BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET

PN-AAF-349

3. TITLE AND SUBTITLE (240)

Program implementation in developing countries; initial report: a review of the scholarly and academic literature

4. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S) (100)

Ingle, Marcus

5. CORPORATE AUTHORS (101)

Syracuse Univ. Maxwell Training and Development Programs

6. DOCUMENT DATE (110)	7. NUMBER OF PAGES (120)	8. ARC NUMBER (170)
1978	77p.	338.91.I51b

9. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION (130)

Syracuse

10. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (500)

11. ABSTRACT (950)

12. DESCRIPTORS (920)

Program management
Implementation
Management
Project implementation
Development
Policies

13. PROJECT NUMBER (150)

14. CONTRACT NO.(100)

AID/ta-147-612

15. CONTRACT TYPE (140)

16. TYPE OF DOCUMENT (160)

17. LIMIT (570)

338.91
I516

PN-AAJ-34

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Initial Report:

A Review of the Scholarly and Academic Literature

Marcus Ingle

Maxwell Training and Development Programs

Syracuse University

March 1978

Prepared for the Office of Development Administration, Development Support Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development, Under Contract AID/ta-147-612, No. 3189505

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
Introduction	1
The Implementation Challenge	1
Some Definitions	2
Purpose and Scope	4
Report Format	6
Section I: An Implementation Overview	7
A. In the scholarly literature, implementation usually means the execution or carrying out of a policy or plan.	8
B. There are two competing views of policy implementation: compliance and politics of administration.	9
C. Program implementation in developing countries has "politics of administration" characteristics.	10
D. Specific implementation characteristics are largely determined by the nature of the policy being carried out.	12
Section II: Understanding Development Implementation	13
A. General Administration Implementation Approaches	14
1. The Organization Capacity Approach	15
2. The Bureaucratic Values Approach	17
3. The Western Technology Approach	18
B. Project Implementation Approaches	22
1. The Uncertainties and Latitudes Approach	22
2. The Nature of Project Approach	29
3. The Implementation Cycle Approach	31
4. Other Implementation Approaches	37

page

Section III: Managing Implementation: Conventional and Emergent Strategies 39

A. General Administration Implementation Strategies 40

1. The Institution Building Strategy 40
2. The Integrated Management Strategy 42
3. The Folk Management Strategy 45

B. Project Specific implementation Strategies 48

1. Implementation Analysis and Assessment Prescriptions 49
2. The Organizing and Operating Strategy 53

C. Unresolved Issues and Future Directions 54

List of References 57

Supplemental List of References 68

FIGURES

Figure 1: Location and Generic Types of Implementation Interactions 27a

Figure 2: A Functional Description of the Development Project System 32a

Figure 3: The Program Implementation Cycle 32b

Figure 4: The Implementation Interaction Matrix 56a

"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, 19

". . . 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.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Introduction

The Implementation Challenge

Program implementation— the process of transforming policies and plans into desired results— is currently a major concern of development professionals around the world. Descriptive accounts of program implementation "failures," especially with many newer programs aimed at improving the conditions of the world's poor majority, are commonly found in the development literature. These failures are characterized by frequent and unexpected delays, major cost overruns, and undesirable results. Where they occur, implementation problems 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 a growing consensus that an effective response to these problems will require substantial revisions in conventional development strategies. In particular, the areas of program planning and evaluation, which to date have received considerable attention, will need to be greatly supplemented with useful implementation knowledge.

To date the emergence of a unified set of implementation principles and guidelines has been impeded for several reasons. First, most scholars and academicians have approached implementation from a narrow, non-systematic perspective. Although there are some notable exceptions, concerted efforts to understand and deal with implementation as a major policy and programmatic issue are not evident until the early 1970's. In addition, much of the writing that has become available is either antedotal in nature or based on limited

developing country experience. Implementation approaches which appear to apply in various developing country program contexts are still in an embryonic stage. 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 suitable implementation strategies. Now, as many "New Directions" type programs move into the execution stage, it has become obvious that conventional implementation approaches are unsuitable, especially in the least developed countries.

Numerous reports of implementation problems, coupled with a widely dispersed and outmoded knowledge base, suggests that there is an immediate need to provide development policy makers and practitioners with useful information on the most current implementation strategies and techniques. This report seeks to facilitate such a move by presenting an initial state-of-the-art overview of academic and scholarly writings in the area of development program implementation. Later reports in this series will provide additional information on implementation policies and specific implementation methodologies.

Some Definitions

Development programs are complex sets of public sector activities in developing countries that are undertaken to accomplish policy goals and objectives. Programs usually have a broad functional or sector focus. For our purposes, the implementation of two kinds of programs will be reviewed. The

first includes continuing public sector activities in such areas as local administration, health, and public works which are administered by large bureaucratic organizations. The second are more limited and time bound socio-economic activities involving the upgrading of goods and services. Examples might include an illiteracy eradication program, an integrated rural development program, and a national highway improvement program. Development programs frequently encompass, but are 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 basic units of purposeful activity available to developing countries and assistance agencies for achieving development results.

Implementation takes place during the execution stage of a program. It encompasses all of the activities which occur during the activation, operations, and completion sub-phases of a program. Implementation begins after a program has been designed and approved and is directly influenced by these prior activities. An agricultural production program, for example, would formally enter the implementation stage subsequent to plan completion and approval. Both the plans and the planning/approval process could be expected to influence implementation, e.g. the way the program is activated and carried out. But implementation is also affected by events (both planned and unplanned) 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 function of management is to ensure that a program is executed

as planned, or modified in light of inadequate planning and/or changing circumstances. By implementation strategies we mean the various management approaches which have been proposed for carrying out development programs.

Purpose and Scope

This report is for managers and administrators interested in the subject of development program implementation. It seeks to provide these officials with an initial review of the academic and scholarly literature so that they can be aware of current concepts and approaches. The following general topics are covered: (1) a broad overview of 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 several prescriptive implementation strategies. The vital importance of this subject, especially with respect to the implementation of "New Directions" programs, is stressed throughout the review.

It must be emphasized at the outset that this report is initial and exploratory. Implementation is a rapidly expanding area of scholarly study and many publications now legitimately fall under the implementation heading as it has been defined. The review was completed under severe time and resource limitations. Therefore, its scope has been limited by the literature which several individuals have been able to assemble, digest, and organize in no more than a person month's time. Where choices on what to include were required, we leaned toward more recent publications and specifically those which dealt with actual program implementation experience. We agreed at the outset to focus on program implementation as practiced first by developing countries, and secondarily by international assistance organizations.

This will hopefully facilitate a consideration of factors across countries such as resources endowment, administrative infrastructure, and political commitment which may influence implementation processes. 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 and evaluation begins. However, for our purposes, a distinction is made.

Two other minor conditions also apply. First, the report excludes a review of primary program and project implementation documents since a related study has been commissioned forthat 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.

I wish to acknowledge the financial support and cooperation received from the Office of Development Administration and other units within A.I.D. Especially helpful were Nicholaas Luykx, Kenneth Kornher, and E. Thomas Chapman. Others who contributed to the report include my assistants James Brown in Washington, D.C., along with Philomene Makclo, Hailu Abatena, Sue Gleason, and Amy Swartz at Syracuse University.

Report Format

This represents the first in a series of four reports which will be prepared, and subsequently revised, over the next several months. The initial review of the scholarly and academic literature presented in this report is divided into three sections. The first section, An Implementation Overview, summarizes conceptual implementation characteristics found in the literature. The next section, Understanding Development Implementation: Some Common Approaches, reviews the general administrative sector and specific project approaches to implementation problems. Finally, the Managing Implementation: Conventional and Emergent Strategies section, presents specific implementation policy prescriptions contained in the literature and discusses apparent strengths and limitations.

Three follow-on reports will expand upon this first report and include suggested revisions. In particular, the second report will overview actual program implementation policies and procedures of selected developing countries, development assistance agencies and multilateral organizations. The third report will contain an annotated listing of the selected program implementation literature and policy pronouncements. The fourth and final report will present a preliminary assessment of the fit or congruence between the scholarly program implementation prescriptions contained in report 1 and the actual implementation policies of major development actors as presented in report 2. The final report will conclude with a discussion of unresolved implementation issues. The final state-of-the-art review should be completed by June of 1978.

Section I: An Implementation Overview

This section sets forth a series of generalizations on the characteristics of implementation as found in the academic and scholarly literature. The generalizations refer to the generic process of implementation as it is conceptualized to date. Later sections will demonstrate how these characteristics apply in developing country contexts.

Before introducing the first generalizations a word of caution is in order about the current level of implementation knowledge. The appearance of a long list of references at the end of this report is misleading. It is true that a lot of material covering some aspect of implementation can be assembled. But most of the material takes a very narrow perspective and is not related to a general conception of what constitutes implementation. Specifically, we presently lack a widely accepted theoretical and analytical framework for implementation. 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 since these observations were made as will be evident as the review progresses. In general, however, implementation is a new field characterized by many diverse concepts and approaches.

A. <u>In the scholarly literature, implementation usually means the execution or carrying out of a policy or plan.</u>

Most conceptual work in the area of implementation has been done from a public policy perspective. Public policy scientists are concerned with how major societal issues such as poverty, health, or welfare are formulated, decided upon, and executed. Thus, from this point of view implementation is usually defined in terms of carrying out, accomplishing or fulfilling 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 hypothesis-- 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 to 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 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 effectively planned. 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 very broad dimensions and scope. As applied to an actual policy or plan, implementation would encompass all program processes, be they of technical, organizational, or economic origin. Implementation could be seen as managing all of the various processes of a policy or plan. Each process provides constraints as well as opportunities for managerial action.

B. <u>There are two competing views of policy implementation: compliance and politics of administration</u>.

The traditional "implementation as compliance" approach takes as its starting point the need to ensure that subordinates comply with the policy directives of their leaders. (Campbell: 1977; Rabinowitz: 1976) It stresses that clear policies and procedures emanate from the political process and that implementation merely involves the step-by-step carrying out of predetermined plans. This approach tends to minimize the importance of implementation by treating it as a highly routine predictable and apolitical process. 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 government activity.

The "politics of administration" approach, one currently gaining widespread support throughout the literature, is that "implementation is a continuation into another arena of the political process." (Rabinowitz:

1976) This view holds that policies and procedures are strongly influenced, and subsequently refined and reformulated, during the policy implementation stage. Implementation is seen as dynamic and conflictual, or as Rabinowitz puts 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 this view, implementation is largely unpredictable— but not unknowable. (De: 1974) We can hope to accumulate lessons from implementation experience which will allow managers at different levels to use practices which will lead to productive results. Thus, implementation can be seen as a managerial problem and research can be undertaken to discover how the implementation process might be improved.

C. <u>Program implementation in developing countries has "politics of administration" characteristics</u>.

Smith argues that the compliance approach to implementation is misdirected in most Third World contexts. He sees the widespread popularity of the compliance view found in the literature as contributing to "the neglect of the policy implementation process in the models constructed to explain policy making or to instruct policy makers in methods of better policy making." (Smith: 1973, p. 197) The compliance assumption is incorrect because it is based upon experience with certain political and institutional conditions, conditions that do not exist in many developing societies. For example, many Third World

countries do not have a formal legislative process where organized interests strongly 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 concludes that program implementation is likely to be highly politicized— and therefore difficult to predict and deal with— in the developing countries. It follows, therefore, that implementation is "affected decisively by the environment in which a particular programme is implemented." (Vepa: 1974, p. 259) The conditions and situations of different developing country settings are important in the analysis of implementation success and failures. (Agarwal: 1973)

Smith also contends that the highly politicized nature of implementation, along with several other factors, makes policy implementation most difficult in developing country contexts. As he sees it,

> For the Third World nations a myriad of factors can contribute to the emasculation of any government policy: lack of qualified personnel, insufficient direction and control from political leaders, opposition to the policy itself...
>
> One reason the bureaucracies in the Third World nations find it difficult to implement policies is the nature of the policies which these political systems must formulate. Policies in Western nations tend to be incremental ones...(Thus), for the policy process in the Third World nations, the implementation of policies is an acute phase in the process. (Smith: 1973, p. 199)

Many authors support the contention that implementation in developing countries is a very complex and difficult task. (Swerdlow: 1975; Waterston: 1973; Weiss: 1976)

D. <u>Specific implementation characteristics are largely determined by the nature of the policy being carried out</u>.

Since implementation deals with executing 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) 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. According to Van Meter and Van Horn, policy implementation will be relatively successful where only marginal change is required and goal consensus is high. It will be least successful where major change is required and goal consensus is low.

Another way of looking at this is to consider the inherent complexity and difficulty of accomplishing a policy objective. The greater the technical, economic, or social complexity of the goal, the greater the risk of implementation failure. Thus, the program objectives which are established can in and of themselves influence the implementation characteristics. In a rural development program, for example, the implementation characteristics would differ greatly according to whether the objective was providing rural access to or fostering equitable production increases throughout an area. To a large degree, implementation characteristics depend on what we set out to achieve. As Pressman and Wildavsky view it,

> When we say that programs have failed, this suggests that we are surprised. If we thought from the beginning that they were unlikely to be successful, their failure to achieve stated goals or to work at all would not cry out for any special explanation. If we believed that intense conflicts of interests were involved, if people who had to cooperate were expected to be at loggerheads, if necessary resources were far beyond those available, we might wonder rather more why the programs were attempted instead of expressing amazement at their shortcomings. (Pressman and Wildavsky: 1973, p. 87)

Section II: Understanding Development Implementation

Implementation is a new buzz word in development circles. Everywhere one travels and in the publications one reads there is frequent reference to this important but elusive process. With all of the discussion and writing, it is not surprising that a plethora of individualized theories and approaches have emerged. Everyone appears to be taking the opportunity to explain their version of why particular activities are succeeding and failing and, I might add, offer their own customized prescriptions for making improvements. In this setting a brief review of the current state-of-the-art is difficult, and certainly inconclusive. Several reasons are obvious. First, many of the approaches are new and have only appeared in partial form as their authors continue to elaborate on specific dimensions and alternatives. Others only cover a particular type of program or sector activity; therefore, it is difficult to assess their full importance. In addition, many of the concepts overlap and a few are conflictual. In essence, the state-of-the-art is in the midst of being developed, and an accurate snapshot of this evolving process is very difficult to obtain.

The aim of this section is to explain what is known about actual program implementation in developing countries. This includes an examination of conditions under which various programs have been carried out.

Numerous factors, and different arrangements of factors, are presented as implementation determinants. Our initial effort here will do no more than 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 will be discussed and compared within one of two program categories. The first category encompasses general or macro program

concerns as reflected in broad scale administrative or sector development activities. The second category is more activity specific and micro in nature. It includes implementation approaches which focus on discrete project activities.

There is one final note of caution before proceeding. It is easy to forget in looking at different implementation approaches that "success" and "failure" are relative and subjective terms. Thus it is well to keep in mind an astute observation made by Albert Hirshman over ten years ago which from all I have read still applies to all types of development programs. 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. (Hirshman: 1967)

In this vein, our review should focus on realistic opportunities for improving program implementation. Less effort should be directed to a sole examination of implementation problems and constraints.

A. General Administration Implementation Approaches

The programs falling into this category are normally general or macro in character. They are usually administered through national or regional bureaucratic organizations and 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 is generally unrecognized that a majority of all development activities in developing countries are ongoing and recurrent—they are not project specific and capital in nature (Chambers: 1974, p. 29). Thus, general administration type programs deserve considerable attention.

Three conceptual approaches are found in the scholarly and academic literature which deal with development implementation at this general administration program level. 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 these is discussed in some detail below.

1. 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 the level of administrative capacity or capability. The term capacity, as used here and in much of the literature, has a very broad connotation. It refers to the general level of ability in a developing country to implement programs through its bureaucratic structure.

A large amount 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; Koteen: 1972; Rothwell: 1972; Siffin: 1977; Sigelman: 1976; Swerdlow: 1975)

Common implementation examples are discussed below on the basis of whether they refer to administrative capacity at the national or local level. Capacity shortcomings have been 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)

a. 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. (Finucane: 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 widely discussed in the literature; it refers to the capacity to fully use all 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; Essman: 1972; 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. (A.I.D. Work Group on Management Improvement: 1975) Other things being equal, the relatively more developed countries have fewer implementation capacity type problems than the least developed ones.

b. Local Level Capacity

In the last few years a great deal of literature has emerged which suggests that strong local organizations must exist before development programs can succeed, especially development which is characterized by both growth and equity. (Chambers: 1974; DAI: 1975; 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.

> The relationship between aspects of rural development and the extent of 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 intractible 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 disciplined problem-solving 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 vertal 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 indications that local administrative units do not have the capacity to function properly.

2. <u>The Bureaucratic Values Approach</u>

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 developing 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)

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 (Hirschman: 1967; Marson: 1971) and a gradual erosion of overall commitment for rural oriented "growth-with-equity" programs. (Blair: 1976; Hansen: 1973; Vepa: 1974)

3. <u>The Western Technology Approach</u>

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 approach is widely accepted by many western and Third World scholars, and needs to be reviewed in some detail. Its essence is that a large portion of the administrative concepts and practices emphasized 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.

There are, as will be discussed below, many specific dimensions within this approach. However, two themes seem to permeate most discussions on the subject. First, it is felt that the value orientations of western management approaches are unsuitable to the development needs of Third World implementing organizations. (Siffin: 1977; Moris: 1977; Mendoza: 1977) This theme complements the "Bureaucratic Value" approach reviewed earlier. Moris labels this dimension "administrative culture". He explains,

> Administrative culture is the combined outcome of a long process of <u>informal work socialization</u> 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 parts of administrative culture must be transferred for the effective transfer of techniques into other administrative systems. 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 experienced in western societies. From this he concludes that bureaucratic implementation problems are of systematic origin and cannot be dealt with by simple 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 peculiar 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)

A second observation is that the managerial tools and techniques which western nations urge developing countries to adapt are overly complex, too 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, towards the more accessible rural 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 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, procedure, 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 were 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 desperately needed but currently impossible due to the almost total lack of material.

B. Project Implementation Approaches

Development projects, and their implementation, have been 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 initial overview of project research suggests that three commonly referred to implementation approaches should be included in this program category. Several other less common perspectives were also noted, and will be considered below.

1. 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 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

---

* 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.

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 in the interaction between those 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'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 ramainder 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 program objectives, and thus program 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 project management literature.

Hirschman's project observations lead him to an important conclusion about the occurance of implementation uncertainties. Dividing the implementation stage 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 unforseen, and frequently 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, or the lack thereof (labeled discipline), 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 adherance 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 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, are seen as internal opportunities for implementation flexibility. Hirschman's view of implementation is that it is 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 these 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.

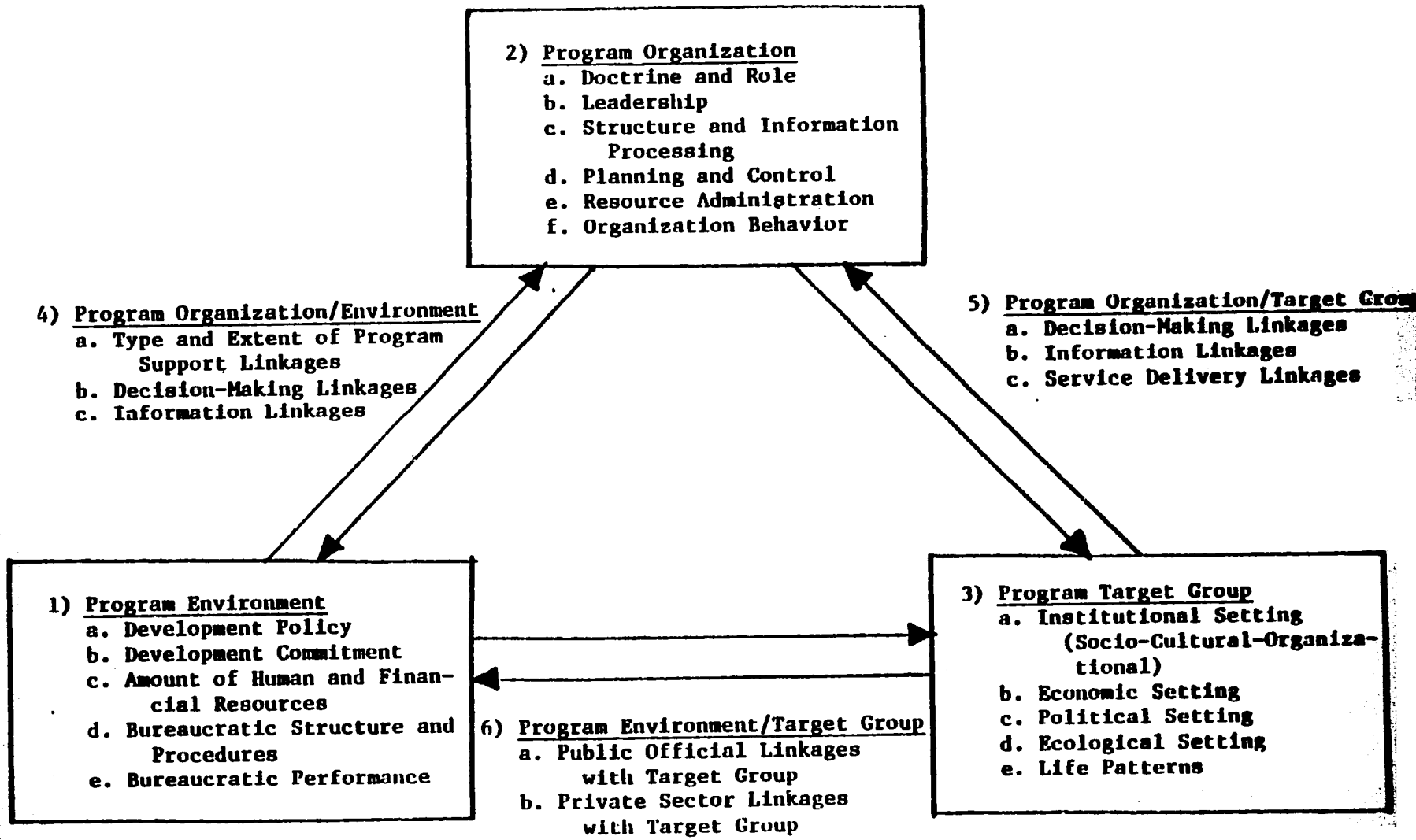
A significant theme in Hirschman's work which has been substantiated and refined by subsequent observers is as follows: implementation is basically an interaction process between existing patterns of action in an environment (for many different groups and at many different levels) and patterns of action desired by 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 will be presented below.

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 these interaction patterns which can give rise to "uncertainties" and "latitudes." 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 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 areas where Smith's implementation interactions can occur: (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, as suggested in various academic publications, are also specific in the figure. Each of these generic types, and no doubt additional ones not included from our initial review, in each location represent potential "uncertainties"

Figure 1: Location and Generic Types of Implementation Interactions



and "latitudes" to program and project personnel. For example, leadership within the program organization may be of top quality, a definite "latitude"; but the top leaders may also be reassigned at a critical stage of the program— a major uncertainty. Thus, Smith views implementation as an uncertain, but partially manageable, dynamic political process in which problems are to be expected and handled in the best way possible.

According to Hirschman and Smith, and other authors whose empirical findings appear to support this approach, many problems arise just because implementation is not viewed as a series of dynamic interactions. Numerous examples are readily available, a few of which are summarized below by 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. (Honadle: 1978; also see Honadle: 1977; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976; Chambers: 1974; and Rondinelli: 1976) Thus, within Program Organization interactions influence implementation.

* J. Tendler, 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 inclusive. (Tendler: 1976; for related findings related to benefit distribution, see Ingle: 1977) Thus, Tendler's experience suggests that interactions within the Program Target Group are very important to implementation success and 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 a personal investment in it." (Thomas: 1975; also see Havens: 1975; Lele: 1975; Development Alternatives, Inc.: 1975; Yudelman: 1976; 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 cultural structures which exist in an area prior to the initiation of a project. S. Berry finds these institutional settings as critically important in assessing poor farmer risks. (Berry: 1977)

Overall and when applied in this manner, the "uncertainties and latitudes" approach is useful for understanding the project implementation process.

2. 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 I we discussed two general factors, extent of goal consensus and amount of change required by the program, which often emerge as implementation determinants in the literature.

J.W. Thomas and R. Hook discuss the importance of initial and continuing goal consensus in their recent and extremely practical 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 which is required in implementing a program also influences the amount of political support or opposition generated for the activity.

With the recent emphasis on "New Directions", a fairly clear distinction between two naturally different kinds of projects has emerged: traditional capital or technical projects and "new" people or social projects. The "Nature of Projects" approach is currently 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; Korten: 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. Evaluation of the programme was undertaken— by an independent agency in Korea— and by an objective rating system in Iran. 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 labor intensive character, among others. All of these features make the implementation task of people oriented projects more complex and unpredictable than purely technical ones.

3. The Implementation Cycle Approach

Many development scholars, and especially those involved in teaching or training, prefer to conceptualize implementation as a cyclical process. (Hirschman: 1967; Waterston: 1969; Wynia: 1972; Radosevich: undated; Rondinelli: 1975, 1976; Rondinelli and Radosevich: 1975; 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 project stage. This perspective has been described as follows:

> The success of development project systems depends, 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 quantified 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 influences. (Radosevich: undated, p. 26-27)

A functional description of major project stages and functions, as drawn from 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.

Figure 2: A Functional Description of the Development Project System

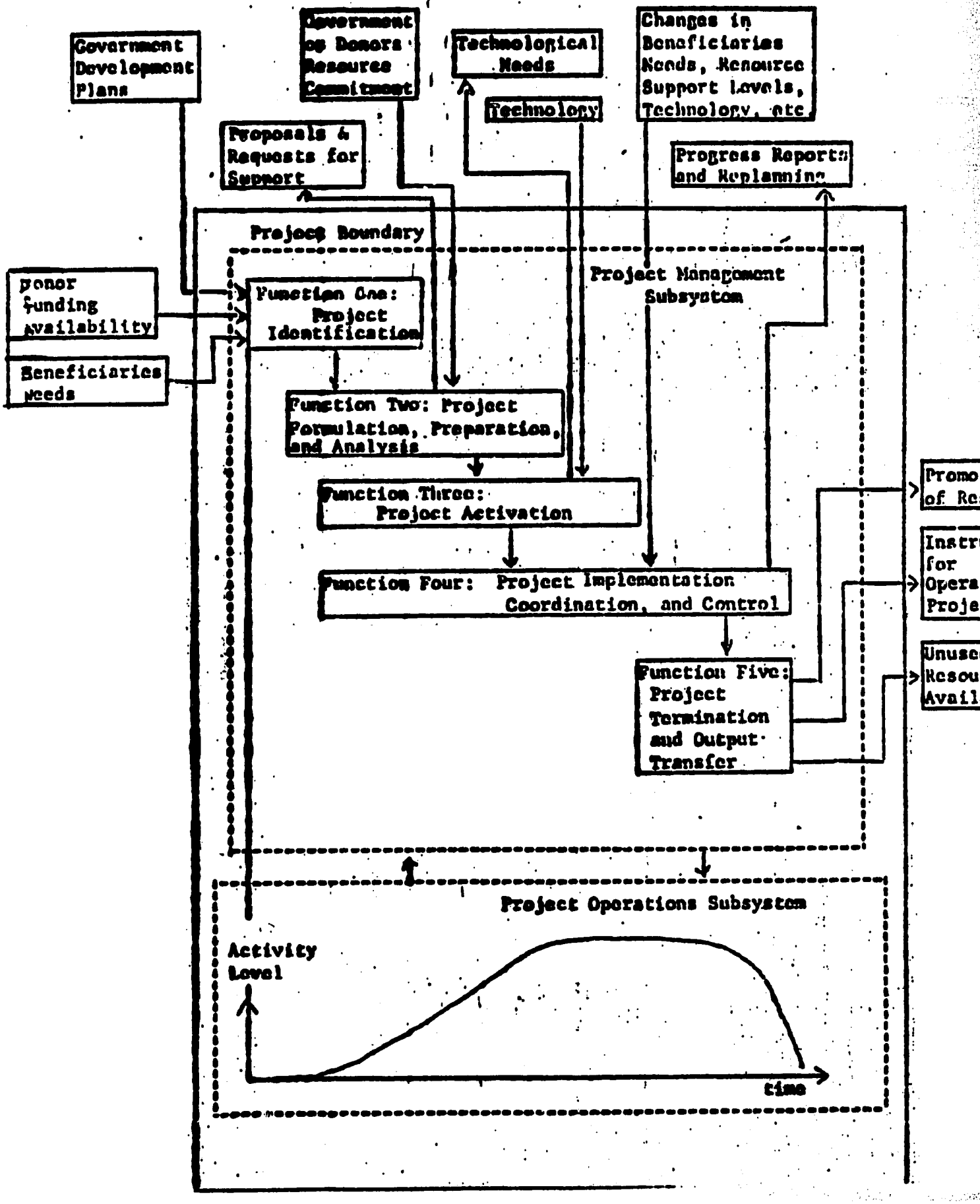
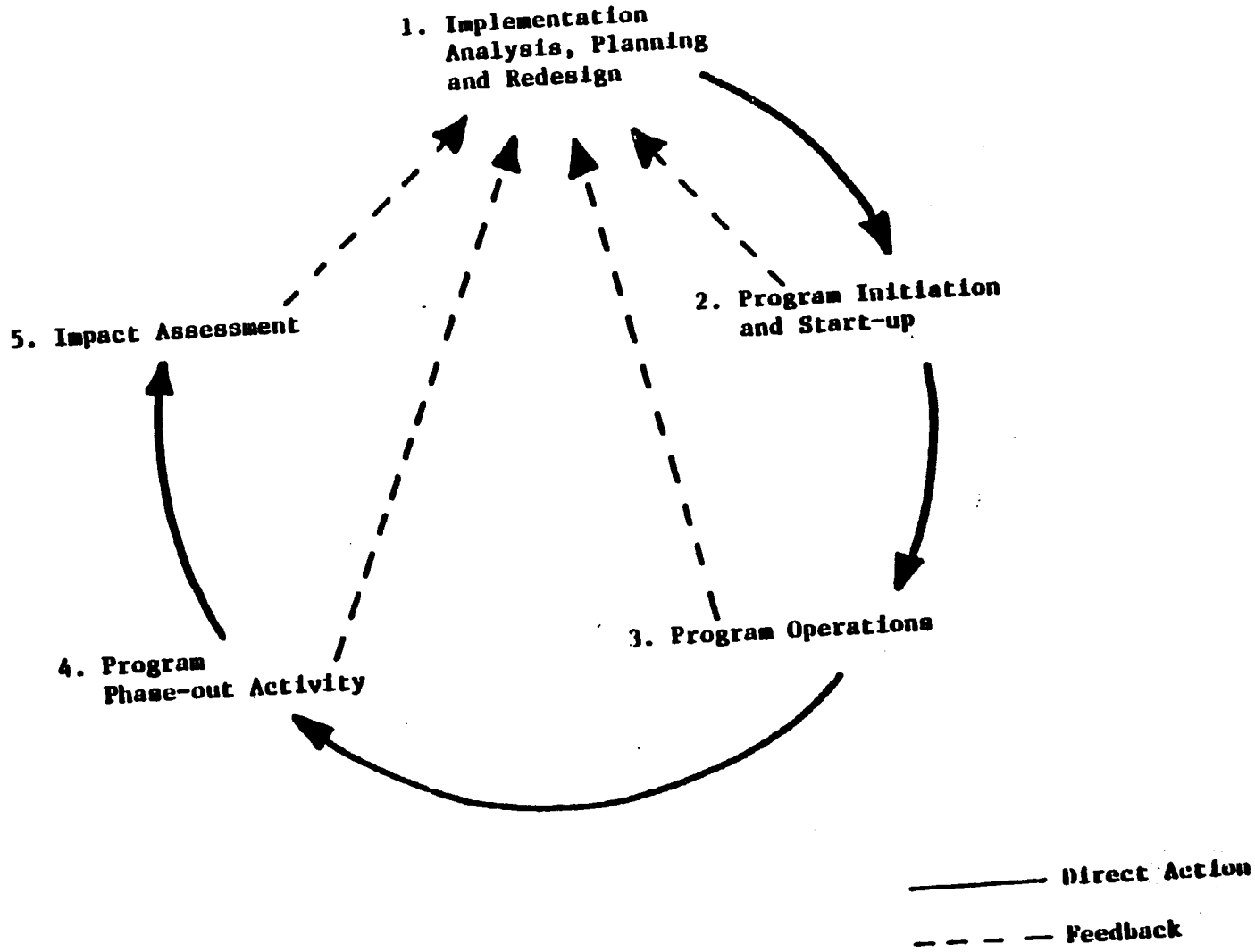


Figure 3: The Program Implementation Cycle



Available evidence suggests that most projects move through, in a cyclical but discontinuous fashion, five implementation stages. The first, Implementation Analysis, Planning and Redesign starts before the project implementation formally begins. It continues in varying degrees throughout the life of the program in the guise of redesign, problem solving, or other redirection efforts. The second phase is Program Initiation and Start-Up. This phase includes organizing and activating, steps that begin following the receipt of formal approval. In infrastructure related programs this is referred to as the construction 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 can occur during the program operation and completion stages. Much of the available implementation literature only focuses on one or two of these specific 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 occuring 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)

a. 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 overestimation 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.

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

c. 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.

d. 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.

e. Impact Assessment Problems: (See Rondinelli and Radosevich: 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 stage can be traced back to deficiencies in the earlier phases of the project management cycle. Deficiencies in the Implementation Analysis and Planning stage appear to have the most substantial effect on implementation performance. However, no matter how excellent the plan is problems will crop up as projects are implemented.

4. Other Implementation Approaches

Several other ways of conceptualizing the implementation process are also found in the literature. These are mentioned briefly here but may receive more extensive treatment in later versions of the review.

Several authors indicate that the type of agency or organization used to implement a program is important. (Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976; Honadle: 1977; Rondinelli: 1977) 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-executing or 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, Waterstrm, and Wilson: 1976)

Another way to classify implementation problems is by project type, that is, whether they are experimental, pilot, demonstration or production. (Radosevich: undated; Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976) It is generally assumed that projects which make it to the production stage should have many of their most serious problems worked out. (Weiss, Waterston, and Wilson: 1976, p. 99; Reisman and DeKluyver: 1977)

Finally, Wynia uses "policy process" and "project structure" variables to explain the delays and cost overruns in nineteen Central American highway projects. (Wynia: 1972)

Section III: Managing Implementation: Conventional And Emergent Strategies

Several descriptive accounts of the implementation process were discussed in the previous section. Using those descriptive accounts as a basis, we will now move to a review of various implementation strategies both conventional and newly emergent. That is, our focus will switch to an examination of current academic thinking on the subject of dealing with, or managing, program implementation.

As defined earlier, the "managing" of implementation refers to the mobilization and direction of resources to accomplish desirable results. The various ways of going about this are labeled "implementation strategies." The strategies will be grouped, as was done for the various implementation approaches presented above, within a General Administration and a Project Specific program category. Based on our initial review, three distinct strategies are articulated in the literature which fit into the General Administration category. They include Institution Building, Integrated Management, and Folk Management. Within the Project Specific category only two major strategies are apparent-- the Implementation Analysis strategy and the Organizing and Operating strategy. This portion of the review will conclude with a discussion of important unresolved issues which need to be explored in follow-on reports.

Throughout, an attempt will be made to reveal the major assumptions underlying each of the strategies. This is important since much of the literature stresses that the appropriateness of a particular implementation strategy will vary from situation to situation depending on a series of conditions or factors. For example, in specific development projects it is likely that the most appropriate implementation strategy will depend on many of the important factors discussed in Section II under Project

Implementation Approaches. Specifically, each strategy will need to be sensitive to the nature of the project (whether it is capital/technical or people/social oriented), the uncertainties and latitudes (what kinds and types of major interactions are involved), and the project implementation cycle stage.

The same point can be made with regard to implementation strategies for general administration programs. These strategies make 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 countries. Since each of the prescriptive strategies for managing implementation make such assumptions, development professionals should be aware of this before attempting to select and apply particular ones.

A. General Administration Implementation Strategies

All of the strategies discussed under the General Administration program category share one common theme. Simply stated, <u>if implementation capacity, or more importantly actual performance, is somehow inadequate, then reform efforts should be undertaken to improve the situation</u>. The point where the strategies differ, but almost invariably overlap to one degree or another, is on how to go about the reform effort so as to maximize "development" impact. Assuming, for the purposes of our discussion, that development includes both socio-economic growth and equity (or approximately equal benefit distribution) objectives then the three strategies introduced below appear to represent the available literature.

1. The Institution Building Strategy

A voluminous amount of scholarly research attention has gone toward

developing and applying the institution building strategy for over a decade. (For a complete review of the literature see Blaise: 1974) According to two of the founders 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: 1970)

Thus, the thrust behind the Institution Building movement is to increase development implementation capacity and capability by inducing institutional changes.

The Institution Building strategy has been applied at all levels of government. Most of the research attention has been given to ministry level programs such as improvements of divisions or bureaus and the creation of major educational or research institutions. In recent years there have been several attempts to make the Institution Building strategy easier to understand and apply. (Duncan: 1975) It is still widely discussed and reported on in the scholarly literature.

Of the three General Administration strategies reviewed here, this one currently appears further removed from program implementation as it affects the rural poor. 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 do have direct 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 newly constituted institutional structures (Moris: 1977; Mendoza: 1977; Siffin: 1977).

The Institution Building strategy, as implemented to date, has several major limitations— its overall complexity which makes it difficult to understand or apply and the tendency that goes along with the concept to focus more on building capacity as an end rather than as a means to other development objectives. Literature is available which helps explain the factors involved in successful Institution Building attempts. (Pooler and Duncan: 1972) An extensive attempt to look at, and operationalize, conditions for improving self-sustaining institutional viability (as opposed to capacity) has also been completed (Practical Concepts Incorporated: 1975). Overall, this implementation strategy is still valuable for developing countries. However, it requires substantial reexamination and extension if it is to be effectively used in conjunction with growth with equity development objectives. One prescription for this strategy, which reflects the tenor of the literature is,

> The policy warrants a reexamination. 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)

2. Integrated Management Strategy

The integrated program management strategy 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) A major theme in this strategy is that

implementation results depend to a large extent on the appropriateness of the development strategy. To date, major strategies such as "trickle down," "redistribution." or "community mobilization and development" have been applied in a narrow and indiscriminate manner. The result has often been a stifling of management and implementation performance. As a major spokesman for this strategy 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: 1977a, p. 21)

The integrated management strategy assumes that thinking in narrow sectoral or single administrative level terms is rapidly becoming obsolete. What is required for responsive development implementation is integrative approaches and lateral in addition to 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)

Stated in a slightly different way, general and project specific programs will be effectively implemented to the extent that they operate within favorable national administrative environments. This important relationship applied to rural development is described as 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 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)

Conceptually, the integrated management strategy introduced here and discussed in detail by Korten: 1977 is very appealing. The strategy recognizes the numerous factors which can constrain development and moves along all fronts simultaneously to deal with them. In operation, this strategy has itself been constrained by the heavy and frequently unreasonable resource and behavioral demands which it places on the less developed countries. In essence, this strategy to a large degree 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 exist! This unresolved issue is very important and will receive further elaboration in follow-on reports. The concepts of "meta-management," "matrix-management," and "collaborative style" will also be discussed.

3. The Folk Management Strategy

Folk Management, a term coined by R. Iverson 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 reemerged in slightly different form) in response to the problems encountered with the Institution Building and Integrated Management strategies. Much of its support comes from those who are desirous of promoting self-sustaining development processes within a basic needs or growth with equity framework.

Several premises underlie Folk Management. First is the assumption 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 in Section II, that the incentive structures of many administrative units are non-developmental in nature and function with a strong elitist bias. Thus, it is nearly impossible to rely on currently constituted national level administrative 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. The process can be conceived of 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 implementation or management-- appropriate managerial technology. Similar to appropriate 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 administrative support requirements. (A.I.D. Development Information Office: 1977) 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)

Thomas suggests that "devolutionary strategies" are required for the 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. Based on the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) experience and several domestic U.S. programs, he proposes that implementing organizations have the following structural characteristics. (Thomas: 1978, p. 30) They are:

* 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.

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, Inglé, Khi and Klauss: 1977)

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); The administrative culture (The need to use what already exists to get around 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. Iverson to teach at the local level in terms that are readily grasped and transferred— Owens in Swerdlow and Ingle: 1974, p. 32)

B. Project Specific 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; Honadle: 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 Kotern: 1976; Practical Concepts Incorporated: 1975; Rondinelli: 1976 and 1977; Rondinelli and Ruddle: 1976; Solomon: 1970; Tendler: 1976; Thomas and Hook: 1977; Yudelman: undated; Delp, Thesen, Motiwalla, 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 pull together and synthesize project implementation experience to date.

In this report we are adapting a very tentative and simple typology for classifyingproject strategies with the expectation of future expansion and refinement. The typology consists of two categories: (1) prescriptions

that refer to the kinds and types of implementation analysis and assessment. that should be done and (2) prescriptions about the actual organizing and operation of activities which are required for successful project implementation. With some bending and squeezing, most of the prescriptions can be considered under one of these headings.

1. Implementation Analysis and Assessment Prescriptions

A rapidly growing body of literature focuses on ensuring that a project's implementation plan is feasible. Recognizing that many project implementation problems can be directly traced to inadequate implementation planning (both the substantive and process dimensions), the proponents of this prescription urge that more careful "implementation analysis" be undertaken to assure the feasibility of all selected courses of action. (Allison: 1975; Williams: 1975; Honadle and Ingle: 1976; Honadle: 1978)

Implementation analysis takes several different forms but all of them attempt to assess which of several suggested implementation approaches are most likely to succeed. Operationally, implementation analysis also involves generating additional implementation approaches when those proposed turn out to be unfeasible. To date most attention in this area has focussed on assessing the probability that project organizations will function properly throughout the project life. A few (notably Thomas and Hook: 1977 and Honadle and Ingle: 1976; and Honadle: 1977), have attempted to deal with the evolutionary or "mutative" character of project implementation. Less attention has been given to assuring that the other important implementation interactions (as discussed in Section II) would also take place. Several as of yet incomplete sets of guidelines and questions are now available to assist implementation planners in their implementation analysis task. These are summarized below.

Rizzo and Kotean, 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 rasults 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 Kotean: 1976)

As stated here, these authors see management capacity or implementation appraisal and reappraisal as occuring at each stage of the project implementation cycle— appraisal is a continuous process. Rizzo and Kotean 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 implemention analysis, his list of questions focuses on making sure that programs are being administered properly. As discussed in Section II, 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's 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" dimension of all development programs.

A third approach to project implementation analysis is presented by Honadle and Ingle: 1976 as further extended by Honadle 1977 and 1978. Their approach differs from the previous ones in two ways. First, their guidelines are for rural projects which have some benefit distribution or equity objectives. Secondly, they include an actual case study application of the 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 <u>existing situation</u>.

* DESIGN: This is the specification of organisational <u>relationships embodied in the proposed project</u>. Design is concerned with

internal project organization, linkages between the project and other organizations, and the effect of those 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 responsibilites 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.

B. Organizing and Operating Strategy

Even with the most complete implementation appraisals, no development project will look exactly the same once the project is underway. (Hirshman: 1967) Given that this is a widely recognized fact, many authors suggest that implementation changes should be expected and in fact looked at as desirable adjustments necessitated by a dynamic environment. Development Alternatives, Inc. in the Small Farmer Developments Strategies summary, 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 under relative degrees of fluxuation and uncertainty.

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 Weiss, Waterston and Wilson: 1976) we will only deal with it briefly at this juncture. Organizing and operating development projects is a complex and time-consuming task. Detailed decision making is required at every major stage of the implementation cycle as discussed in Section II. Timely and efficient project organizing and operation is 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 Alternative, Inc.: 1975;

lomon: 1970; Chambers: 1974; Belshaw and Chambers: 1973; and Delp, hesen, Matiwalla and Seshadri: 1977. These articles cover various management information systems approaches to organizing and operating development projects. (This section will be expanded in the final report.)

C. Unresolved Issues and Future Directions

In glancing over the entire review, many issues remain unresolved. A few information gaps are apparent; as are several internal contradictions. To some extent this should be expected since program implementation has been conceptualized and dealt with in so many diverse ways. The current state-of-the-art makes it very difficult to establish even elementary cause and effect relationships, and to predict the outcomes of specific program management actions. Some broad generalizations are evident and have been presented, but for the most part our practical knowledge of implementation dynamics based on conceptual and empirical research is limited and incomplete.

A dilemma which emerged at several points in the review is that the more developed countries have the most well-developed and refined notion of all that program implementation should encompass. These advanced views of implementation by their complexity, and by the demands they place on relatively scarce managerial capacity in the least developed countries, appear to lack "implementation feasibility". That is, they appear unknowingly to distort existing implementation potential at all levels of society. As noted in Section II, a "folk management" perspective is emerging which is concerned with this issue. As yet, however, no practical and feasible prescriptive strategies (or even close approximations) have

been found which are immediately useful to program implementors. The strategies that are currently available, and many have been presented, all appear to be deficient in major ways--they are either too conceptual, too narrow in scope, or too all-encompassing. An obvious need exists for improved implementation strategies in this area.

Our final report will concern itself more directly with ways by which the program implementation can be better managed in the poorest of the developing countries. To date we have felt constrained by the paucity of literature which addresses the implementation in a practical and action oriented manner. Most of the scholarly work to date is conceptual and limits its focus to a few programs or the more progressive developing countries.

To date, major program implementation approaches and strategies have relied almost exclusively on elaborate word definitions. In our view, the current need for understanding must go beyond words to an operational program model or an "organizing mechanism"* which allows for the incorporation of the various implementation concepts and approaches as reviewed in this report. The organizing mechanism presented below under the heading of an "Implementation Interaction Matrix" may go part way in satisfying this need, both in outlining the current state of the program implementation art and serving as a point of departure for understanding and dealing with implementation opportunities and impediments from a managerial perspective. In addition, this mechanism can act as a point of departure for future additions and deletions as new concepts and research results become available. At the very least this mechanism should provide a more precise framework for identifying what is called the implementation process in its

*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 causal relationships and patterns.

adest sense.

The implementation Interaction Matrix is presented in Figure 4. s two axes are based on the implementation perspectives introduced arlier with reference to Hirschman's book. The horizontal axis contains a isting of the major stages in the "implementation cycle." (Refer to igure 3) The vertical axis lists the major interactions which occur t different locations during implementation (refer to Figure 1). In future reports appropriate implementation approaches and techniques will be presented for each square in the matrix, that is, for each major type of interaction at each major stage of the implementation process. This exercise will be completed for "new directions" types of programs.

Figure 4: The Implementation Interaction Matrix

Location of Implementation Interactions	Stages in the Implementation Cycle				
	Implementation Analysis, Planning and Redesign	Program Initiation and Start-up	Operations and Execution	Phase-out and Institutionalization	Impact Assessment
1) Within the Program Environment					
2) Within the Program Organization					
3) Within the Program Target Group					
4) Between the Program Organization and Environment					
5) Between the Program Organization and the Target Group					
6) Between the Environment and the Target Group					

LIST OF REFERENCES*

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

Ahmad, Yusuf J. "Administration of Integrated Rural Development Programmes: A Note on Methodology." International Labor Review III (February 1975):119-142

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, 369-391.

BARD, Comilla. Rural Development in China: Report of the BARD Team That Visited China, BARD, Comilla, Bangladesh, 1977.

Bardach, E. The Implementation Game. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1977.

Bardach, Eugene. "Policy Termination as a Political Process." Policy Sciences 7 (1976):123-131.

Barnabas, A. P. "The Block Development Officer Today." Indian Journal of Social Work 26 (January 1966):407-415.

Belshaw, D.G.R.; Bjørlo, T.J.; and Shah, M.M. A Hierarchical Systems Formulation of the Rural Development Process in Developing Countries. Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1973, Discussion Paper No. 166.

Belshaw, D.G.R. and Chambers, R. A Management Systems Approach to Rural Development. Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1973, Discussion Paper No. 161.

Belshaw, D. and Chambers, R. PIM: A Practical Management System for Implementing Rural Development Programmes and Projects. Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1973, Discussion Paper No. 62.

Belshaw, D.G.R. and Chambers, R. Programming Operational Control and Evaluation for Rural Development Plans. Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1971, Staff Paper No. 111.

---

*This is a tentative and incomplete list of references used during the course of the study. Suggestions of additional publications are welcomed. The annotated list of studies to be prepared later will only include the major program implementation studies.

Berry, Sara S. "Risk and the Poor Farmer." Prepared for Economic and Sector Planning, Technical Assistance Bureau, Agency for International Development, under Purchase Order Contract AID/CM/ta-147-491, August 1977 (revised draft - mimeographed).

Brown, David W. "Rural Development from a Decision-Making Perspective." International Development Review 17 (1975):12-16.

Caiden, Naomi and Wildavsky, Aaron. Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1974.

Campbell, Richard W. "Conceptualizing the Policy Implementation Process." Syracuse University, 1977 (draft - mimeographed).

Carruthers, I.D. and Clayton, F.S. "Ex-Post Evaluation of Agricultural Projects -- Its Implications for Planning." Journal of Agricultural Economics ___ (1977):_____.

Chabala, H.H.A.; Khru, D.H.; and Mukuna, S.W. A Further Evaluation of the Programming and Implementation Management (PIM) System. Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1973, Working Paper No. 119.

Chabala, H.H.A.; Khru, D.H.; Mukuna, S.W.; and Leonard, D.K. An Evaluation of the Programming and Implementation Management (PIM) System. Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1973, Working Paper No. 89.

Chambers, Robert. "Executive Capacity as a Scarce Resource." International Development Review II (June 1969)

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

Chambers, Robert. "Simple is Practical: Approaches and Realities for Project Selection for Poverty-Focused Rural Development." Submitted to the Symposium on Implications of Income Distribution and Employment Objectives for Project Appraisal and Identification, Kuwait, April 1977.

Chambers, R. and Moris, J., eds. Mwea: An Irrigated Rice Settlement in Kenya. Munich, German Federal Republic: IFO-Insitut fur Wirtschaftsforschung, 1973, Afrika-Studien No. 83.

Chapel, Yves. Administrative Management for Development: A Reader. Brussels: International Institute of Administrative Sciences and Paris: UNESCO, 1977.

Choldin, Harvey M. "An Organizational Analysis of Rural Development Projects at Comilla, East Pakistan." Economic Development and Cultural Change 20 (July 1972):671-690.

Cleaves, Peter S. Bureaucratic Politics and Administration in Chile. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Collinson, Michael P. Farm Management in Peasant Agriculture: A Handbook for Rural Development Planning in Africa. New York: Praeger, 1972

Conyer, D. "Administration in China: Some Preliminary Observations." Journal of Administration Overseas 16 (April 1977):98-113.

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

Debelian, L. "The Volta River Resettlement Programme." Land Reform, Land Settlement and Cooperatives 1 (1972):18-35.

Desai, D.K. and Prakash, H. Planning and Implementation of Financing Agriculture Through Area Approach (A Case Study in Bihar State). Ahmedabad, India: Indian Institute of Management, 1973.

Development Alternatives, Inc. "Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects." Executive Summary. Report prepared for the Agency for International Development under Contract No. AID/CM/ta-C-73-41, May 1975.

Diaz-Cisneros, Heliodoro. An Institutional Analysis of a Rural Development Project: The Case of the Puebla Project in Mexico. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1974.

Duncan, Richard L. "Institution Building: Incidents, Ideas, and Applications." Under Contract No. AID/ta-c-1069, March 25, 1975.

DuSautoy, Peter. "A Guide for the Administrator to the Principles of Community Development." Journal of Local Administration Overseas 2 (October 1963):204-211.

Eicher, C.K.; Sargent, M.W.; Tapsoba, E.K.; and Wilcock, D.C. An Analysis of the Eastern ORD Rural Development Project in Upper Volta: Report of the M.S.U. Mission. East Lansing, Michigan: African Rural Economy Program, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, 1976, Working Paper No. 9.

Elias, S. "Problems in Planning and Administration for Development Among the Rural Poor." Journal of the Northeast Agricultural Economics Council 1 (Summer 1972):315-320.

Esman, Milton. Administration of Development in Malaysia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972.

Espinasse, S. "Planning and Implementation of a Development Project: Lesson From an Experiment: Béfandriara-Mandritsara (Madagascar)." Développement et Civilisations 52/53 (1973):65-79 (in French).

Faaland, J. "Growth, Employment and Equity: Lessons of the Employment Strategy Mission to the Sudan." International Labor Review 114 (July-August 1976):1-10.

Finucane, J. R. Rural Development and Bureaucracy in Tanzania: The Case of Mwanza Region. Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974.

Frankel, Francine. India's Green Revolution. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.

Friedman, John. "A Spatial Framework for Rural Development in Poor Nations: Problems of Organization and Implementation." Prepared for AID (August 1974) (mimeographed).

Gable, R.W. and Springer, J.F. Comparing Administrative "Reality Worlds": A Preliminary Report of the Administration of Rice Production Project. New York: South East Asia Development Advisory group Papers, The Asia Society, 1973.

Gaikwad, V. R. "Execution of Agricultural Development Programs and Administrative Deficiencies." Behavioral Sciences and Community Development 3 (September 1969):101-113.

Gaikwad, V. R. "Management of Rural Development Programmes. Organizational Deficiencies and Strategies for Improvement." Indian Journal of Public Administration 21 (1975):4

Gemmill, Gary and Wilemon, David L. "The Power Spectrum in Project Management." Sloan Management Review 12 (Fall 1970):15-25.

Gittinger, Price James. Economic Analysis of Agricultural Projects. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Green, James W. "Advising on Development Organization." In Economic Development of Tropical Agriculture, W. W. McPherson. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1968, 303-314.

Gupta, L. C. "Decentralized Implementation: Some Administrative Problems." Indian Journal of Public Administration 11 (1965): 251-273.

Hansen, Gary E. The Politics and Administration of Rural Development in Indonesia: The Case of Agriculture. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Hansen, Gary E. "Rural Administration and Agricultural Development in Indonesia." Pacific Affairs 44 (Fall 1971):390-400.

Hargrove, Erwin C. The Missing Link: The Study of the Implementation of Social Policy. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, July 1975.

Havens, A. E. "Diffusion of New Seed Varieties and Its Consequences: A Colombian Case." In Problems of Rural Development, Raymond Dumett and Lawrence Brainard, eds. Leiden: E.J. Brill Publishers, 1975.

Heseltine, Nigel. "Administrative Structures and the Implementation of Development Plans." Journal of Administration Overseas VI (April 1967):75-84.

Hirschman, Albert. Development Projects Observed. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967.

Honadle, George H. "Implementing Integrated Area Development in the Bicol: Recommendations and Observations Based on Libmanan/Cabusao IAD." A Report to the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Bicol River Basin Coordinating Committee (October 25, 1977) (mimeographed).

Honadle, George H. "Organization Design for Development Administration: A Liberian Case Study of Implementation Analysis for Project Benefit Distribution." Ph.D. Dissertation in Public Administration, Syracuse University, 1978 (mimeographed).

Honadle, George H. and Ingle, Marcus. Project Management for Rural Equality. Syracuse, New York: A Report Prepared for the Agency for International Development, 1976.

Hood, Christopher C. The Limits of Administration. New York: Wiley, 1976.

Hope, K. R. "Development Administration in Post-Independence Guyana." International Review of Administrative Sciences 43 (1977):67-72.

Hunter, Guy. "The Implementation of Agricultural Development: Towards Criteria for the Choice of Tools." Agricultural Administration 1 (1974):51-72.

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

Iglesias, Gabriel U. Implementation: The Problem of Achieving Results. Manila: Eastern Regional Organization of Public Administration, 1976.

Iha, Nand Durga. Planning and Agricultural Development. New Delhi: Sultan Chand & Sons, 1974.

Ingle, Marcus. "Organizational Determinants of Rural Equality: An Exploratory Study of Development Project Information-Processing and the Distribution of Socio-Economic Benefits in Less Developed Countries." Ph.D. Dissertation in Social Science, The Maxwell School, Syracuse University, May 1977.

Jain, R. B. Contemporary Issues in Indian Administration. New Delhi: Vishal Publications, 1976.

Jones, Garth N. "Strategies and Tactics of Planned Organizational Change: Case Examples in the Modernization Process of Traditional Societies." Human Organization 24 (Fall 1965):192-200.

Kadzamira, Z. D. "Development Politics and Administration: Some Considerations on Planning for Rural Development at the Centre and the Periphery in Malawi." In Strategy for Development, J. Barratt, D.S. Collier, K. Glaser, and H. Monnig, eds. Publisher unknown.

Kahlon, A.S. and Acharya, S.S. "A Study on Management Input in Farming." Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics 22 (1967):45-53.

Katz, Saul M. Guide to Modernizing Administration for National Development (Monograph prepared for an Inter-American workshop on Development Adminsitration held by the Organization of American States in Buenos Aires, November 1965). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965.

Katz, Saul M. "A Methodological Note on Appraising Administrative Capability for Development." In Appraising Administrative Capability for Development, Saul M. Katz. New York: United Nations, 1969.

Korten, David C. "Management for Social Development: Experience From the Field of Population." Discussion paper prepared at the request of the Rockefeller Foundation for their Conference on Public Management Education and Training held in Bellagio, Italy, August 11-15, 1976.

Korten, David C. "Managing the Implementation Process in the National Population Effort: An Overview." Conference overview paper for the 1976 Annual Conference of the International Committee on the Management of Population Programmes (ICOMP) held in Bali, Indonesia, July 12-19, 1976.

Koteen, Jack. "Key Problems in Development Administration." In Administrative Issues in Developing Economics, K.J. Rothwell, ed. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1972, 47-67.

Kramer, Fred A. "Paddy Dryers for Thanjavur: A Case of Agricultural Development in India." Asian Survey 8 (August 1971):787-802.

Laucoin, G. "Management of Hydro-Agricultural Projects in Niger." Développement et Civilisations 51 (1973):21-31 (in French).

Lele, Uma. The Design of Rural Development: Lessons From Africa. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Leonard, D., ed. Rural Administration In Kenya. Nairobi: The East African Literature Bureau, 1973.

Levine, Robert A. Public Planning: Failure and Redirection. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

Luykx, Nicholaas. "Purpose and Performance in Rural Development." In Integrated Communication: Bringing People and Rural Development Together (a report on the International Conference on Integrated Communication for Rural Development), R. Lyle Webster. Honolulu: East-West Center, December 1974.

Luykx, Nicholaas. "Rural Government in the Strategy of Agricultural Development." In Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change, John D. Montgomery and William J. Siffin, eds. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966, 113-131.

Mann, Amy G., ed. Institution Building: A Reader. Program of Advanced Studies in Institution Building and Technical Assistance Methodology (PASITAM), Indiana University, 1975.

Mann, R.D. and Boyd, John. Rural Africa Development Project: Identifying the Problems of Small Farmers. London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1976.

McKean, Roland N. Efficiency in Government Through Systems Analysis. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.

McMillan, A. "Aranjuez: A Case Study in Rural Development." Journal of Administration Overseas 9 (1970):84-95.

Mickelwait, Donald R.; Sweet, Charles F.; and Morss, Elliott R. "The 'New Directions' Mandate: Studies in Project Design, Approval and Implementation." Vol 1. Prepared for the Technical Assistance Bureau Office of Rural Development under Contract No. AID/CM/ta-C-73-41, by Development Alternatives, Inc., January 23, 1978.

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

Mickelwait, Donald R.; Weisel, Peter F.; Morss, Elliott R; and Honadle, George H. "Reorganizing AID to Promote Development." A report submitted to the Reorganization Study Group, Agency for International Development, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C., July 15, 1977 (mimeograph).

Mintzberg, Henry; Raisinghani, Duru; and Theoret, Andre. "The Structure of 'Unstructured' Decision Process." Administrative Science Quarterly 21 (June 1976):246-275.

Montgomery, John D. "The Allocation of Authority in Land Reform Programs: A Comparative Study of Administrative Processes and Outputs." Administrative Science Quarterly (March 1972):62-75.

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

Morss, Elliott, et al. Implementing the U.S.A.I.D.-McNamara Mandate: What Big Foreign Donors Can Do About Getting the Benefits of Rural Development to the Small Farmer. Washington, D.C.: Development Alternatives, Inc., July 1974.

Muttalib, M. A. Development Administration in Rural Government for Agricultural Production: An Approach in Comparative Administration. Hyderabad, India: Osmania University Department of Publication and Press, 1973.

Nellis, J. R. "The Administration of Rural Development in Kenya: Plan Formulation and Implementation in the Special Rural Development Programme." In Issues in African Development. Papers presented at the Annual Meeting, Waterloo, Ontario, February 25-26, 1972. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Division of Environmental Studies, Department of Geography, 1972, 168-182.

Norman, D. W. Methodology and Problems of Farm Management Investigations: Experiences From Northern Nigeria. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Department of Agricultural Economics, April 1973.

O'Connell, Jeremiah. Managing Organizational Innovations. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1968.

Packard, Philip C. "Implementation of Agricultural Projects." Bulletin of Rural Economics and Sociology 5 (1970):171-199.

Pasha, S.H. and Muhammad, S. "Problems in the Implementation of IRD (Integrated Rural Development) Projects: Management and Co-ordination." In CENTO Seminar on Integrated Rural Development, 1975, 280-282.

Pearse, Andrew. "Technology and Peasant Production: Reflection on a Global Study." Development and Change (June 1977).

Pooler, William S. and Duncan, Richard L. "Technical Assistance and Institution Building: An Empirical Test." In Institution Building and Development: From Concepts to Application, Joseph W. Eaton, ed. Beverley Hill, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1972.

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

Rabinowitz, L. "Policy Implementation: Guidelines." Policy Sciences 7 (December 1976).

Radosevich, H. Raymond. "An Integrated Approach to Development Project Management." Graduate School of Management, Vanderbilt University (undated, mimeographed copy).

Reder, A. "The Implementation of Agricultural Irrigation Projects: 1 - Human Investment in Rwanda." Développement Civilisations, Paris 43 (1971):40-45 (in French).

Riggs, Fred W. "Circular Causation in Development and Local Government: The Philippines as a Test Case." Economic Development and Cultural Change 8 (1955-1960):389-418.

Rizzo, E. and Koteen, J. "Guidelines for Appraisal of Recipient's Project Management Capacity." Prepared for the Agency for International Development, September 27, 1976 (mimeographed).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. "International Assistance Policy and Development Project Administration: The Impact of Imperious Rationality." 1975 (mimeographed).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. "International Requirements for Project Preparation: Aids or Obstacles to Development Planning?" Journal of the American Institute of Planners 42 (July 1976).

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

Rondinelli, Dennis A. "Project Identification in Economic Development." Journal of World Trade Law 10 (1976).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. Project Planning For Developing Countries: The Impact of Imperious Rationality. Honolulu: The East-West Center, Technology and Development Institute, 1975 (mimeographed).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. "Why Development Projects Fail: Problems of Project Management in Developing Countries." Project Management Quarterly 7 (March 1976).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Radosevich, H.R. "Administrative Changes in International Assistance: Implications for Asian Cooperation." The Asian Economic and Social Review 1 (1976).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Ruddle, Kenneth. "Appropriate Institutions for Rural Development: Organizing Services and Technology in Developing Countries." Syracuse, New York: Graduate Planning Program, Syracuse University, 1977

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Ruddle, Kenneth. "Coping with Poverty in International Assistance Policy: An Evaluation of Spatially Integrated Investment Strategies." World Development (1976).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Ruddle, Kenneth. "Local Organization for Integrated Rural Development." International Review of Administrative Sciences XIIII (1977).

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Ruddle, Kenneth. "Political Commitment and Administrative Support: Preconditions for Growth with Equity Policy." Journal of Administration Overseas (1977).

Rothstein, Robert. The Weak in the World of the Strong - The Developing Countries in the International System. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.

Ruthenberg, H. Farming Systems in the Tropics. London: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Ruttan, Vernon W. "Integrated Rural Development Programs: A Skeptical Perspective." International Development Review XVII (1975)

Seibel, H.D. and Massing, A. Traditional Organizations and Economic Development. Studies of Indigenous Cooperatives in Liberia. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.

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

Smith, Thomas B. "Policy Roles: An Analysis of Policy Formulators and Policy Implementors." Policy Sciences 4 (1973):297-307.

Solomon, Morris J. Analysis of Projects for Economic Growth: An Operational System for Their Formulation, Evaluation, and Implementation. New York: Praeger, 1970.

Stubbings, B. J. J. "Integrated Rural Development in Pakistan." Journal of Administration Overseas 2 (April 1975):91-104.

Swerdlow, Irving. The Public Administration of Economic Development. New York: Praeger, 1975.

Szentes, Tamas. Economic Policy and Implementation Problems in Tanzania. Reprint. Studies on Developing Countries. Center for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Budapest, 1971.

Taake, Hans-Helmut. "The Implementation of Development Plans: Organization and Policies." The Developing Economies XIII (March 1975): 22-37.

Tendler, Judith. "Inter-Country Evaluation of Small Farmer Organizations Final Report." Prepared for Office of Development Programs of the Latin American Bureau of A.I.D., November 1976.

Thomas, John Woodward and Hook, Richard M. Creating Rural Employment: A Manual for Organizing Rural Works Programs. Agency for International Development, July 1977.

Thomas, Theodore H. "People Strategies for International Development: Administrative Alternatives to National Political and Economic Ideologues." Journal of Comparative Administration (May 1973).

Tiffin, M. "Timing as a Factor in the Success of Extension Programmes: A Nigerian Case Study." Agricultural Administration 1 (1974): 125-139.

Timmer, C. Peter; Thomas, John W; Wells, Louis T.; and Morawetz. The Choice of Technology in Developing Countries (Some Cautionary Tales). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Center For International Affairs, Harvard University, 1975.

United Nations Industrial Development Organization. The Initiation and Implementation of Industrial Projects in Developing Countries: A Systematic Approach. New York: United Nations, 1975.

U.S. Department of State, Agency for International Development. "Report of the A.I.D. Work Group on Management Improvement and Development Administration." Washington D.C. August 11, 1975.

Van Mater, Donald S. and Van Horn, Carl E. "The Implementation of Intergovernmental Policy." In Public Policy Making in a Federal System, C.O. Jones and R.D. Thomas, eds. Beverley Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

Van Mater, Donald S. and Van Horn, Carl E. "The Policy Implementation Process: A Conceptual Framework." Administration and Society 6 (February 1975):445-488.

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

Waterston, Albert. "The Implementation of Plans." In Development Planning: Lessons of Experience. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969, c1965: 293-368.

Weiss, Wayne; Waterston, Albert; and Wilson, John. Managing Planned Agriculture Development. Washington, D.C.: Governmental Affairs Institute, 1976.

Wignaraja, Ponna. "From Village to the Global Order: Elements in a Conceptual Framework for 'Another Development'".

Wildavsky, Aaron. "Why Planning Fails in Nepal." Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (December 1972): 508-528.

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

Williams, Walter. "Social Policy Research and Analysis, The Experience in the Federal Social Agencies". New York: American Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.

Williams, Walter and Elmore, Richard (editors). Social Program Implementation. New York: Academic Press, 1976.

World Bank. The Assault on World Poverty: Problems of Rural Development, Education and Health. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

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

Yudelman, Montague. "Integrated Rural Development Projects: The Bank's Experience."

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF REFERENCES

Beer, Stafford. Platform for Change: A Message From Stafford Beer. New York: Wiley, 1975.

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

Blair, Harry W. "Rural Development, Class Structure and Bureaucracy in Bangladesh." A paper prepared for delivery at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1976 (mimeographed).

Blue, Richard N. and Weaver, James H. "A Critical Assessment of Tanzanian Model of Development." Development Studies Program, Occasional Paper No. 1, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., June 1977.

Bryant, Coralie. "Participation, Planning, and Administrative Development in Urban Development Programs." Prepared for the Office of Urban Development, Bureau for Technical Assistance, U.S. Department of State, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., February 1976.

Davidson, John R. "The Basic Village Education Project in Guatemala." Development Studies Program, Case Studies in Development Assistance No. 2. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., 1976.

Davidson, John R. "The Rural Credit and Cooperative Development Project in Guatemala." Development Studies Program, Case Studies in Development Assistance No. 1, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., October 1976.

Delp, Peter; Thesen, Arne; Motiwalla, Juzar; and Seshadri, Neelakantan. Systems Tools for Project Planning. Bloomington, Indiana: International Development Institute, Indiana University, 1977.

Denton, Frank H. Better Foreign Aid: Problems and Prescriptions. The Philippines: Carmelo & Bauermann, Inc., June 1976.

East-West Center, Technology and Development Institute. "Public Policy Implementation and Project Management -- Curriculum Development for Project Management." Summary report of the Workshop to Critique and Refine Prototype Curriculum Package, June 20-30, 1977.

Edstrom, Anders and Galbraith, Jay R. "Transfer of Managers as a Coordination and Control Strategy in Multinational Organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly 22 (June 1977):248-263.

Esman, Milton. "Institution Building as a Guide to Action." December 4, 1970 (mimeographed).

Garilao, Ernesto. Laguna Rural Social Development Project. Case Studies in Public Policy Implementation and Project Management, Case Study No. 1. Honolulu, Hawaii: Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, Inc., 1977.

Hatch, Upton L.; Ames, Glenn C.W.; and Davis, L. Harlan. "Small Agricultural Producers Credit Programs: El Salvador." Development Studies Program, Case Studies in Development Assistance No. 3, Agency for International Development, Washington D.C., July 30, 1977.

Hopkins, Jack W., ed. Administration for Development: A Comparative Perspective on the Middle East and Latin America. Bloomington, Indiana: International Program, School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University, September 1976.

Jun, Jong S. "Renewing the Study of Comparative Administration: Some Reflections on the Current Possibilities." Public Administration Review 36 (November/December 1976):641-647.

Kulp, Earl M. Designing and Managing Basic Agricultural Programs. Bloomington, Indiana: International Development Institute, Indiana University, 1977.

Love, Ralph. Pacific Island Livestock Development. Case Studies in Public Policy Implementation and Project Management, Case Study No. 7. Honolulu, Hawaii: Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, Inc., 1977.

Loveman, Brian. "The Comparative Administration Group, Development Administration and Antidevelopment." Public Administration Review 36 (November/December 1976):616-621.

Low, A.R.C. and Kamp, R.L. "A Management Oriented Approach to the Estimation of Farm Production Costs and Returns in Rural Development Projects." Journal of Agricultural Economics (1976): 129-139.

Mandoza, Gabino A. "The Transferability of Western Management Concepts and Programs, an Asian Perspective." In Education and Training for Public Sector Management in the Developing Countries, J.E. Black, et al, eds. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, March 1977, 61-71.

Moris, Jon R. "Problem of Effective Agricultural Administration." African Review 2 (June 1972):105-146.

Moris, Jon R. "Managerial Structures and Plan Implementation in Colonial and Modern Agricultural Extension." In Rural Administration in Kenya, D. Leonard. Nairobi: The East Africa Literature Bureau, 1973, 97-131.

Moris, Jon R. "The Transferability of Western Management Concepts and Programs, an East African Perspective." In Education and Training for Public Sector Management in the Developing Countries, J.E. Black, et al, eds. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, March 1977, 73-83.

Morss, Elliott. "Alternative Approaches to Assisting the Rural Poor." Draft of paper to be delivered at the Society for International Development meeting on December 2, 1977, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C. (22 pages mimeographed).

Noranitipadungkarn, Chakrit. Bangkok Metropolitan Immediate Water Improvement Program. Case Studies in Public Policy Implementation and Project Management, Case Study No. 3. Honolulu, Hawaii: Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, Inc., 1977.

Paul, Samuel. "A Framework for Curriculum Planning." In Education and Training for Public Sector Management in the Developing Countries, J.E. Black, et al, eds. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, March 1977, 85-93.

Practical Concepts Incorporated (PCI). The Africa Bureau Project Management System: Manual of Operations. Phase II Final Report, Volume II. Washington, D.C.: PCI, November 1975.

Posz, Gary; Jun, Jong S.; and Storm, William. Administrative Alternatives in Development Assistance. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1973.

Reisman, Arnold and de Kluyver, Cornelis A. "Strategies for Implementing Systems Studies." In Implementing Operations Research/Management Science, Randall L. Schultz and Dennis P. Slevin, eds. New York: American Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc., 1977, 291-309.

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and Radosevich, H. Raymond. "A Study of Development Project Administration: Diagnostics for Improved Implementation." Nashville: Graduate School of Management, Vanderbilt University, 1975 (mimeographed).

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

Siffin, William J. "Two Decades of Public Administration in Developing Countries." In Education and Training for Public Sector Management in the Developing Countries, J.E. Black, et al, eds. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, March 1977, 49-60.

Sigelman, Lee. "In Search of Comparative Administration." Public Administration Review 36 (November/December 1976):621-625.

Special Issue. "The Management of Urban and Rural Development in Africa: Report and Papers Presented at the Regional Conference on the Management of Urban and Rural Development in Africa Held in Tangier From the 26th to 30th June, 1972." African Administrative Studies (January 1973):1-297.

Swerdlow, Irving and Ingle, Marcus, eds. Public Administration Training for the Less Developed Countries. Syracuse, New York: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1974.

Tapia-Videla, Jorge L. "Understanding Organizations and Environments: a Comparative Perspective." Public Administration Review 36 (November/December 1976):631-636.

Thomas, John Woodward. "The Choice of Technology for Irrigation Tubewells in East Pakistan: an Analysis of a Development Policy Decision." In The Choice of Technology in Developing Countries (Some Cautionary Tales), C. Peter Timmer, et al. Harvard Studies in International Affairs, No. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1975, 33-67.

Thomas, Theodore H. "Innovation in Organizational Structure: Normative Implications of Participatory Styles." Ph.D. Dissertation in Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.

Thomas, Theodore H. and Brinkerhoff, Derick. "Devolutionary Strategies for Development Administration." SICA Occasional Papers No. 8. American Society for Public Administration, January 1978.

Tjokroamidjojo, Bintoro. Way Abung Transmigration Project. Case Studies in Public Policy Implementation and Project Management, Case Study No. 4. Honolulu, Hawaii: Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, Inc., 1977.

United Kingdom. Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Overseas Development Administration. A Guide to Project Appraisal in Developing Countries. London, United Kingdom, HMSO, 1972.

U.S. Department of State. Agency for International Development. Guidelines for Formulating Projects to Benefit the Urban Poor in Developing Countries. Washington, D.C.: Planning and Development Collaborative International, 1976.

U.S. Department of State. Agency for International Development. "Policy Determination on Development Administration -- PD 69." February 10, 1977.

Uphoff, Norman and Esman, Milton. Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Rural Development Committee, 1974.

Valsan, E.H. "Successes and Problems in Family Planning Administration: Experiences in Two Districts of Kerala, India." Studies in Family Planning 8 (June 1977):148-156.

Vanek, J. "On Power, Oppression and Liberation in the World." Second paper presented for discussion at the International Conference on Possibilities for the Liberation of Work and Political Power. Dubrovnik, January 31-February 3, 1977 (mimeographed).

Vanek, J. The Participatory Economy. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Vengroff, R. "Popular Participation and the Administration of Rural Development. The Case of Botswana." Human Organization 33 (1974):303-309.

Waterston, Albert. "An Operational Approach to Development Planning." International Journal of Health Services I (1971):_____.

Weaver, James and Jameson, Kenneth. "Economic Development: Competing Paradigms - Competing Parables." Development Studies Program, Occasional Paper No. 3. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., 1978.

Weinrich, A.K.H. "Factors Influencing Economic Development in Rural Areas." Rhodesian Journal of Economics (March 1975):7-13.

West, F.J. "Local Government in French Polynesia and American Samoa." Journal of Local Administration Overseas 2 (July 1963):140-148.

Whang, In-Joung. Korean National Family Planning Program. Case Studies in Public Policy Implementation and Project Management, Case Study No. 2. Honolulu, Hawaii: Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, Inc., 1977.

Wildavsky, Aaron. "If Planning is Everything, Maybe It's Nothing." Policy Sciences 4 (1973):127-153.

Wilkening, Eugene A. Some Problems of Development in the Central Plateau of Brazil. Madison, Wisconsin: Land Tenure Center, Wisconsin University, 1969.

World Bank. World Bank Operations: Sectoral Programs and Policies. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.