of the problem areas, relying both on document reviews and on discussions with professionals in the field.

The points raised in this discussion have important policy implications. They include the need for expanding management training (preferably a large portion of this at the middle-management level), the need for improving the content of the training material so as to better meet the needs of the developing countries, and an emphasis on effective institution building and active local participation.

Lele, Uma. The Design of Rural Development: Lessons from Africa. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press for World Bank, 1975.

This World Bank sponsored study of rural development in Africa--the African Rural Development Study or ARDS--grew out of a substantial interest within the Bank of finding ways of designing relevant project that could be accomplished despite limited resources, particularly of money and trained manpower, and that would reach a large proportion of the low-income rural population. The focus is therefore consciously operational.

One of the main objectives has been to investigate whether and how the reviewed projects and similar programs should have been designed, had there been more concern with broad participation, overall welfare, and the utilization of local financial and institutional resources. The study also investigates whether institutional and procedural changes are needed in planning and implementing rural development projects to increase their effectiveness in realizing the new objectives of development. For the comparative evaluations on which the major findings are based, seventeen sets of rural development projects and programs involving the participation of a number of multi-lateral, bi-lateral and national agencies were carefully analyzed. These were selected from nearly sixty programs in various parts of sub-Saharan Africa to represent a very considerable diversity in design and implementation, as well as their environment.

The book deals with rural development perspectives in Africa, nature of the production system, agricultural extension and mass-participation, agricultural credit system, marketing and agricultural output, social services, forms of rural development administration, training for rural development, with a summary and conclusion of the findings.

U. Lele concludes that: If the objective of participation of the lowest income group is to be ensured, examination of the particular country's existing sectoral policies and plans as well as of the indigenous institutions available for rural development has to be oriented explicitly toward assessing the extent to which these effectively reach the lowest income groups in the rural areas; and the past programs indicate that substantially greater planning effort is necessary than was possible in most of the programs reviewed if effectiveness is to be maximized.

Given the extreme scarcity of trained manpower to plan and implement rural development programs, the book also discusses alternative approaches for increasing the likelihood of project success. Recommended is a strategy "based on systematic acquisition of local knowledge and flexibility in the course of implementation."

Marson, D. Brian. "Dissimilar Value Commitments and the Dynamics of Development Administration." Thai Journal of Development Administration, XI (October 1971).

This article was written with the primary aim of investigating the role of value differences among the different development actors for enhancing or impeding development programs. The need for this study grew out of the author's recognition that such studies have been neglected in the past. The study is empirical in nature, based on a review of reports in U.S. A.I.D. files covering Southeast Asia.

Marson has attempted to show that failures in certain development projects can be attributed to differences in values between the project designers, the implementors, and the people who the project is supposed to benefit. He states that many of the key actors involved in the planning and implementation of development programs are not sensitive to cross-cultural value differences which may cause sub-optimal program outcomes, or outright project failure, since a project might carry values which are alien to the beneficiaries. In short, he suggests that quite often some of the factors which are cited as being causes of project failures are probably symptoms of the problem rather than causes.

This finding has a clearcut implication for development projects which are supported through international assistance--that is, both the design and the implementation of such projects should take into account the overall local environment, including social and cultural value systems, if they are intended to have practical utility under local conditions.

Montgomery, John D. Technology and Civic Life: Making and Implementing Development Decisions. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1974.

This book examines the effects of technological development and civic life with specific reference to the developing countries. The relationship between different levels of administrative decision making--central, local, and individual--involved in promoting development and the resulting socio-economic behavior of the citizens are examined. The book covers divergent aspects of modernization and its possible consequences.

Montgomery notes that much of the preparation for writing the book was undertaken in connection with a classroom seminar which he offered at Harvard. In conjunction with this seminar, he subsequently traveled to the Netherlands where he was able to talk to various individuals who provided additional information for the book.

The author suggests that the book has more implications than the proposals outlined in the different chapters reveal. Specifically, the book emphasizes that the conventions of macro-development which national plans continue to pursue, will not be enough to promote modernization. Instead rational strategies of knowledge generation, knowledge utilization, opportunity generation, and popular participation need to be pursued. Montgomery is quick to argue in favor of contextual analysis in applying lessons from previous experience. The book in general is a useful addition to the literature of development studies and is recommended for those who want to explore possible paradoxes of modernization.

Morss, Elliot R., et al. Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects. Washington, D.C.: Development Alternatives, Inc., 1975; AID contract, CM/ta-C-73-41.

This study was undertaken with the primary aim of gathering empirical data that can help to provide important clues as to how to improve the design and implementation of projects that are designed to help small farmers. The study covered 36 rural development projects in Africa and Latin America. To gather the data, investigators visited local project implementation sites. The information gathered from these field visits was supplemented with literature on rural development.

The study's findings suggest that "project success" was clearly influenced by the small farmers' involvement in the decision making process during the design and implementation phases, and by their support given to the project in terms of contributing development resources.

These findings have clear policy implications: development projects must have sufficient provision for effective local participation, both in terms of decision-making and in terms of securing the essential local support for the project. This study is highly recommended for those interested in the rural development program design and implementation.

Pressman, Jeffrey L. and Wildavsky, Aaron B. Implementation. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Pressman and Wildavsky view implementation as a "process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them." In their study of the Oakland Project they point out the important linkage between planning and implementation. They note that the study of implementation requires the understanding that an apparently simple sequence of events depends on complex chains of reciprocal interactions. Thus, each part of the chain must be built with the others in view. "The separation of policy design from implementation is fatal."

To close the gap between expectations and performance they suggest reducing the complexity of the process by reducing the number of actors and steps in the process, paying as much attention to the creation of organizational machinery for executing a program as for launching one, and better calculation and understanding of the incentives of the major actors and the decision points where differences will have to be resolved.

Rondinelli, Dennis A., ed. Planning Development Projects. Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania: Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, Inc., 1977.

Rondinelli points out that "this book is a collection of readings and cases that view project planning and administration in a broad perspective." He thus does not attempt to draw any overall conclusions but merely aims to provide a new perspective to viewing project planning and implementation --adding social, cultural, and political dimensions to the traditional approach of pure rational technical analysis of project planning.

The book is based both on case studies of actual projects in Asia and on theoretical and empirical probes provided by the authors. In general, it contains very useful information that can help to bring about a better understanding of the problems of development planning and implementation.

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Radosevich, H. Raymond. A Study of Development Project Administration: Diagnostics for Improved Implementation. Memphis, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University, 1975.

This paper reviews some of the major criticisms of project administration by international assistance agencies in an attempt to bring to light some of the management and administrative problems which international assistance agencies have to overcome in order to make projects effective vehicles for promoting socio-economic development.

The authors have shown that deficiencies in project administration or management are not restricted to any one stage of the project cycle. On the contrary, different problems appear to menace each of the different stages of the project cycle. On the basis of this overall finding, they have identified two broad categories of findings with varying policy implications. First, they observe that knowledge of major implementation problems does exist within assistance organizations. However, this knowledge is not effectively utilized due to difficulties in finding the means to increase organizational learning. Second, they suggest that a diagnostic study can be used to identify major problems or deficiencies that can affect project success through succeeding stages in an important way.

The data on which this paper is based come from two major empirical sources. First, over 50 officials, ranging from high level administrators and management to middle level staff, in international assistance agencies were interviewed. Second, a detailed examination of official records was made.

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Ruddle, Kenneth. Local Organization for Integrated Rural Development: Implementing Equity Policy in Developing Countries. Syracuse, New York: The Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 1976.

This paper starts with the policy premise which international development assistance agencies and national governments in developing countries have adopted with respect to the role of integrated rural development in promoting economic growth with an emphasis on equity considerations. This premise states that integrated rural development is an effective means for promoting economic growth combined with equitable distribution of the benefits. The paper seeks to identify institutional and organizational constraints to integrated rural development programs. The paper is based on an empirical survey of the experience with integrated rural development programs over the past decades.

The authors conclude that "explicit attention must be given to expanding organizational infrastructures" and that local government capacity to support projects must be given higher priority. In both cases it is emphasized that project loans must pay attention to the ways and means by which such local capacity can be strengthened. Thus, the success of integrated rural development hinges upon what is done to strengthen such supportive institutions.

Rothwell, Kenneth J., ed. Administrative Issues in Developing Economics. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972.

This book is a selection of essays covering a wide range of problems in management and development administration. The central theme of the essays is focused on improving the outcomes of developing economies. The book has relied on case studies to illustrate some of the particular problems in specialized circumstances. As explained by Rothwell,

"This book presents a series of contemporary views on significant issues in the administration of institutions and organizations and the management of development in developing economies. It seeks to set out the basic problems of management and administration under conditions of hastened economic change and the ways of dealing with some of these problems, particularly through new training approaches. Special attention is given to the needs of public and private organizations relevant to the next decade of development." (Preface, p. ix.)

Effective management and administration in the organization and institutions which are emerging in developing economies have been found to be an important ingredient which can influence the success of program planning and implementation.

The book, in general, provides useful materials in the area of management and development administration, along with insights about how management problems can be conceptualized and resolved.

Ruttan, Vernon W. Rural Development Programs: A Skeptical Perspective. Paper prepared for presentation at colloquium on "New Concepts and Technologies in Third World Urbanization," University of California (Los Angeles), May 17-18, 1974.

This monograph was prepared with the primary objective of testing a hypothesis "that rural development doesn't represent a viable project, program or plan objective." In other words, it doesn't help to achieve the double goal of "equity" and "productivity."

The article is based on a survey of selected experiences in integrated rural development programs in Asia (India and Pakistan), Latin America, and the U.S. (TVA). This survey is further augmented by an analysis of rural theories which attempt to provide various models (urban-industrial hypothesis, induced technical change, new models of institutional change) for the promotion of rural development.

Ruttan concludes that rural development program activities must be organized around services and activities which have well-defined technologies, and such activities must aim to utilize the abundant supply of human resources in the rural areas. Further, he notes that efficient utilization of available resources (economic and political) requires substantial autonomy and that rural welfare is more of a function of rural productivity (level of output per person) than of distribution (inequity due to maldistribution).

Smith, Thomas B. "The Policy Implementation Process." Policy Sciences, 4 (1973):197-209.

Smith contests the implicit assumption in many models that "once a policy has been made by a government, the policy will be implemented and the desired results of the policy will be near those expected by the policy makers." That assumption cannot hold true if a society does not possess the necessary political and organizational conditions for successful implementation. Smith finds such conditions especially lacking in Third World nations, while the West supposedly possesses the bureaucratic capabilities to implement policy. Smith's faith in the efficiency and effectiveness of Western bureaucracy has been criticized as premature: without clear

definitions of the variables involved in the implementation process, it is difficult to assess which are the most important conditions under which a policy may be effectively implemented.

Smith constructs a model in an attempt to clarify the implementation process for policy makers. Within that model, policies are seen to generate tensions when implementation is attempted: tension is experienced both by those implementing the policy and by those experiencing the impact of that implementation. Four components are identified within the process: the idealized policy; the implementing organization; the target group; and the environmental factors in the process. Tensions occur within and between these four components at the individual, group and/or structural levels.

Stifel, Laurence P., Coleman, James S., and Black, Joseph E., eds. Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing Countries. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1977.

This volume contains a number of papers prepared for the Rockefeller Foundation Education and Development Conference held in Bellagio, Italy, in 1976. The primary objective of the Bellagio Conference was to assess various educational and training models and strategies for improving effectiveness of top- and middle-level public management functions in developing countries. The volume concentrates particularly on management education and training for development sectors (or public systems) carried out by postsecondary educational institutions in these countries.

Part II of the volume sets forth concrete examples of the management constraints in two critical development sectors: population and agriculture. From these examples are derived the management requirements for the two sectors.

Part III examines alternative models for management education for development sectors to determine whether it is possible to identify general principles or characteristics that have been effective. Since many existing management programs in LDCs have been derived from Western programs, various aspects of the issue of transferability are examined. There is considerable skepticism that a satisfactory educational model for development sectors has been developed in the West, but it is possible to identify elements that are transferable and to consider the problems of adaptation in Asian and African settings.

Part IV concerns strategies for institutionalizing public management education and training programs. Studies of two major LDCs, India and Nigeria, illustrate the broad range of public policies and institutional arrangements that determine program effectiveness.

Vepa, Ram K. "Implementation: The Problem of Achieving Results." Indian Journal of Public Administration, 20 (April-June 1974):257-291.

This is a review of a study commissioned by the General Assembly of the Eastern Regional Organization of Public Administration (EUROPA). It was primarily commissioned to study why it is difficult to implement projects. The focus is primarily on the administrative process of project plan formulation and its implementation.

The study consisted of comparative analyses of 12 similar projects in Asia. These projects were compared in terms of similarities of functions, or the nature of the activities carried out through them, and not on the basis of their objectives or on the level of development of the countries involved. The analysis was composed of six sets of two case studies each, matched on the basis of similarities of the functions they performed. The purpose of this matching was to investigate why similar projects succeed in certain situations and fail elsewhere.

The findings from the case studies suggest that certain broad guidelines have emerged. These are briefly summarized below:

- (i) Implementation is but one aspect of a larger process of society and is, therefore, affected decisively by the environment in which a particular programme is implemented.
- (ii) An important facet of the environment is the political milieu at the national, regional and field levels which can be either beneficial or counter-productive.
- (iii) Programme administrators need to develop skills for "playing the political game" so as to optimize political support for the programme. This can be done through frequent consultation and helps to sustain the programme through timely budget releases.
- (iv) A suitable organizational framework is essential for effective implementation: this involves rational allocation of resources, both material and human; recruitment of suitable personnel and allocation of meaningful responsibilities to them.
- (v) Consultation with, and involvement of, the beneficiaries of the programme is essential and needs to be built consciously into the implementation machinery.
- (vi) Accurate data and timely information must be compiled and fed back to appropriate levels for effective monitoring of the programme during implementation. Field reports should be simple and direct and should be acted upon at the headquarters.

- (vii) Programme leadership is an important criterion for the success of a programme; but mere charismatic leadership of a single individual is likely to be transient and ephemeral. What is needed is competence and commitment at all levels of the implementation hierarchy. This implies not merely technical skills relevant to the programme, but also managerial expertise in implementation, human skills in personnel management and motivating people to achieve results and, lastly, political skills to obtain and sustain cooperation and support from leaders of public opinion in the community and country.

The findings imply that project success or failure is influenced by many factors which may vary from situation to situation. In general, the study provides good insight of what works under what circumstances and, to some extent, why.

Williams, Walter. "Implementation Analysis and Assessment." Policy Analysis (Summer 1975):531-566.

Williams defines implementation as the "stage between a decision and operation." It begins with "the development of program guidelines or design specification; moves to . . . lengthy stage of trying to work through a myriad of technological, administrative, staff and institutional problems that confront a new activity. . . [and] ends when the experiment is deemed ready to test or when the non-experimental activity is judged fully operational."

Four assessment activities are stressed: implementation analysis; specification assessment; intermediate implementation assessment; and final implementation assessment. Implementation analysis must be performed before a decision is made: staff, organizational, and managerial capabilities must be assessed in relation to the proposed policy alternatives in the actual bureaucratic political setting; a determination must be made of the "clarity, precision, and reasonableness" of the preliminary policy specifications. Implementation is seen as the link between theory and action. It entails examination of: what is to be done, how it will be done, what changes are required from the organizations involved, and what specific, measurable objectives are to be considered.

Williams stresses the critical role of top management in the improvement of policy execution. Management must move toward institutionalization of implementation as a "critical part of programmatic activity." His technique of "implementation analysis" serves as a means of incorporating concern with implementation problems into the planning/implementing/evaluating process.

Wynia, Gary W. Politics and Planners: Economic Development Policy in Central America. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972.

This study involved an analysis of three different types of projects consisting of 19 individual projects in Central America, in order to demonstrate that projects have similar behavior both in the pattern of their performance and in their outcomes irrespective of the varying conditions under which they are initiated and carried out. The analysis compares project behavior in terms of deviations in project performance from originally expected patterns. This involved an examination of two sets of criteria in project performance: delays in project execution and project cost overruns. The study thus considered variations in conditions as independent variables and project behavior as a dependent variable.

Wynia's findings suggest that irrespective of variations in conditions, the different projects analyzed seemed to show similar behavior. These included delays in project execution or implementation and unexpected cost overruns. Delays in project implementation or execution seem to be influenced by the process of policy formulation regarding the projects. Unexpected cost overruns seem to be affected both by deliberate cost underestimation (so as to entice international lending agencies to give credit) and by unfeasible cost estimation due to sheer ignorance of the conditions under which the project is to be carried out and its attendant costs.

The study implies that both national governments and, especially, international lending agencies should carefully scrutinize project formulation and design before they sanction that the project is feasible. The study in general provides useful insights into the complex factors which can influence project success or failure.

B. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT ANNOTATIONS

Czarnecki, Marian A. Deficiencies in the Management and Delivery of United Nations Technical and Pre-Investment Assistance; Report of a Staff Survey Team to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Ninety-Second Congress, First Session. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, March 25, 1971.

The purpose of this study was to respond to the request of the Hon. Cornelius E. Gallagher for a review of the U.N. capacity "to deliver a significantly larger volume of development assistance over the next two or three years." The staff held 80 meetings and interviews and read documents and scholarly studies in developing the study.

The major conclusions of the study were that:

"1. The United Nations does not have an operative, integrated system for the programming, funding, delivery and evaluation of development assistance.

2. The United Nations, the U.N. Development Programme, and the Specialized Agencies involved in the provision of technical assistance and pre-investment assistance are poorly organized and at times indifferently administered. As a result, their overall performance is uneven and their capacity to take on additional work, at present, questionable. . .

3. The developing countries are partly responsible for the delays and other shortcomings in the delivery of technical and pre-investment assistance by the machinery of the United Nations. Their capacity to absorb development aid, particularly under conditions which presently govern the furnishing of such help, is fairly circumscribed."

The relevance of these conclusions for a study of implementation is that they suggest considerable difficulty in obtaining the coherent support of the U.N. system for improvements in program implementation, even if they are identified. It also suggests the difficulty recipient governments would have implementing any reforms, given their existing absorptive capacity.

Great Britain. A Guide to Project Appraisal in Developing Countries.

London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Overseas Development Administration, 1972.

The purpose of this Guide "is to provide a practical basis for appraising projects financed by the public sector." The Guide replaces and supplements a number of other Government documents.

The Guide takes a generally economic standpoint in project assessment. It relies on such factors as valuation of cost and benefits, cash flow

analysis, risk analysis, etc., to arrive at a figure for income redistribution since "the basic assumption. . . is the greatest possible increase in the standard of living. . ."

The major relevance of the Guide lies in what is not included. Most significantly, there is only one paragraph relating to management which, because of its brevity, can be reported in full,

"The supreme importance of good management for the success of a project must always be kept in mind. It is likely to affect not only the prices paid for inputs, or realized outputs, but will also have an important effect upon the physical output of the project and the performance of labour and machines."

The British penchant for understatement is well known. However, in this case, they may be carrying it to an extreme.

National Institute of Management Development. Administrative Experiences with Foreign Aid with Special Reference to Technical Assistance: Proceedings of the Fifth Inter-African Public Administration Seminar, 7th to 13th November, 1966. Cairo: National Institute of Management Development, 1967.

The purpose of this document is to summarize the proceedings of the seminar, plus the background and discussion papers prepared for it, including responses to a questionnaire indicating countries' experience with foreign aid and technical assistance from donors.

Some of the conclusions of the seminar included:

1. Recipients should examine their motives in requesting aid, and assure that motives of donors and of recipients overlap to at least some degree if aid is to be well-utilized;
2. The paucity of data and lack of clear objectives often make it difficult to assess aid needs;
3. Resistance to change is one of the key bottlenecks to effective utilization of aid, and aid donors and recipients need to be sensitive to dealing with this problem;
4. In implementing programs, less resistance is met when new programs are developed for existing institutions as compared to new ones;
5. Foreign staff recruited by donors were too often unsuitable;
6. Recipient governments seldom have good systems of follow-up and control of projects;
7. There is seldom any evaluation of a project by the recipient government as to the value from their perspective (as opposed to donor perspective).

The relevance of this document lies in its enumeration of opinions of African government officials on implementation problems of aid projects as seen from their perspective, including some suggestions for improvement.

Pan American Union, Department of Economic Affairs, General Secretariat, Organization of American States. Public Administration in Latin America, 1965.

The purpose of this study is to present a summary of the major administrative problems that may impede socio-economic development in Latin America. It also highlights the administrative reforms that may be required to alleviate these problems. The study is a synthesis of earlier reports filed by three groups of experts (Consultative Missions) on public administration. These reports were field surveys of administrative problems in various Latin American countries.

The study concludes that, in general, Latin American countries confront similar administrative problems in the course of socio-economic development. These problems include personnel management and administration; lack of effective criteria for assigning tasks among the various sectors of administration, with specific reference to the effective implementation of development programs; and outmoded judicial and legal procedures/formalities.

This study makes a valuable contribution to understanding some of the problems which impede efforts toward achieving an accelerated program of socio-economic development. The findings of this study may prove a useful guide for studying and formulating common development policies in other regions.

Taylor, Charles S. Development Project Management Needs and Resources in Latin America. Washington, D.C.: Office of Development Administration, U.S.A.I.D., 1974.

This monograph identifies project management in Latin America and specifies the resources available to meet them. Particular attention is given to the symptoms and the causes of management deficiencies, remedies proposed to deal with them; effective demand for training and consulting services; and institutional resources for training, consulting, or other means of management intervention.

The report is based on an extensive literature survey of relevant materials, including official papers, reports and books.

The author concludes that the issue of "management needs" lacks conceptual clarity due to the different meaning attached to management by different people. Further, he notes that training is aimed toward high level officials and often does not reach those who actually manage the implementation of projects. Also, training needs and the nature of the training are determined by the training institutions and the grant donors--both of whom seem to perceive such need in light of meeting their own predetermined objectives rather than in light of the actual needs of the recipient. As a result, there is no pretraining needs analysis and the training tends to be more theoretical than practical.

United Nations. Administration of Development Programmes and Projects: Some Major Issues. New York: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/TAO/M/55, 1971.

The purpose of this document "is to suggest the various issues with which an administrator must be concerned. . . in decision making. . ." It is divided into two parts. One, prepared by Professor Egbert de Vries, is an analytical/descriptive piece on program formulation and implementation. The other, prepared by the Public Administration Division of the U.N., identifies the various phases of development projects and identifies the major administrative requirements related to each phase.

This paper uses the project phase approach, which assumes that it is possible to identify certain distinctive types of administrative problems in each phase of project development. Major categories of problems identified by the paper in each phase include:

1. Conception: The "paucity of well-conceived projects" due to lack of administrative capacity in developing countries "to generate their own ideas or to process external ideas as the basis for new projects."
2. Formulation: There is a general lack of consideration of administrative/management considerations in project formulation, this stage usually considers economic and technical problems.
3. Analysis: project information is quite often insufficient to obtain review and approval by various authorities. Political needs often dictate choices which are not sound.
4. Implementation: The most serious problem in the development of the organizational arrangements for implementation. Choices in this area can make or break a project.
5. Reporting: Feedback is quite often inappropriate or inaccurate in projects.
6. Evaluation: Evaluations often look at the wrong things due to inadequate guidance.

The relevance of this document lies in its efforts to summarize and categorize key project management issues. It is a helpful guide in some of the main categories of concern.

United Nations. Decentralization for National and Local Development. New York: United Nations Technical Assistance Program, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/TAO/M/19, 1962.

The purpose of this paper "is to identify the principal forms of decentralization and to provide guidance on methods of dealing with the main administrative problems likely to be encountered under each." The study was prepared by the staff of the Division of Public Administration with the help of scholars and working administrators who convened in 1961 to review a draft of the study and to present their own papers on various assigned topics.

The study is concerned with decentralization of general governmental functions and of technical services. It concluded, "Governments must decentralize authority to make decisions as rapidly as is practical in order to accelerate economic and social development and to make the effects of their programmes lasting." Decentralization, it says, serves a number of development purposes including "decongestion" of the central government, freeing it to concentrate on major decisions; increased coordination at the local level; and increased participation at the local level. There are also, however, dangers in too rapid decentralization including corruption, non-performance of tasks due to lack of training or understanding, and inability to coordinate complicated tasks, etc. The study implies that there are certain trade-offs between instituting government reforms and the maintenance of existing conditions.

The relevance of the study lies in presenting several widely-held rationales for decentralization. The report is also candid in identifying the limitations of a decentralization strategy. The report falls short of explaining why decentralization efforts are so seldom attempted and why, when attempted, their implementation is so seldom successful.

United Nations. Interregional Seminar on Major Administrative Reforms in Developing Countries. Falmer, Brighton, United Kingdom, October 25 to November 2, 1971. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/TAO/M/62, 1973.

This was the first world-wide conference on major administrative reform. Its purpose was to help policy-makers and senior administrators formulate appropriate strategies for administrative improvement and major administrative reform through an exchange of views with others involved in similar programs. To achieve this purpose, technical papers were prepared for the Seminar to form the basis of discussion. A report was prepared based on the papers and the discussion.

The report stresses that major administrative reform is "costly in terms of scarce resources, dislocations and uncertainties, and of demands on the time and energies of policy-makers and administrators." For this reason it is important to give serious consideration to all aspects of reform programs. The Seminar sought to give a frame of reference for such considerations. The Seminar addressed aspects of administrative reform such as goals, need and scope, planning, impact, process, leadership, law, training, organization, and appraisal. The Seminar emphasized the difficulties faced by most governments in implementing major administrative reforms, but concluded that even if unsuccessful, the "periodic efforts at major administrative reform served a useful purpose in focusing attention on the needs of updating public administration."

The relevance of this study lies in its single-minded support of major administrative reform despite the great costs involved and continued failure in most countries to implement such approaches.

United Nations. Local Government Reform: Analysis of Experience in Selected Countries. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/ESA/SER.E/2, 1975.

The purpose of this study is to respond to requests from officials involved in local government programmes for an assessment and dissemination of reform experience in a variety of countries. This Report was prepared by the Division of Public Administration on the basis of papers prepared by consultants from twelve countries and on technical papers prepared by other experts. A small group met in 1973 to discuss these inputs and review a draft report.

The conclusion of the Report was that while there is general agreement as to the need for and importance of local government reform, few general prescriptions seem valid in carrying through such reform. The primacy of politics seems to negate efforts to develop standard prescription as well as to nullify most efforts at significant change. Thus,

". . . experience indicated the need for a deliberate and careful balancing of the various factors that affected the local government reform process. . . There appeared to be no hard and fast rule followed in the construction of the balance. . . Neither were there simple guidelines on the practical workings of the political system, the behavior of local institutions in the context of local culture, and the skills required in manipulating men and events."

The value of this study lies in its remarkably candid description of the problems of trying to bring about change at the local level. It should serve as a warning to those who think simplistic and general answers are possible to problems of program implementation and management.

United Nations. Public Administration and Finance for Development: Review of Progress and Problems in the Context of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. New York: United Nations, ST/ESA/SER.E/1, 1975.

This document contains the findings of the "Third Meeting of Experts on United Nations Programme in Public Administration." The primary purpose of this meeting was to review the United Nations Public Administration Programme with a focus on noting "recent changes, trends and problems in public administration and finance for development in developing countries" and to deal with apparent difficulties in these areas. The study's primary focus is on reviewing the existing experiences of the developing countries and the programs of the United Nations in public administration and finance. Thus, it is mainly an experience survey of what actually exists rather than a discussion of theoretical issues.

The experts at the meeting concluded that "public administration and finance systems remain a limiting factor to the achievement" of national development objectives. This is especially true in view of the fact that public sectors enterprises have started to play a growing role in the national economies of the developing countries. Moreover, significant shifts are occurring in the needs of developing countries for public administration assistance. This has partly resulted from successful assistance to countries, and their own internal development efforts. Also, it represents a recognition of the difficulty of carrying out some of the tasks previously viewed as critical, such as major administrative reform, and the increasing perception that perhaps more modest and targeted administrative improvement tasks, particularly in the area of finance, are more in keeping with the needs of developing countries.

The findings suggest that several policy revisions are needed. This primarily involves an administrative realignment between public and financial administration so that they can work hand in hand and thereby enhance the smooth implementation of development programs. The importance of this document lies in its indication of the changing directions of public administration concern on the part of developing countries and assistance donors.

United Nations. Public Administration in the Second United Nations Development Decade: Report of the Second Meeting of Experts. New York: United Nations, ST/TAO/M/57, 1971.

This document contains the findings of the second meeting of experts to review progress and make recommendations in meeting public administration objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade. As preparation for the meeting, the U.N. prepared a report indicating activities and progress to date. The experts emphasized the need for public

administration to be recreated, renewed, and revitalized to produce the changes and achievements required in the transformation of societies. New capacities, they said, are needed to implement the more complicated development objectives and programs of the 1970's which transcend old administrative jurisdictional lines. Major areas of concern include: development planning, major administrative reform, personnel administration, training, financial administration, use of modern management techniques, supervision of public enterprises, and local administration.

The meeting of experts concluded that public administration is, as currently practiced, a major impediment to socio-economic development. Further, they suggested that improvement in this area can play a strategic role in accelerating the pace of socio-economic development. This was especially emphasized in light of the past failures in implementing development plans. They emphasized that national governments should put more emphasis on developing adequate administrative capabilities in order to accelerate their progress towards achieving sustained socio-economic development.

The importance of this document lies in its assessment of the key role of public administration in development and its identification of major areas of emphasis of the U.N. and participating country experts.

United Nations. Report on the Interregional Seminar on the Use of Modern Management Techniques in the Public Administration of Developing Countries, Washington, D.C., October 27 to November 6, 1970. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/TAO/M52, 1971.

The purpose of the Seminar was to review developments in management technology and examine their relevance to developing countries; to identify administrative problems of developing countries to which their technologies might be applicable; and to examine strategies for introducing such techniques in developing countries.

The Report stresses that modern management problems are becoming more complex and that existing managerial capacities are not designed to cope with problems which tend to outgrow the boundaries of existing organizational hierarchies. Modern management techniques are seen as tools to enable governments to deal with problems more strategically. Techniques reviewed include Organizational Development, Planning-Programming-Budgeting, Cost-Benefit Analysis and Network Analysis Techniques, Automatic Data Processing Systems, Operations Research and Systems Analysis.

The Report displays a general enthusiasm for, but lacks critical evaluation of modern management techniques. Little mention is made of the potential costs and dangers of these techniques and little effort is made to examine their appropriateness for individual developing countries.

United Nations. Seminar on Central Services to Local Authorities: Report of a United Nations Seminar Held at New Delhi, India, with the Co-Sponsorship of the Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration and with the Cooperation of the Government of India, October 21 to November 6, 1963. New York: United Nations Technical Assistance Program, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/TAO/M/23 E/CN.11/664/Rev. 1, 1964.

The purpose of the Seminar was to enable senior officers concerned with the improvement of local government in Asian countries to exchange information on common management approaches and to gain knowledge of relevant experience outside the region. To achieve this, country and technical papers were presented and used to stimulate discussion. On the basis of country reports, technical papers and seminar discussion, a Report was prepared and approved by the participants.

Several topics were discussed including: existing local government systems in the region; central agencies concerned with local government; community development; planning; finance; personnel; and central purchasing services. The general conclusion was that local government was weak throughout the Region as were services provided by central government to local authorities. More central services are needed for local authorities, but care must be taken to avoid destroying local initiative and self-reliance in local development activity through increased central intervention.

The Report's relevance lies in its discussion of major elements necessary to assure local project success with outside assistance. However, the analysis was quite general and failed to address major implementation issues.

United Nations. United Nations Programme in Public Administration, Report of the Meeting of Experts. New York: United Nations, E/4296/ST/TAO/M38, 1967.

This was the first of the Meetings of Experts and had as its purpose the examination of the United Nations Programme in Public Administration from the standpoint of assessing the ability of this Programme to assist developing countries achieve their policy and programme objectives. This purpose was furthered through the preparation of a paper by the U.N. Public Administration Branch which was used as the basis for evaluation of the programme by the experts.

The Report of the experts stressed that "Administrative capabilities require to be increased as this is the pre-condition in many countries to formulating and implementing economic and social plans and projects. . ." The Report specifically emphasized the need for assistance in such areas as basic administrative reform, planning, personnel administration, training, financial administration and decentralization.

Discussion of these elements was quite general with little evaluation of opportunities or problems. The relevance of this study can be seen when compared with later Meetings of Experts. These meetings became increasingly, though superficially, critical of various types of assistance in public administration and as a result, became increasingly focused and specific.

United Nations Economic and Social Council. A General Survey of Public Administration in the ECAFE Region. Prepared by the ECAFE Secretariat for a Working Group of Experts on Major Administrative Problems of Asian Governments, 18-26 October, 1965, Bangkok, Thailand. New York: United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, E/CN.11/PA/MAP/L.1, 23 September, 1965.

The purpose of this paper was to identify some of the administrative problems in Asian countries. It was prepared prior to the Meeting of Experts to stimulate discussion. The paper was based on short visits to each country and interviews with government officials.

The paper identifies certain key problems as being region-wide. Most Asian governmental organizations are faced with:

1. Functional defects or failure to align functions rationally
2. Compartmentalization and/or excessive fragmentation of work
3. Overcentralization
4. Lack of coordination
5. Failure to undertake joint purchasing, etc.

6. Weakness in administrative procedures
7. Weakness in personnel administration
8. Weakness in training
9. Weakness in financial administration

The paper also enumerates a variety of the steps for making improvements in each of these areas.

The relevance of this paper lies in its fairly detailed treatment of the administrative problems and needs of the Asian countries. Although the paper is somewhat dated, most of the observations would probably still be partially valid.

U.S. Agency for International Development. Report of the A.I.D. Work Group on Management Improvement and Development Administration. Washington: August 11, 1975 (mimeographed).

The purpose of this Report was "to study A.I.D.'s management assistance to the developing countries in the context of the new directions mandated for U.S. assistance efforts by the Foreign Assistance Act." Information contained in the Report was acquired through analysis of documents presented by A.I.D. missions to Washington to justify funding requests. Washington A.I.D. personnel and officials of the multilateral agencies were queried. Input was obtained from academic experts in business administration and development. Current A.I.D. organization and administration of field programs were examined.

The Report notes, "The most basic conclusion is that management improvement in the developing countries clearly merits high level, continuing attention as a vital dimension of efforts to improve the quality of life in those countries. . . It is an essential, and all too often missing, ingredient of development efforts." Basic recommendations of the Report include: (1) merging management concerns with A.I.D. sectoral concerns in agriculture, health, etc.; (2) focusing development on "results," shifting management responsibilities to host government and building programs on locally-based organizations, moving from small "pilots" to larger programs based on experimentation; and (3) developing A.I.D. programming procedures to assure full consideration of management factors at early stages of project development.

This thoughtful report helped to focus the attention of A.I.D. officials on the problems of program implementation and management as a discrete area for policy consideration. Although the issues it identifies were already widely known, it presents them in a more cohesive form than previously. Also, the Work Group preparing the report was of considerable stature. Thus, the Report received considerable visibility which has provided impetus for subsequent work in the area.

U.S. House Of Representatives, Committee on International Relations. Implementation of "New Directions" in Development Assistance. Report to the Committee on International Relations on Implementation of Legislative Reforms in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973. Prepared by the Agency for International Development. 94th Congress, 1st Session. July 22, 1975. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975.

The purpose of this Report was to respond to a directive of the Committee on International Relations that A.I.D. provide a full report on its compliance with the far-reaching reforms mandated by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973. Specifically, A.I.D. was to report on implementation of "New Directions" reforms, which call for focusing A.I.D. assistance on the "poor majority" in developing countries, concentrating assistance in key sectors of food nutrition, population, health, education and human resource development. The report synthesizes the A.I.D. planning process in allocating resources according to the Congressional mandate and summarizes A.I.D. programs around the world to implement it.

The Report stresses the difficulty A.I.D. faces in implementing the new policy. It remains difficult to define and measure the impact of programs on the "poor majority." Programs aimed in this direction are often very complex from both a technical and social/organizational perspective. The prime focus for assistance is agriculture and nutrition which has grown from 26% in the 1973 A.I.D. budget to 61% in the 1976 proposal. Agriculture seems to hold the greatest potential for impact on the poor majority.

Implications of the Report are that recipient governments face hard choices in responding to the new A.I.D. mandate to involve the poor majority in the development process. In many of the poorest countries, governmental structures are ill-designed to cope with the complex programs necessary to reach large numbers of their poorest citizens. Much additional research will be necessary to understand how to bridge this gap.

Vrancken, Fernand, ed. Technical Assistance in Public Administration: Lessons of Experience and Possible Improvements. Final version of the General report prepared for the XII International Congress of Administrative Sciences, Vienna, July 16 to 20, 1962. Brussels: International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1963.

The purpose of this Report is to summarize three years work aimed at providing the first general analysis of the field of technical assistance in public administration, primarily to developing countries. The three years work included: the preparation in 1960 of a questionnaire through which information was collected from 41 developing countries; a Round-table in 1961 to examine the national reports received and an outline

for a general report prepared; a draft report prepared by experts and circulated for expert advice; the required report presented at the Congress of Administrative Sciences in 1962; observations that were incorporated into this final document.

The general conclusion was that past technical assistance in administration had been based on the mistaken assumption that the "science of administration" based on developed country experience was easily and readily adopted by the developing countries. The discovery suggests that Western "expertise" must often be radically changed to accord with the political, cultural and social conditions in each developing country.

The implication of the Report is "that the administrative sciences are under a difficulty in finding adequate solutions to the administrative problems of the developing countries. More realistic ideas must therefore be brought up and new habits be acquired by all those who contribute towards technical assistance." This goal set 16 years ago remains yet to be achieved.

World Bank. Rural Development, Sector Policy Paper. Washington: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, February 1975.

The purpose of this Policy Paper is to define ways in which the World Bank plans to approach the issue of rural poverty. The Paper uses a good deal of past research for its analysis, but is primarily conceptual in nature, trying to define a policy framework for World Bank assistance in the rural sector.

The Paper focuses on a major distinction between its own approach and that of previous work: It indicates that past strategies have tended to emphasize economic growth without considering the manner in which benefits were distributed, which led to a focus on the modern sectors of the economy. The central concept of "rural development" presented in this paper is a process through which rural poverty is alleviated by sustained increases in the productivity and incomes of the low-income rural workers and households.

The important conclusions of the Paper are that successful rural development programs are dependent on: (1) strong commitment on the part of the central government; (2) a high degree of local planning, coordination and community involvement; (3) heavy investments by low-income farmers; (4) willingness to accept higher costs which seem to be associated with reaching smaller production units; and (5) willingness to accept inefficiency in resource allocation since this approach may by-pass use of resources in more productive ways.

World Bank lending for rural development is expanding rapidly. This is reflected in lending for agriculture, which has grown from 12% in 1964-65 to 24% in 1973-74. The Paper, however, stresses the need for additional research and more careful project planning to assure the husbanding of scarce resources and maximum return for the rural poor.

World Bank. Rural Enterprise and Non-farm Employment, A World Bank Report.
Washington: IBRD, January 1978.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the developmental role of non-farm activities in rural areas and towns. With the exception of cottage industries, large-scale agro-industries and rural public works, non-farm activities have received little systematic attention in the design and implementation of rural development programs. The paper seeks to answer three sets of questions: (1) Is the contribution of such rural non-farm activities to increasing rural employment important enough to warrant attention in the design of projects?; (2) Is there a need to provide assistance directly to rural non-farm activities?; and (3) Should World Bank lending operations be changed to take these findings into account? The paper takes an analytical approach to answer these questions, relying heavily on World Bank and other research reports. Although originally prepared by Dennis Anderson and Mark Levinson for the Executive Director of the World Bank, the findings were considered important enough by the Bank to justify publication and wide distribution as representing a Bank position.

The basic conclusions of the paper are that non-farm activities in rural areas are a primary source of employment and earnings for approximately 25% of the rural labor force in most developing countries (one-third including rural towns). They are also a significant source of secondary earnings for small and landless farmers during the slack agricultural seasons. The rural non-farmer is therefore very important. This paper concludes, however, that more direct World Bank assistance must be analyzed on a case-by-case basis due to the diversity of non-farm activities and inadequate institutional instruments for channeling assistance to their activities.

The major implication of this paper is that little is known about how best to develop non-farm programs. It is anticipated that problems inherent in the "new style" development programs, which seek to reach the poor majority, will hamper programs in this area. The paper urges that in view of the inexperience of donors and of recipient countries in this area, that experimental programs be attempted and carefully evaluated and researched especially in regard to planning and implementation.

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