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A Guide to Institution Building
for
Team Leaders of Technical Assistance Projects

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Preface

The **GUIDE TO INSTITUTION BUILDING for Team Leaders of Technical Assistance Projects** is a summary and interpretation of a considerable amount of reporting and writing that has occurred over the past several years. The GUIDE is a direct outgrowth of the continuing concern on the part of the Agency for International Development and various U. S. universities that past experience and research efforts be exploited to the maximum in technical assistance activities during the 1970's. Reports of much of that experience and research, unfortunately, are still available only in mimeographed form which has received limited distribution.

The authors have not attempted to produce new materials in the GUIDE. Instead they have used their own experience as team leaders to draw heavily upon existing materials—even lifting language and sentences directly from them. Since the style of the GUIDE precludes copious annotation and referencing we take this opportunity of acknowledging our debt to those who made the initial contributions. A small bibliography is appended which lists the publications that contributed most extensively to the GUIDE and which deserve major credit. The authors hope that readers will find time to read many of the original materials for deeper insights into the topics covered.

The writers had the invaluable counsel of a group of consultants in AID, USDA and the university community in outlining the GUIDE and in the writing. Preliminary drafts were "evaluated" in week-long workshop seminars by three different groups of some 20 members each—a set of U. S. team leaders met at North Carolina State University, a group of FAO project managers convened in Rome, and a group of Latin American staff members of the InterAmerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences met in Montevideo. Each group gave a different perspective and their assistance was very helpful.

Chapter I—About the Guide

Types of Technical Assistance

Technical assistance may be classified in two categories; the first representing the installation of a specific facility or program and the second the development of an institution. Most technical assistance projects include a mixture of the two types in varying proportions. There are many useful reasons, however, for distinguishing between them conceptually, and these distinctions are presented at the outset because this GUIDE is concerned primarily with the **institution building** aspects of technical assistance projects.

The installation of a facility or program may refer to building a factory, a highway, a fishing fleet, or to the installation of an accounting system. The technical assistance contribution to these ventures may include engineering skills, managerial ability and other inputs commonly found in advanced industrial societies in addition to providing equipment and materials requiring foreign exchange. The technical assistance advisors in such projects provide essential technical information at the appropriate time and in understandable form so that the installation will proceed without delay and the facility or program will function smoothly after completion. This type of project often includes the training of local personnel in the operation of the facility or program and in the technical principles which underlie the major aspects of its operation.

The institution building type of technical assistance is the process of helping develop a new agency or organization with capability of having a specified impact in society, or reconstituting existing organizations such that they can plan or execute more innovative programs in economic and social development. Such an organization might be a school, a credit agency, a family planning agency, a public administration institute, etc. The role of technical assistance in an institution building project is quite different from that in an installation type of project, and **the process of institution building** generally has been inadequately understood by those engaged in it.

The GUIDE, therefore, is focused sharply on the institution building type of project. It deals with the basic concepts of institution building, the role and strategies of external agencies in contributing to the processes and the administrative approaches in making technical assistance most effective. While it is written primarily for the team leader of projects whose major concern is "institution building," it is also useful to managers of other projects in which institution building is of secondary importance.

There is abundant evidence to indicate that the transfer of new technology from one society to another seldom persists unless there is an institution present in the new society which supports, strengthens and perpetuates the technological innovation. It is for this reason that technical assistance has increasingly turned its attention in recent years to a greater concentration of effort in institution building as a necessary vehicle for the transfer of innovative technology and capabilities.

Target Audience

The GUIDE is written with the "team leader" or "project manager" in mind as the primary target. Putting the team leader in the limelight like this runs the risk of blinding him and of conveying the impression that he is the most important person on stage—the star with the key role. This, of course, is not so. The leaders of the host institution are the most important actors. They have the primary and continuing responsibility for developing the institution's character and capability in the local environment. The responsibilities and activities of the team leader, on the other hand, are temporary, and while they may be highly catalytic and helpful, they are subordinate to those of the host institution leaders.

Important issues arise as a consequence of the differences in the responsibilities of the team leader and the host institution leaders. The role of the team leader becomes a very peculiar one. He must administer the resources at his disposal in such a way that the institution can function efficiently without them as soon as possible. His success is judged by how quickly he is no longer needed. Therefore, the GUIDE focuses on the team leader because his role is so complex and difficult, and not because he is presumed to have the central responsibility in institution building.

The GUIDE should also be useful to the team leader's superiors. Since the team leader is responsible to several different agencies—the host institution, the host government, the home institution and the external assistance agency—it would be most helpful to him if all of them held similar views of the tasks the team leader is to perform. In the majority of cases, however, there will be divergences in some of the goals and expectations among this group. Therefore, in outlining the functions and strategies of the team leader and his technical assistance group, the GUIDE should also be useful to administrative persons who recruit and supervise the team leader and the team members. It should serve as a guide in the selection of persons sought for specific team roles, and it should also help in understanding the administrative and technical backing which the team leader and his team members require from the home institution and the external assistance agency.

The host national leaders who are responsible for the administration as well as the political support for the new institution also need to see the institution building process in proper perspective. They need to understand more clearly why various steps are proposed by outsiders and how these suggestions may fit with their own views and responsibilities. In this sense, the GUIDE should be helpful to them in realizing a greater efficiency from the team's presence.

Finally, the actual members of the team should find the GUIDE very helpful in understanding the entire process of institution building in which they are engaged and thus enable them to better understand their particular role in it.

Scope

The scope of the book must necessarily be limited to manageable proportions. There are certain assumptions which must be made by the team leader if he is to make most efficient use of his resources, and this GUIDE begins from that particular point.

The team leader must assume, for example, that a decision has already been made that the particular institution which his team is asked to support is a high priority need for the host country. He should not deem it necessary to begin his task by re-examining the basic needs of the nation and re-assessing her institutional requirements. By the time the team leader has been identified as project manager, he can rest assured that this task will already have been performed by the host country leaders and by the External Assistance Agency. Although adequate pre-project planning leading up to these basic decisions is absolutely essential to project success, this area of planning is a full subject in itself and cannot be covered in this GUIDE.

It will also be assumed in the GUIDE that the services or products envisioned as the outputs of the host institution are among the high priority needs of the nation. There is no intention here of precluding the team leader from re-examining periodically the institution's goals and its relevance to the nation's high priority needs. This must necessarily be done to ensure the institution's continued support and to maintain proper perspective and institutional relevance. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that the project was initiated for a well considered purpose and the team leader was chosen to help achieve it—not change it.

It is hoped that the GUIDE will be widely useful in such diverse fields as agriculture, education, public administration, population and others. The basic processes and strategies of institution building are essentially the same in all fields, and therefore, the material is presented in anticipation that it will be generally useful. An attempt is also made to use language that is common to many fields rather than utilize the jargon of a specific area. While this tends to make the writing less colorful, it is hoped that the results will be more widely useful.

Plan for the Guide

The complexities of the team leader's role in the effective use of external resources in institution building suggest that a careful step-by-step preparation for this exacting and exciting task would be very rewarding. The GUIDE is designed to lead him through these steps in a logical order.

The first step is to scan the task itself, to identify its dimensions, its constraints and its complexities. This is done in Chapter II.

The next step is to identify and understand some of the tools available to the team leader for carrying out his task. There are some basic concepts drawn from experience that are proving to be very useful to all engaged in institution building irrespective of their particular roles. It may be premature to build these concepts into a comprehensive theory, but they give clarity to understanding the institution-building process. They provide the best map yet available for working the maze of divergent segments and groups of the team leader's world. These concepts are given in Chapter III.

Similarly, there are some general strategies for using these basic concepts that have been tried and found useful over the past fifteen years. Special attention is given in Chapter IV to these strategies and also to the potential and the limitations of external assistance in institution building.

In Chapters V to IX we look in detail at each of the four major segments of the team leader's world—the host segment, the technical assistance team, the home institution and the external assistance agency.

The last step consists of pulling all parts together into a single operational role in Chapter XII. There the multidimensional role of the team leader is brought into focus, and suggestions are made about how he may prepare himself further for performing it effectively and with personal satisfaction.

Chapter II—The Team Leader's World of Work

This chapter will describe the team leader's world of work, with its major constituent parts and an indication of how the parts relate to each other. Before attention becomes focused too sharply on the complexities of the team leader's world, however, it is necessary to re-emphasize that the basic reason for the project's existence is to **build an institution**.

The Institution Building World

Figure 1 represents the world of the institution as viewed by the institution leaders and the part technical assistance may play in it. Their world can be divided into four major segments; namely,

- ... the legal authority and allocation of function by government,
- ... the linking agencies that are supplementary, complementary and competing in society,
- ... the internal institutional components,
- ... the external assisting agencies, of which the team leader may represent only one.

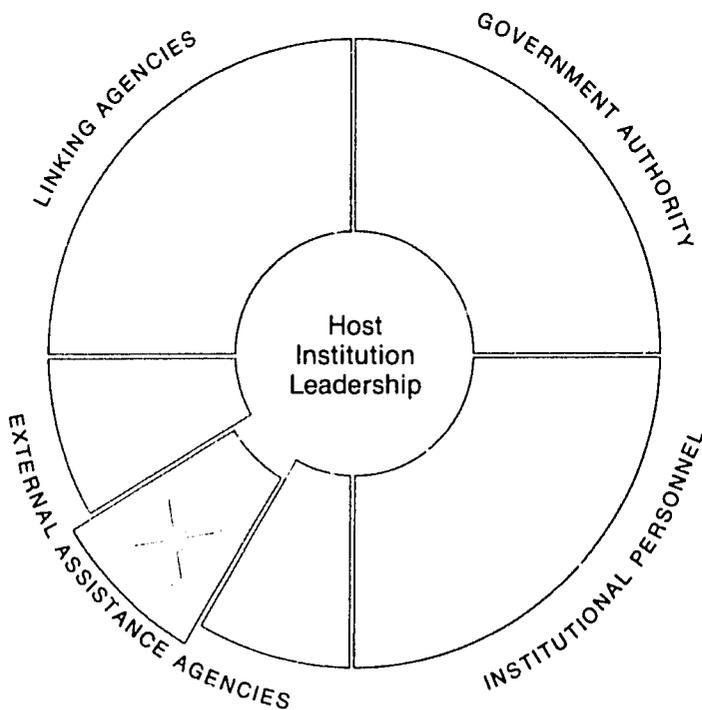


FIGURE 1. The Relation of the Team Leader's Work to the Host Institution

The function of the team leader is to administer his team and the other resources at his disposal so as to maximize the accomplishments of the institution leaders in **building their institution**. His task is complicated, however, by the fact that there are several additional segments in his world of work with which he must contend. He cannot afford to lose sight of the primary focus of the host institution and its needs, but he must also satisfy the demands of his funding agency, his immediate employer, and the team members under his care. Therefore, his immediate world of work is represented in Figure 2, and the magic that he must perform is to project this world on to that of the host institution in such a manner that his efforts complement theirs efficiently.

Ideally, the parts from Figures 1 and 2 should fit together neatly like sets of interlocking gear wheels, transmitting a steady flow of movement for a common purpose. This, however, is seldom the case in practice. The pieces fit together loosely, at best, because the perceptions of needs, goals and methods differ from one group to another. There are usually strong differences in cultural background between the institutional leaders and the external assistance persons, which means that each group sees the world through a different pair of glasses.

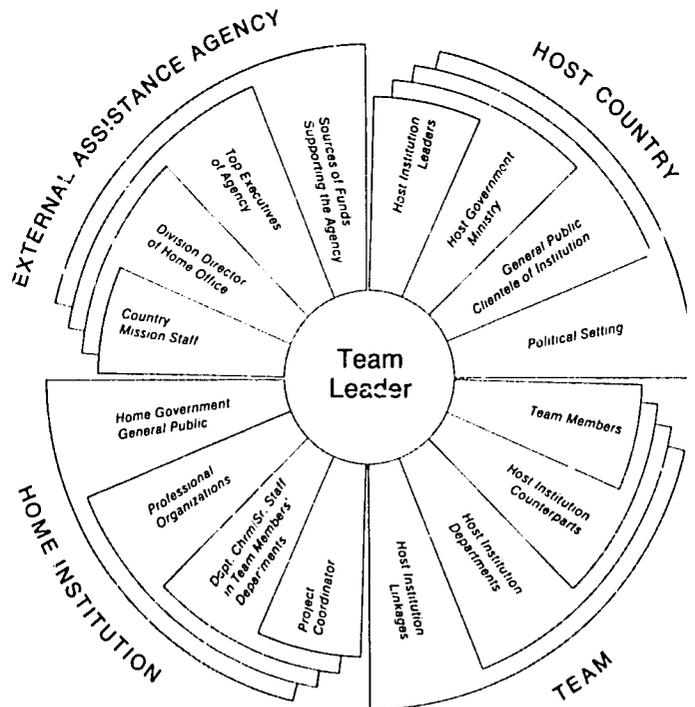


FIGURE 2. The World of the Team Leader

Thus, the team leader may very well feel that he is the principal actor in a play which has several directors, and it will require considerable skill for him to satisfy each director and at the same time produce a performance that is fully effective for the audience. It is a classical maxim in administrative theory that an administrator, to be held responsible for accomplishing a stated objective, needs the resources necessary to do the job and the authority that accompanies his responsibility. How then is the team leader to achieve the objectives outlined for him when the resources over which he has control are only large enough to be catalytic within the host institution, and his authority lies largely in the persuasion of his technical and administrative skills?

The Team Leader's World

The world of the team leader as illustrated by the diagram in Figure 2 shows him at the center of his universe as though he were looking up at a clear night sky. Around him are numerous institutions, organizations, political leaders and administrators, layers upon layers of them, in fact. The closer ones are more insistent than those further away, but they may not be the more influential. Funds for the project, for instance, are increased or reduced by powerful groups on the periphery of the diagram.

The concentric circles are divided into four major segments corresponding to the host government, the team in the field, the external assistance agency, and the home organization. These are the four major constituents of the team leader's world. Each is party to the same project and they have connections with each other independent of the team leader in addition to those they have with him. So they form four separate entities, but together they envelop the team leader and govern his activities.

The size of each segment in the diagram bears no relation to its relative importance; in fact, the relative importance of segments varies between projects and also over time in the same project. The composition of each of the segments also varies depending on the kind of external assistance agency involved and the administrative location of the host institution. In fact, the entire segment of "home institution" only has distinct meaning when the technical assistance task is contracted by the parent funding agency to an executing agency. To profit most from this view of his world of work, therefore, each team leader needs to insert into this generalized diagram the details of his particular project. He should use it as an administrative tool rather than regard it merely as an intellectual abstraction.

The Institution Segment

The team leader's immediate official counterparts will be members of a group of institutional leaders with whom he has close official and operational dealings. The diagram suggests, however, that the counterpart officials in turn have responsibility to higher authority within their own governmental structure, and the team leader needs to have some understanding of those relationships. Beyond the immediate counterparts is the Ministry from which funds come and to which the host institution must answer. The organization with which the team leader is to work may be an officer or a directorate in the Ministry, or it may be a university geographically remote from the

capital; but in any event, the appropriate Ministry and the Minister himself wield important decisionmaking powers which affect the scope and magnitude of the institution's role in society. The project with which the team is associated was very likely approved at one time or another at the Ministerial level, and while the team leader may see the Minister only on rare occasions, if at all, he must be aware that his own counterparts must work closely with their own superiors in government.

The administration in less developed countries is usually highly centralized and, therefore, the team leader may often find that his counterparts are reluctant to make significant decisions without referring them to the highest levels in the Ministry. Thus, the team leader must be aware that, although the linkages between his project and the Minister may not be highly visible, they are none-the-less of very great significance. Even in the case of a university which may call itself "autonomous," there is heavy dependence on government officials for financial support and political backing.

Quite likely the Minister and his staff also are influenced by other foreign advisors. These may be technical personnel from donor agencies of other governments or of international organizations. The team leader must be aware that he and his institutional counterparts have no monopoly on the Minister's ear. Within the government, there will be other Ministries which are competing for scarce national resources and they may feel adversely affected by the project of which the team leader is a part. The team leader should try to understand the interplay of these political forces in order to better assess the relative importance of his project to the government.

Beyond the government is the political setting in which it operates. There may be state legislatures, major political parties, labor unions, professional groups and other special interest groups in society to which the government must respond in a responsible manner. The team leader who expects the government to adopt simple logical lines of action without due regard for the political consequences among all these groups is inviting frustration in his own task.

The Technical Assistance Team Segment

The team leader is directly responsible for his team members, their welfare, their professional performance, and especially their overall contribution to the institution building process. Individual team members are likely to pursue their own professional hopes and expectations for the institution unless they are guided and coached by the team leader.

Team members, in turn, deal directly with a large number of their own counterparts who are persons with technical and operational responsibilities within the institution. Thus, the team leader's contact with much of the operation of the project is through the team members. It is from them and their observations and experiences that he gets information that helps him monitor the effectiveness of the project within its institutional setting and to assess the technical assistance strategies being followed. Hence, he must manage the team both as a group of coordinated institution builders and as information channels.

The External Assistance Agency Segment

The external assistance agency normally will have invested considerable effort in arriving at the decision to fund the project, and, therefore, it will have a broad perspective on the rationale which went into arriving at that decision and on the expectations of various parties for the project. The external assistance agency typically will have an administrative unit within the country. The professional members of this Country Mission staff will also have broad perspective on the overall development plans for the country and the particular role which the project institution is designed to fill. Therefore, the team leader will find it very useful to solicit guidance and counsel from this source.

It is an administrative fact of life that influence follows funding; i.e., "money talks." As the supplier of the funds which support the team in its institution building efforts, the external assistance agency will insist on making sure that funds are used as intended. So there is bound to be a reporting relationship between team leader and external assistance agency.

The head of the Country Mission can be a powerful and an interested ally. This particular project had to have its backing in the first place, and it is reasonable to assume that he is interested in its progress. It is therefore quite appropriate for the team leader to be directly in touch with him, not only in connection with the project itself, but also as a participant in the broader technical assistance effort for which the head of the agency is responsible.

The top executive for the external assistance agency's Country Mission often has close contact at the Ministerial level within the host country. This places him in a position of considerable influence with respect to generation of resources and support, and the team leader will find that information and support at this level is extremely useful.

The external assistance agency usually has other projects scattered across political and cultural boundaries. They have experience, therefore, in the application of technical assistance that far exceeds that of a single team leader. The combined experience of the Country Mission and the home office personnel of the external assistance agency represents a resource that the team leader cannot afford to ignore. He would be well advised to regard their suggestions and counsel in this light rather than to resent them as intrusions on his prerogatives.

The Home Institution Segment

Much of today's technical assistance is provided through contracts with executing agencies, and in these cases the team leader is concerned with an additional administrative unit which is here called the "home institution." However, some external assistance agencies form project teams from their own personnel, and in these instances it is not useful to regard the home institution as a separate segment in the diagram.

The home institution is usually the team leader's permanent base—the institution where he is permanently employed, like a university, a health agency or a consulting firm. The home institution contracted for the institution building project abroad and chose him to lead it.

Therefore, he feels the strongest administrative responsibility to the home institution. Usually the other team members are also from this institution or at least attached to it for the duration of the project.

The home agency usually has a single person designated as the primary contact and the backstop officer for the project. This person can be expected to have the interest of the field personnel at heart and to have special interest in the project's success. However, he is directly responsible to others within the home agency, and all of his activities must reflect basic policies which have been established for the administration and management of the project overseas. The home agency does not speak with one voice in that there are various segments of the home institution which supply resources, personnel and technical guidance; and each of them may have its own reasons either for enthusiastic or reluctant participation in the project.

The team leader must manage the team so that the home institution feels justified in supplying top quality personnel and in giving them strong technical and administrative backing. Failure to attract such support could seriously handicap the institution building project.

The team leader's world then is composed of at least four major segments; each has its own hierarchy, its own set of expectations, goals and purposes, and distinct clienteles to which it answers. Moreover the various segments and groups have direct contact with each other. The team leader could not possibly be a party to all of these contacts, but he must know that they go on, and he would be well advised to be informed of them and to understand their implications for the project as a whole. If the team leader regards these constituencies as interferences and stumbling blocks, he is beaten from the start. It is his task to mobilize them as powerful allies and contributors and to orchestrate and manage their inputs into a coherent and well-focused institution building project.

Chapter III— Basic Concepts in Institution Building

The director of an institution building project might well begin his task by asking: What is it that he is setting out to build? Does an institution differ from an organization? What does an institution consist of besides buildings, labs and other physical features?

The basic institution building concepts presented in this chapter are focused sharply on an institution that is planned as an important and integral contributor to national development. Therefore, the project director must also ask: What are the characteristics that are really needed in order for the institution to serve society's development most efficiently? A distinction is drawn in this GUIDE between an organization and an institution to emphasize the fact that specific qualities are required if an institution is to have an impact on development. In drawing this distinction, the more general concept of an institution has been narrowed to refer to a particular kind of organization.

Definition of "Institution" and "Institution Building"

An *institution* is here defined as an organization that has a specified new role or function to play in society. An *institution* has a dynamic quality for introducing change and for sustaining that innovation until it becomes embedded in society. A Public Administration Institute, for example, becomes an "institution" in a technical assistance sense as it introduces modern concepts into its training materials and begins to affect the administrative style and effectiveness of various public agencies. An Agricultural University becomes an "institution" when it provides education, training and research that is capable of creating a "green revolution" in a traditional agricultural society. In either case an organization may already exist, but only as that organization takes on certain specified qualities and as it begins to have an influence in society it is called an **institution**. This distinction is equally applicable to an entire organization or to a subsection or department within the larger unit.

This concept of an institution is clearly restricted from the broader use of the term in the behavioral sciences, like the "institution of marriage." However, the narrower use has found its way into recent research on "institution building" and has proven to be powerful and very helpful to technical assistance projects. Therefore, this GUIDE will use the terms "institution" and "institution building" in the narrower sense.

Institution building is defined for our purposes as a process of developing a new organization or reconstructing an existing one in a manner that will give it the desired innovative qualities and capabilities for affecting society in certain specified ways. The institution that is built provides an innovative thrust in society and supports the innovations with technology and influence. Therefore, the institution must be able to **survive** and to **acquire operational resources** from the society it seeks to assist and change.

Developing nations recognize that the development process involves the introduction of innovative changes

that are deliberately planned and engineered. These changes seldom take hold and persist on a wide scale unless they are introduced and supported by formal organizations. Therefore, when public leaders of a society decide to create a new organization or to remodel an old one, they usually do so in the expectation that the new organization will be capable of introducing and sustaining a particular type of innovation in the society.

The **institution building task** of the team leader is to contribute to and accelerate the formation of an organization that fulfills these "institutional" expectations.

Institution Building Model

The human anatomy is best understood by looking at the various interlocking systems, such as the circulatory, nervous, skeletal, etc. Similarly, an institution is best understood by looking at its systems, the way they affect each other and the manner in which they interact with the environment. An institutional model is presented here which facilitates the understanding of the essential systems that must be affected in institution building.

The major features of the Institution Building Model are shown in the following diagram.

Institutional Variables (Internal)

*Leadership
Doctrine
Program
Resources
Internal Structure*

Linkage Variables (External)

*Enabling
Normative
Functional
Diffuse*

Transactions

Two major categories or systems are identified in the diagram—Institutional Variables and Linkage Variables. The **Institutional Variables** are the internal components of the institution itself. They are called "variables" because they vary—they are susceptible to being altered, and they interact with each other. These are the institutional characteristics on which the team leader may exert influence.

The **Linkage Variables** represent the environment in which the institution functions. Every institution is a part of a network of organizations that provide services to a sector of society. Each is interdependent on the other for exchange of goods and services, for complimentary services to society, for common support and overcoming resistance. Each may exert influences and effect changes in the other organizations with which it interacts. This network of inter-organizational relationships, plus the interrelationship between an institution and the general public are designated as *linkages* in institution building terminology.

Linkages are vital to the institution's survival and prosperity, as well as to its success in introducing important changes into the society that supports it. The linkage

variables will affect many of the activities of the institution by either facilitating, distorting or restricting its development. The linkage variables may in turn be changed by the institution itself. In fact, part of the criteria for identifying it as an "institution" involves its influence on the linkages.

The two groups of variables interact with each other in a myriad of *Transactions*. The kinds, quantity, and quality of transactions are an index of the dynamic character of the institution and the impact it is having on society.

The institution-building model will be used throughout the GUIDE and, therefore, it will be useful to define and illustrate each of the institutional and linkage variables in sufficient detail to make them a part of the team leader's working vocabulary.

Institutional Variables

Leadership

Leadership involves two concepts—the **people** involved in leading and the **services** provided by leadership.

Leadership includes all those persons who exercise a management or decisionmaking role for the institution. For example, in a university, leadership includes the Dean and the Heads of Departments as well as the Rector or Vice Chancellor. It may also include certain professors or other members of the staff. In addition to the formal leaders who have authority by virtue of their positions and titles, there are always informal leaders who exert influence because of their age, reputation, experience, or the sheer vigor or competence of their activity. The "power structure" may even include persons who do not belong to the institution but who are none-the-less important in establishing policy and institutional practice.

Leadership in complex institutions is usually a collective process in which various roles—such as external political contacts, internal management, and program development—are divided among the members of a leadership group. In many cases, however, one man is the dominant personality and if he has innovative commitments, organizational capability and political skills, the enterprise is well-equipped with a very precious resource. Such a leader should be able to induce the key staff members to identify their own interests with the welfare of the organization and the innovations it represents. Where these qualities are not present in the top man, it may be possible to compensate for them among other members of the leadership cadre. Where this is not possible, the prospects for the institution to develop an innovative character will be severely limited.

In many cultures, loyalties are traditionally attached to the persons who lead the institutions rather than to the institution itself. As a consequence, the status of the institution rises and falls with its leadership. The Western world's concepts of institution building tend to depersonalize the services and loyalties of leadership. They are concerned with formation of an institution that has a life and character of its own, an institution which is recognized as a worthy entity and which receives adequate leadership services regardless of the current leadership person. This clearly calls for the development of depth in leadership so that the institution's character has stability and continuity.

Leadership is perhaps the most important institutional variable. An institution without leadership may be out of control. Unless the leadership is committed to innovation and is technically and politically competent both for its internal and external responsibilities, the enterprise may be in trouble even though its opportunities are otherwise favorable.

Doctrine

Doctrine is the most elusive of the institutional variables, yet it is the banner which attracts public attention and which elicits loyalty and support. It is an expression of what the institution stands for, what it hopes to achieve, and the styles of action it intends to use. It is expressed in both written and oral form. Doctrine is not necessarily a single concept, but rather a group of themes which are projected by the leadership to its internal and external audiences in order to gain and maintain understanding and support for the institution and its purposes. It can be expressed differently to different audiences; e.g., the expression of institutional doctrine may be different for a group of alumni than for the members of a legislative body. The former may view a university in terms of their employment prospects, while the latter will be more interested in its role in national development plans. Doctrine is more than just a listing of goals or a statement of purposes, although an institution with a doctrine will have goals and purposes clearly in mind.

Examples of doctrine in the university world might be a commitment to providing services to the local community for one university, while another's doctrine could be concerned primarily with teaching and scholarship for their own sake. One Ministry may have a doctrine of loyalty to its clientele—the people it serves. Doctrine for a tax collection agency may be the efficient and uniform application of tax laws without favoritism. A family planning unit may adopt a doctrine of making control of family size an integral part of the management of family resources.

An **institution** must have a doctrine that is clear and consistent and that is understood among its personnel. Doctrine helps the personnel of an institution to communicate with each other, to develop a strong sense of common purpose, and to set standards and priorities. This increases their satisfaction and the effectiveness of the institution in dealing with the outside world. The public image of the institution is established by its doctrine as much as anything else. Doctrine sets the tone for the way people think about the institution, and it can be critical in the survival, growth and development of the institution.

An institution's doctrine will perhaps be the best indicator of the likelihood that the institution will satisfy the aspirations and expectations of those leaders in society who placed it high among the priorities for national development.

Program

The program of an institution is the sum total of its activities. This variable has been called "the doctrine translated into action." It is the set of plans it has made for its development and productivity. It is the set of activities by which the institution converts its resources into

the products—goods and services—required by society. Program becomes the means by which the institution's objectives are realized.

The program of a Ministry of Education is the operation of the primary and secondary schools, and the teacher education, preparation of materials, etc., that are needed to support the schools. A Public Health Institute may stress family planning, but rely on other agencies for supplies, staff training and basic research. The program of each institution will reflect the influence of its current leadership and doctrine.

Program consists of overall institutional plans as well as the part which is put into immediate operation.

Resources

The resources of an institution cover a wide variety of items. They include the obvious things such as operating funds and physical facilities. They include trained personnel as well as unskilled labor. They include professional knowledge and skills in modern technology as well as library facilities and special lab equipment. Resources also include less visible items such as legal authority, political support, and a propensity to change. All together, these items represent the resources the institution has at its command to convert into those items the nation needs for its social and economic development.

The availability of adequate resources does not guarantee outstanding institutional performance. But the unavailability of necessary resources is certain to limit the institution's usefulness. The wise and imaginative use of available resources tends to increase their flow. Thus the institution's leadership, its doctrine and its program profoundly affect the abundance of its resources. Resources in turn greatly affect an institution's capacity to retain good leadership and to implement appropriate programs.

Internal Structure

The internal structure of an institution includes the formal and informal patterns of authority, the division of labor among the component parts, the flow of work and the channels of communication. Internal structure is typically represented by an organizational chart, but it is more than that. It includes a pattern for resolving differences and disputes that inevitably break out over policies, priorities and resource allocations. Internal structure provides channels through which ideas can move quickly up or down in the organization and receive appropriate consideration at each level.

Good internal structure facilitates effective management, but poor internal structure can thwart the efforts of even the best leaders. Internal structure can insulate personnel or segments of the institution from undesirable political influences from the outside, but it can also isolate them and prevent leadership from making needed changes. Therefore, it is important to remember that **internal structure is a variable**, and it can and must be altered to meet the institution's changing needs.

Linkage Variables

The linkage variables have been separated into four categories since each has a distinctive influence on the institution and must be thought of in a different way. The

strategies for cultivating and reinforcing the linkages in the four categories vary considerably, and this adds to the value of this particular classification. The labels for the categories may be unfamiliar to those outside the behavioral sciences, but they are retained here because they are gaining acceptance in the literature.

Enabling Linkages

The enabling linkage variables are those elements in the environment which provide the institution with legal authority to operate and which give it access to essential resources. This type of linkage includes legislative acts which authorize the institution's existence and provide for its support from public funds. An important linkage element here is the relationship between the institution and those persons in authority who influence the legal status of the organization.

Enabling linkages are needed to protect the institution against attack and to guarantee its access to resources. This is especially important during the early critical period in its life when it is developing its capabilities but is not yet strong enough to deal with its external environment on its own terms. Enabling linkages are also crucial as the institution attempts to define or extend its area of responsibility within society. For example, they help establish an agricultural university's role in national research in relation to other universities and the Ministry. Other organizations or institutions may resist such changes, and they can do so most effectively if the institution can be challenged on legal grounds. Therefore, when a Ministry assigns a role to an institution, it provides a very useful enabling linkage.

Functional Linkages

The functional linkage variables are those elements in society on which the institution depends for its operation and for its contribution to society. A university depends on the secondary schools for its supply of raw material, and it depends on government agencies and private business to employ its graduates. The university **functions** well or poorly because of its complementary relations with both groups.

Functional linkages include those entities which supply the things an institution needs to operate—students, data, technology, training for personnel, complementary technical services, etc. They also include those entities which require the product of the institution—graduates, training courses, technology, information, services, books, etc. This is the category of linkages that determines the institution's impact on society.

The functional linkages can be competitive as well as complementary. For example, the secondary schools may wish to give some vocational training to their students and place them in employment positions which are normally occupied by university graduates. These interactions with the functions of the university could be distracting rather than helpful.

Functional linkages are formed with a wide network of public and private agencies. Many of these are helped by the innovative impact of the new institution. They get better people, better services, better information or better products. Many other agencies find the new institution to be a threat to their prestige, their prerogatives or their very existence. Therefore, the functional linkages

must be clearly perceived and properly cultivated if the institution is to prosper.

Normative Linkages

The normative linkage variables in an institution's environment are those elements that establish standards, that dictate **norms**, that protect and propagate society's values. A common example is the influence of religious organizations on family planning institutions. Other organizations that influence the **norms** by which institutions are constrained are professional associations and government itself.

Normative linkages are not always operative through specific organizations or agencies. They may derive from beliefs, customs and practices that prevail generally in a society. Imagine the influence of a Hindu society on a beef research institute, for example. Other illustrations of normative linkages in society in general include reactions to racial origin or caste, the influence of astrology on institutional programs, or the preference for socialist principles.

In listing normative linkages as variables there is the implication that these norms can be changed—in fact must be changed if progress is to be achieved. There are, however, grave consequences implied in attempting to alter some of them, and such action should be undertaken with care.

Diffuse Linkages

The diffuse linkage variables include those elements in the general public that are not easily categorized. They represent individuals or groups that are not formally or directly related to the institution. The parents of students form diffuse linkages with a secondary school. Farmers in general interact with a supervised credit agency. The present and future clientele of an institution form the diffuse linkages.

The diffuse linkage elements tend to form the "grass roots" political support for an institution. In the long run they may be the ones who pay for the institution's support and who profit from the institution's activities. Therefore, the diffuse linkages are quite important to institutional development.

Transactions

The influences that the environment has on the institutional variables are labeled "transactions." And the reverse flow of influence by the institution on its linkage variables are also called "transactions." This is the set of phenomena that is subject to strategies, tactics and long-range plans in institution building. This is the door through which external assistance enters the arena and exerts its influences on both the institutional variables and the linkage variables.

The conversion of the static institution-building model into a dynamic organism is achieved by energizing the transactions. This becomes the subject of the next chapter on Implementation of Basic Concepts.

Chapter IV—Implementation of Basic Concepts

The basic concepts in Chapter III give a photographic picture of the anatomy of an institution. Those who have responsibility for institution building need to be able to convert the picture into a dynamic operational scheme. Strategies must be devised for developing the qualities of leadership, doctrine, etc. Public support must be generated to pay for these institutional qualities. Institutional services must begin to flow. This chapter deals with ways of operationalizing the basic concepts.

Why Build the Institution?—(What Outputs?)

The project with which the team leader is concerned has been given high priority by national planners. They have determined that the formation of this institution will be important to the economic and social development of the country. This means that they expect the institution to **produce something** that will stimulate and promote development. The first thing that institution builders must be clear about then is the precise nature of this output product. What does the institution produce that is so highly prized by the public that they will pay in increasing amounts for the cost of operation?

An institution has two types of products that are "consumed" by the public and which they are willing to pay for: a) current services, and b) influence. A third product is "consumed" by the institution itself: c) institutional reinvestments. Some of these products may not appear at first glance to be highly desired by the public and therefore they require some explanation.

Current Services

The current services output of an institution is its most visible product. It includes such things as research results, technological information, adult education functions, and trained personnel who are available for employment. These products serve as "leaving agents" for the development process. They are the tangible products of the institution, and they are eagerly sought by the innovators in society.

Influence

The influence produced by the institution is a deliberate effort to change the environment so that the innovative services can be tried and accepted by larger segments of society. It is also a deliberate effort to develop support for the institution. These services must be utilized by broad segments of the economy if development is to occur. This is part of linkage formulation of the institution.

Institutional Reinvestments

Reinvestment outputs of the institution include additional training for its staff members, internal reorganization for greater efficiency, formulation of doctrine that keys the institution to the needs of society, etc. These products are plowed back into the institution to increase its capability to produce "services" and "influence" and to keep it innovative and progressive.

Relation of Outputs to Institutional Variables

The institutional variables of leadership, doctrine, program, resources and internal structure are not products that are "consumed" by the public—they are developed **for the institution** so that it can better produce "services" and "influence." These institutional variables have been identified in Chapter III as the most important ones to be concerned with, but they must be regarded by institution builders as **intermediate products**. It is the action of these variables that creates the output for the public and that contribute to society's development.

The relation between the institution's variables and its ultimate output is represented diagrammatically in Figure 3.

Resources for the Institution

The fuel that drives the institutional motor is **resources**. These are of various kinds—some are quickly used up and must be replenished regularly while others change slowly over time. The former are called "*flow inputs*" and the latter "*stock resources*." Institution builders must be concerned with both types of resources.

FIGURE 3. The Relation Between the Institution's Variables and its Final Product

Intermediate Products (Variables)

Leadership	Action
Doctrine	Action
Program	Action
Internal Structure	Action
Linkages	Action

Final Products (Outputs)

Current Services	To Society
Influence	To Society
Institutional Reinvestments	

Plowed back

Flow Inputs

Flow inputs include **funds** and **commodities**. These are commonly accepted and readily understood inputs. Funds may be made available as a general "unrestricted budget" which can be used in any way the institution needs them, or they may be earmarked for a specified "restricted" use. Commodities include equipment and materials that are needed for institutional operation.

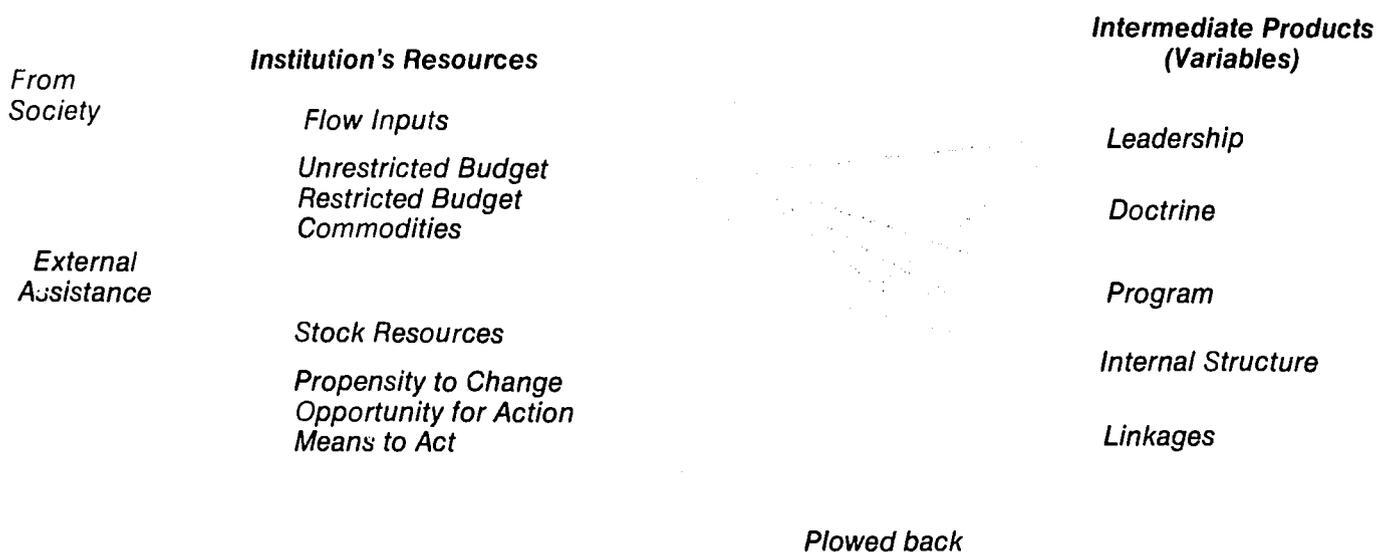
Stock Resources

Stock resources are the less tangible but none-the-less real and necessary resources that the institution must draw on if it is to fulfill its dynamic, innovative role. They include the institution's **propensity to change**, the **opportunities for action**, and the **means with which to act**. Stock resources change rather slowly over time. These, too, require brief description.

- **Propensity to change** in an institution comes from the leadership or the staff members who have learned of better ways of providing services and who are motivated to put them into action. If the personnel of the institution are satisfied with the **status quo** there can be little institution building. Therefore, this attitude toward change within the institution is a necessary resource. It can be fostered by external agencies, but they cannot supply this resource indefinitely.
- **Opportunity for action** is provided in the form of a legislative law or a ministerial decree that enables the institution to act. "Opportunity" might even come in the form of a new institutional leader who sees a way around restrictive bottlenecks. In any case, this is the "door that opens" occasionally when things fit together well enough that the institution can move ahead.
- The **means** with which to act include the physical facilities, institution's staff, the technical know-how, a planned strategy, etc.

Thus, resources are related to the institution's other variables as indicated in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4. Relation of Institution's Resources to the Other Variables



The Institution Building Process

In the foregoing sections we have looked at the **output** of the institution, the **institutional variables** required to produce the output, and the **resources** needed to fuel the process and make it move. These three categories are diagrammed in Figure 5 to form the entire institution building process and they provide a complete framework for developing institution building strategies. Many details can be added to Figure 5 for any particular institution, and the team leader is urged to fill these in as he develops action strategies with the institution leaders.

Some of the details that are not included in Figure 5 but which are of importance to institution builders involve the **interaction among the variables** called "intermediate products." Much of the strategy to be developed involves the relationships among leadership, doctrine, program, structure and linkages. Much experience has been gained over the past twenty years in this area, and the next section will summarize the insights that have emerged.

Strategies in Institution Building

A strategy is a management plan for using available resources to achieve desired results. It is couched in a set of general principles that will be followed and it contains considerable flexibility in the choice of tactics to be used depending on the circumstances that emerge as the process proceeds. Past experience in institution building can be cast in sets of principles that are available to the team leader for formulating a strategy. This section will describe those principles as they pertain to the development of the individual variables described in Chapter III.

The relevance of the principles to the overall process of institution building is seen by referring them to the diagram in Figure 5. The procedures for incorporating these principles into a well conceived management plan are described in later chapters which relate the team leader to the host institution and to the other members of his team.

The format for listing the institutional and linkage variables is that used in Chapter III in order to make easier transition to Figure 5.

Institutional Variables Linkage Variables

LEADERSHIP

*Doctrine
Program
Resources
Internal Structure*

*Enabling
Functional
Normative
Diffuse*

Transactions

Leadership is a service supplied to the institution by a small group of people. Competent, effective leadership is a prime requirement for success, but it is also a very scarce commodity in any culture. Normally, at least one or two persons in the leadership group of the institution will have many of these qualities. They may, however, lack training in the modern technology (stock resource) required to give the institution its capability for having an impact on society. Therefore, in building institutional leadership, these qualities must be sought among a wide variety of institutional personnel and persons having such qualities must be continually exposed to the new institutional doctrine and policy issues. The innovativeness which is expected from the institution will most likely come from new leadership that is carefully chosen, trained and eventually placed in positions of influence. Frequently, the eventual leaders will not be found already in place at the beginning of the project. Moreover, the doctrine or style of management required of the new leadership will be different from that of the older leaders. Hence, specific plans must be laid for development and training of future leaders.

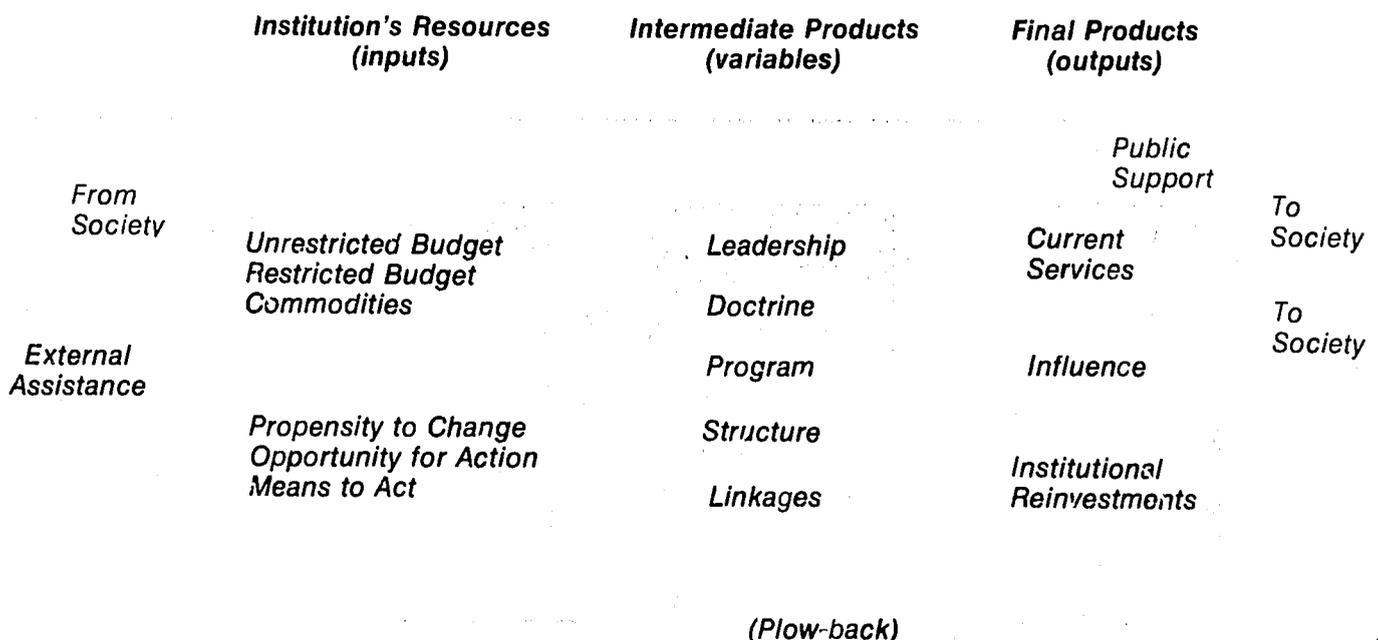
All of the strategies for transforming the organization must take into account the quality of leadership that is available to the institution. Certain questions should be posed in the very beginning with respect to leadership since the answers to these questions will determine the nature of the assistance required from the technical assistance team. For example:

- How fragile or how well entrenched is the leadership politically? technically?
- How deep is the leadership structure?—one man or several?
- How intimate and influential is leadership among the real "power structure?"
- How bold and imaginative is the leadership in stimulating and rewarding performance?
- How committed is the leadership to the innovative goals of the institution?
- How skillful is the leadership in linking the institution to other public and private agencies so as to enhance its usefulness and its success?
- If the leadership pattern is not developing at a satisfactory rate, what strategies are indicated for the project?

These questions are likely to be embarrassing or awkward to pose and the answers will be subjective, politically sensitive and perhaps highly protective of key people. It is worth considerable effort, however, to know the answers to these questions even if they must be inferred from a variety of indirect approaches.

The answers to the above and similar questions will dictate the strategies that should be adopted by technical assistance efforts in strengthening the leadership of the institution. It will be very important, however, to recognize both the potentialities and the limitations in what can be accomplished from outside resources and influence on this as well as on the other institutional characteristics.

FIGURE 5. *The Institution Building Process*



If leadership is adequate or if the potential is great, reinforcement from the outside must not compromise its development. If, on the other hand, leadership potential is inadequate the matter is a very delicate one and the strategy for strengthening this aspect of the institution must be weighed from every conceivable angle.

The team leader is forewarned here, however, not to expect to be able to influence all institutional variables immediately. There are other aspects of the process that are available for influence even if the leadership category is temporarily stymied. Efforts exerted on leadership must not be counter-productive to the team leader's activities in the other aspects of institution building.

Leadership

DOCTRINE

Program

Resources

Internal Structure

The articulation of **doctrine** for an institution is the first order of business in an institution building project, since it sets the stage for the rest of the planning operation. Doctrine specifies general institutional goals and operational style, therefore, the elaboration, expression and manipulation of doctrine is an important responsibility of those who are guiding institution building activities. Failure to deal with doctrine means that the organization will lack a common set of purposes. Its image in the environment may be ambiguous and lack credibility. It may drift opportunistically into activities which are easy because its sense of purpose is obscure. Leadership will thus fail to use the power of ideas and symbols to guide the institution in its internal development and in interaction with its external environment.

One of the dangers encountered in providing technical assistance in institution building lies in the possibility that there will be disagreement on doctrine. Not only may there be disagreement between the team leader and the officials of the host government, but there also is a strong possibility of differences in doctrinal views among the members of the technical assistance team. To the extent that a different doctrine is expounded by various members of the technical assistance team, the total overall effectiveness in institution building will be reduced. In fact, there are a few recorded cases in which institutional progress has almost come to a standstill because of wide divergence of opinion on doctrine.

There is, however, a degree of flexibility in doctrine. As stated earlier, themes can be given different emphases for different clienteles; they may also be modified over time as the institution faces new problems and learns from experience. Thus, doctrine motivates personnel, establishes expectations about institutional performance, and helps to prepare the ground and substantiate shifts in the institution's emphasis, activities and outputs.

The team leader will wish to ask a number of questions about the doctrine as it is being formulated for the institution. For example:

- Is the new role for the institution a realistic one; i.e., is it consistent with the real needs of the country? Is

it being accepted both internally and externally?

- Is the doctrine well articulated by the institutional leaders?
- Does the doctrine have the necessary innovative qualities that will permit the institution to effect changes in society? and to make necessary internal changes?
- What proportion of the administrative and professional staff understand and actively support the doctrine?
- What are the social and political conflicts generated internally and externally by the institution's doctrine? How can these tensions be resolved if they exist?
- What official and public support already exists for the institution's doctrine? How can this be built upon?

It is natural to assume that the doctrine which has been articulated for the institution corresponds very closely to the team leader's own feelings in the matter. Hopefully, he was selected for this position because he strongly subscribed to the institution's anticipated doctrine. It is hazardous, however, for both the team leader and the institution's leaders to make such a tacit assumption without an overt and explicit attempt to verify this assumption at several points along the road. Communication about doctrine is difficult even where two parties are using the same language and come from the same culture. It is even more difficult to be sure that there is complete understanding on such subtle matters when words come from different languages and when concepts from different cultures carry completely different connotations.

The team leader is well advised to participate in a number of discussions and exchanges with the official leadership and with the technical staff of the institution early after his arrival to explore their mutual understanding of the institution's doctrine, the implications of that doctrine for the institution's capability to influence society, and also the implications of that doctrine for the personal and professional lives of the institution's staff. Such exchanges will serve two important purposes. They will insure that the institutional leadership is formulating a specific doctrine, and they will also insure that there is mutual understanding of this doctrine by the leadership of the institution and the leader of the technical assistance team.

The underlying philosophy of the institution—its doctrine—is too important to be left to chance development. Once there is reasonable consensus and mutual understanding on the basic goals, objectives and philosophy on which the institution will be developed, there is solid ground for institution building.

Leadership *Doctrine*

PROGRAM

Resources

Internal Structure

Program is the "converter" in Figure 5 that transforms resources into final products. The development of an institution's program involves a set of choices about how the organization will apply the resources it has available and what line of product or services it intends to provide. It is through its program of action that the technological and social innovations for which the institution stands are converted into specific products and services. It is through the program that the institution affects national development.

Programs tend to be formulated in response to legal mandates, public pressures, opportunities for additional support, or the general priorities held by the institution. Thus, the wise choice of programs will represent a delicate balance of attempting to satisfy the most urgent demands by society with the relatively meager resources that are available for the operation. Program development should not only attempt to meet the immediate needs of society for certain services or products, it will also realize that continued support from the public will only come as a result of the successful execution of programs which are already supported from public funds. In Figure 5 the "outputs to society" generate "inputs from society."

Programs are not formulated in a vacuum. One dilemma that often confronts the implementation of institutional programs is that they tend to generate opposition or competition among important groups in the environment. Therefore, effective programs must be perceived by the clients as delivering a substantial margin of benefits to society over and above the dissatisfactions and opposition which arise in some quarters.

Several questions are helpful in formulating an institution's program and in assessing its relevance and adequacy from time to time.

- How completely has the institution programmed its activities? Are they planned in advance rather than *ad hoc*? Are they well balanced?
- How relevant is the program to the country's needs and the stage of the country's economic, social and technological development?
- How widely is the total program understood by the staff? How strongly are they committed to it?
- Is there agreement between the institution's program and its doctrine?
- What quality and quantity of results can be produced by the intended program?
- Does the program utilize the best technology available to the institution?
- Is the program tailored to available resources so that it may yield important and visible results within an acceptable period of time?

The strategies which the team leader may consider for building the institution's program are strongly influenced by the institution's long-range goals. If there is initial success by the institution, there will be strong pressure for it to broaden its program into certain areas which are not served by other agencies or which are served inadequately. There is also strong temptation to broaden the program into new areas just because they seem at the moment to have strong potential for later support. It is difficult for the host institution to resist such pressures and external assistance can be very useful in holding the institution to well conceived plans.

There is a tendency for developing institutions to undertake a much larger spectrum of activities than can be accommodated by the institution's meager resources. This is usually done with a view to pre-empting as many activities for the institution's future operations as possible. Such a procedure tends to lead, however, to serious dilution of resources in each individual area and a consequent mediocre or poor performance by the institution as a whole.

The political strategies for limiting the scope of the program to what is commensurate with current resources and for concentrating on those aspects of the programs which are of highest priority for national needs require considerable planning and careful execution. The institution cannot be innovative if its programs are seriously undersupported. At the same time, it cannot generate more support if it is not producing exciting results even with the limited resources presently at its command. The optimum balance between the quality and the breadth of the program undertaken is at the heart of this dilemma. Again, the normal strategy preferred by host nationals tends toward a broad scale program followed by attempts to find adequate resources to support it. The experience of the last twenty years of technical assistance strongly documents that this approach courts failure from the start.

A common failing in past institution building strategies has been an assumption that society will wait patiently many years before seeing major returns on its investment. This has been particularly hazardous in countries where the political climate is unsettled and where political leadership changes frequently. An important element in program strategy, therefore, includes provision for producing a reasonable proportion of early, visible results which can be used in public relations activities to generate increased support for the institution.

It cannot be over-emphasized that good publicity on the progress of the institution is required almost every month of every year to keep the public interested in the institution's overall development. This means that "critical mass" levels of input must be achieved in individual segments of the overall program one by one. That is, there must be sufficient concentration of effort and resources at one place to insure rapid take-off of that part of the program. It is not good strategy to spread the resources evenly over the entire institution and then wait for several years before any one segment is strong enough to attract public attention. This will be a very difficult decision for the leadership of the institution. They must generate and maintain enthusiasm in all departments or sections of the institution, but they cannot afford to scatter their limited resources thinly over the entire program if they are to have the visibility that is necessary to keep the public aware of the institution's existence and its promise for society. The team leader can be an effective voice in developing this type of strategy.

Leadership Doctrine Program

RESOURCES

Internal Structure

The responsibility of leadership is to so use the **resources** that maximum benefit will be derived from them, and to so manage the affairs of the institution and its linkages that resources will continue to be made available to it. In most cases unlimited resources do not exist and the institution will need to "make its case" for public support in competition with other institutions and agencies. When the benefits to the society are so great that the continuance of the institution is deemed essential, resources are generally forthcoming. In cases where the outputs are few or where these outputs have little value or meaning to the interested public, resources will probably be channeled elsewhere.

Perhaps the most important single resource in institution building is technical staff. The development of a properly prepared staff is both a long-term and a continuing activity and at the same time a very costly one. Staff development is a major task of leadership, and possibly no single factor is more indicative of effective leadership than the way personnel resources are developed, upgraded and used.

Staff development is a continuing function of institution builders. Personnel is seldom available in the labor market with the precise skills, knowledge, and programmatic commitments that are required for effective performance by an innovative organization. The development of appropriate skills may require long-term investments. Meanwhile, inadequately skilled personnel will be performing at a modest level and on a limited range of activities despite the high hopes and expectations of the public. Therefore, the institution must be prepared to make some sacrifice in the output of services while it is investing in the more advanced training of its staff. The balance between services to society and reinvestment in the institution will always be important, but it is particularly difficult in the early stages of institutional development. This is when the team leader must be most skillful in utilizing external resources to achieve this balance.

Facilities and equipment are major items of expenditure in the development budget of the institution. To maintain the **status quo** requires little additional funding. A commitment to change, an innovative program, poses a substantial problem since it frequently requires more facilities and new equipment. There is great temptation for institutional leaders and technical assistance agencies to splurge on highly expensive, sophisticated facilities that are "prestige pieces" but which neither contribute strongly to the institution's total program nor can be justified by the institution's own budget. These "white elephants" are found in virtually every developing country and are monuments to poor judgment on the

part of external assistance agencies. Imagine how much high priority, practical research could be supported by the cost of installing and maintaining an electron microscope!

Information about new technologies and their potential in the environment of the institution is an indispensable resource. It must be collected, analyzed, processed, stored, retrieved, and disseminated and applied when needed. The institution must be sensitive to changes in the environment which might represent new opportunities or potential dangers for the institution's programs. Therefore, leadership must invest energy in establishing an information system and maintaining its informational resources at a high level of efficiency. This includes library facilities, technical contacts with the outside world, technical knowledge of staff, etc.

The old cliché that "money may not be everything but it is far ahead of anything in second place" is just as applicable in institution building as in any other activity, and leadership is responsible for insuring a reliable flow of funds. It must do so, however, without sacrificing the important innovative objectives of the institution. It cannot afford to compromise its doctrine or to dilute its program for the sake of momentary support for activities which are not consistent with the institution's major objectives. This is perhaps one of the hardest lessons to learn and to adhere to.

The team leader would be well advised to ask the following questions about the institution's resources.

- What are the prospects for continued and increased financial support from sources inside the country? Are they commensurate with the requirements being built into the institution or must the institution's future depend on continued external support?
- What is the capacity of the staff to bring their full technical training to bear on the institution's outputs? Are they overtrained for the resources available? Are they too specialized for the tasks at hand? Is their training only applicable in other cultures?
- What provisions are developed for upgrading the capability of the existing staff and for a continuing supply of new, better trained staff?
- What provisions are made for maximizing the use of library facilities and the scarce sophisticated equipment and laboratory facilities within the institution? Is their management philosophy one of protecting and preserving these resources, or of exploiting and utilizing them to the fullest extent possible?
- What strategies are contemplated for improving all categories of resources for the institution? Especially the "propensity to change" and the "opportunities for action?"

The team leader will need to consider not only what strategies are appropriate for the leadership of the institution to undertake in improving its resources, but he will also need to give careful consideration to the relationship between external resources and those that are generated from local support. At some pre-determined point in the future they must all be provided from local sources, and the team leader's every move should have this clearly in mind.

**Leadership
Doctrine
Program
Resources**

INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The **internal structure** is the vehicle through which institutional management is performed. The existing structure perhaps emerged as a compromise between institutional needs and personal desires. It is likely to be protective of the "power structure" that installed it. It undoubtedly served many useful purposes in times past. However, if the internal structure does not efficiently serve the present institutional doctrine, program and resources, then it should be carefully re-examined. Internal structure is an **institutional variable**, and it should **vary** over time in a manner that will serve the other variables most effectively; i.e., reorganization must take place from time to time.

Many organizational patterns derive from local custom or from norms prescribed by higher units of government. These may seem odd to the team leader from the outside who is unfamiliar with the local environment. The team leader may feel a strong temptation to suggest radical organizational changes soon after his arrival. His thoughts should be strongly guided however by the principle that the primary purpose of organizational structure is to facilitate the productivity of individual staff members. He should answer the following questions either formally or informally before proposing serious changes in organizational structure:

- Are there serious deficiencies in the organizational structure, or are most of the difficulties traceable to personnel weaknesses and conflicts which no amount of reorganization will cure?
- Has the institution been over-organized to the point of having "all chiefs and no workers?"
- Does the organization facilitate the guidance and leadership services of management as well as the usual control functions?
- Does the organization provide incentive for good performance and a sense of cohesion and loyalty among the staff? Does it encourage staff commitment to the institution's innovative doctrine?
- Does the organization strike an appropriate balance between a sufficient "centralization of authority to provide leverage for change," and a sufficient decentralization to encourage ideas, decision making, and responsibility at middle-management levels?

The team leader should assure himself that major gains in efficiency of operation can be realized from possibly traumatic changes in organizational structure before he embarks on paying the price. There is the possibility that the existing structure may be just as efficient in coping with the local environment as an organizational structure introduced from a foreign culture. On the other hand, it is possible that a different organizational structure is part of the innovative process required by the institutional doctrine.

Effecting a new organizational structure is usually complicated by the presence of incumbents in important positions who are either unproductive or uncooperative but who are protected by political support to such an extent that they cannot be removed or "organized out" of their present positions. Thus, reorganization of the institution's structure may not be feasible in the immediate future, but plans should be made to take advantage of the opportunity when it presents itself at some unexpected moment in the future.

Linkage Variables

Effective institution building requires simultaneous attention to building the organization and to managing its environment relations. Figure 5 shows linkages as part of the intermediate products and also as channels for part of the final output (influence). Some leaders are more interested and more effective in the internal management of their organizations than in guiding their external relations. The development of an institution, however, is not done in isolation. It responds and interacts with a wide range of organizations, groups, and individuals. "**Influence on them**" is a vital part of the total institutional output. An "institution in the present context cannot be effective and at the same time be isolated from the on-going activities of the community which it must serve.

It was common practice in the past for technical assistance agencies to avoid participation in the development of institutional linkages. That bordered on involvement in internal political affairs that was reserved for host nationals. It is now apparent, however, that the development of the linkage variables is so important to institutional progress and success that it must necessarily be the concern of all who are interested in seeing the institution prosper.

Linkage Variables

<p>Leadership Doctrine Program Resources Internal Structure</p>	<p>ENABLING Functional Normative Diffuse</p>
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Transactions

A public institution cannot function very long without benefit of official authorization from government. The particular role which a new or remodelled institution plays in national development can be greatly enhanced or severely restricted by the status of its legal backing. Official pronouncements, at whatever level and in whatever form, are important elements in an institution's environment. If they are favorable, they need to be cultivated and strengthened. If they are unduly restrictive to institutional development, a corrective strategy must be devised.

It is common experience for an agricultural university to undertake a program of agricultural research and extension only to find itself challenged by the Ministry of Agriculture which holds legal authority and responsibility for these activities. If the university is to move into this new activity in a successful manner, it will need strong enabling linkages, and these will probably come from the Ministry itself. Similarly, a family planning program that is challenged by a religious group will be in less serious trouble if it is backed by legal authority.

The team leader is cautioned that enabling linkages are likely to involve sensitive political issues; therefore, his most effective influence will be in developing ideas and strategies with institutional leaders and not in their actual execution.

Linkage Variables

Enabling

FUNCTIONAL

Normative Diffuse

Functional linkages are the essence of getting the "current services" output of Figure 5 to society. The "service" that is stored within the institution is useless. Functional linkages involve cooperative relations with other agencies, and the efficiency and effectiveness of any single institution is highly dependent on the performance of the other units in the system. It is vitally important for the team leader to recognize that the new institution is only one of several elements in a complex of institutions providing related services. A proper understanding of how the host institutions fit into the system will be immensely helpful in planning a linkage strategy for the consumption of the institution's "current services" output.

Ideally, the many institutions providing all of the services to a particular sector of society form a coordinated system. In reality, there is often fierce competition among them for resources and jurisdiction, and the emergence of an innovative institution in the system may be resisted as a threat. There exists, then, a real need for all of the participants in the system to realize that **they are part of a system**. Moreover, they need to establish mutually supporting relationships (functional linkages) rather than antagonistic relationships or no relationships at all.

A useful tool in planning functional linkage strategy is a chart which relates the services required by a sector of society to the system of organizations providing the services. The services that are needed by the clientele of host institutions can be listed along the horizontal axis of a table. On the vertical axis can be listed all the institutions and organizations providing these services. The matrix will show that some services are provided by several institutions and other services are not now provided by any of the institutions. This kind of table will help institutional leadership to identify points of potential conflict and areas where cooperation with other institutions is needed.

Linkage Variables

Enabling Functional

NORMATIVE

Diffuse

Normative linkages are largely concerned with the "influence" output of Figure 5. They involve relationships with other groups who share an overlapping interest in the objectives and methods of the new institution. They are closely associated with religious beliefs and cultural values and other "norms" held in society, and therefore they are likely to involve emotional rather than economic reactions. These linkages are more likely to be fraught with traditionalism. As such they may represent the very antithesis of the institution's attempts to change and modernize various elements of society.

The existence of these norms and values in sectors of the society will affect the feasibility, process and strategy of institution building. Depending on the nature of the normative linkage, it can enhance or hamper the institution building process, and it is a strategic element for action and analysis.

Linkage Variables

Enabling Functional Normative

DIFFUSE

Diffuse linkages are the relations with the general public, and the vehicles for delivering the "current services" in Figure 5. These are the objects of institutional reporting on radio, TV and newspapers. The general public is usually relatively slow to react to institutional activity, but in the long run these "grass roots" elements are the ultimate benefactors from the institution's production. In the long run they exercise considerable political influence on government, and therefore their support is very important to an institution.

Strategies for cultivating and reinforcing the diffuse linkages may be the ones in which the team leader can be most helpful. The techniques of mass communication are available and useful. The political sensitivities are less here than in the other linkages. The entire staff of the institution can be brought into these activities. And best of all, they pay handsome dividends in institutional support.

In summary, Figure 5 portrays the dynamic system in which an institution operates. Strategies for influencing the system can be developed logically and efficiently by starting on the right hand side of the diagram with the "outputs" that are expected from the institution. The efficient production of these outputs requires certain "intermediate products"—the variables of the institution building model. The fuel required for action is the "inputs" on the left side of the diagram. **Optimum use of external resources** requires careful examination of the needs of the various components in the entire system.

Chapter V—The Team Leader and the Host Institution and Host Government

First Things First

The first requirement upon arrival in the host country is for the team leader to have a very clear understanding of why he is there and what he is supposed to accomplish. It will help to state a few unacceptable reasons for his being there in order to sharpen the focus on the positive side. He is not there to enhance the image or the power of his sponsoring agency. He is not there to keep peace among his team members. His purpose is not to save project money or to help individual people. All of these may be useful and desirable by-products of the project, but they are not the central, primary reasons for his presence.

The basic purpose of the project is to assist the host country leadership in building *their* institution. It is *their institution* that must be designed to serve *their country*, and primarily it is *their resources* that must be committed to its development and continuity. The team leader must prepare himself mentally from the very beginning to gear his own efforts and those of his team members to this central focus. The diagram of the team leader's world in Chapter II places him in the center of his universe. That was done to better portray the various facets of his managerial responsibility. The center of the project's universe, however, is the host institution as indicated in Figure I. The institution's leaders and their colleagues and supporters in host government are the main actors. The team leader and his team are supporting cast.

The detail with which the team leader's role is spelled out in formal documents varies with different assisting agencies and with different types of projects. In some cases the terms of reference are very specific and leave little to the imagination or the ingenuity of the team leader. In other cases the role is vague and the team leader must develop his own guidelines as well as a specific plan of operations. In every case, however, the team leader will first need to assess the stage of development of the institution, and then design his project activities in a manner that will aid and complement the institution's efforts. He will determine what the technical capacity of the leadership is and what is the level of their experience in forming the particular kind of institution being planned. This will indicate whether the team leader must initially provide some leadership services to the institution or whether his role is more appropriately one of a colleague and staff member. If his role is to include some initial administrative responsibility in the institution, it is urgent to have a definite plan for phasing out of that role at the earliest possible moment. A plan of operation that is shared with the host institution and government promotes trust and close relationships, and it leads to the development of a common set of expectations among all concerned.

If the project is new, the team leader has a wide latitude within which to establish his role and style of operation. If, however, he takes over an on-going project he will find that a network of activities, expectations and relation-

ships already exist. Under these circumstances the team leader must first understand these conditions before setting out to develop his own plan.

The team leader can expect "overload" on the part of host institution and government officials as well as on himself. The process of national development characteristically produces overload. There is over-commitment of resources and severe overload on key leaders and decision makers. Underdevelopment has often been equated to undermanagement; i.e., people in top positions are so few that they tend to be involved in too many things at the same time. They move fast between positions and only a fraction of their time and attention can be allotted to any one project. Under great pressure, these people must necessarily assume that the data on which they operate are reliable and that even hurriedly reached agreements with colleagues will stand up in practice. Often, they have no time for follow-up or follow-through. For them a mere idea often implies a plan, the plan a well worked out project, and the absence of objections a commitment to act.

The team leader has to be careful not to be caught up in this overload maelstrom and find that he too is committing the same errors. The key solution to this problem is to make a careful plan of what he is to devote his energies to, and then be sure that these activities and functions have a priority claim on his time and efforts.

Settling Into The Project

When the new team leader arrives in the host country, he becomes the team's primary contact with top management of the host institution. He carries the major responsibility for progress at this level. There is a useful sequence in his relationship with top management which he can follow, and this is described in detail in Chapter VI. If he joins an ongoing project, he will pick up the relationship somewhere along this continuum, the precise location depending in part on the performance of the previous team leader, his personality, his style and his success. But even in an ongoing project the new team leader has to start at the beginning with becoming personally acceptable to his hosts and in demonstrating his technical competence.

Personal and Technical Acceptance of Team Leader

For the host institution, accepting the team leader may involve a belittling admission of inadequacy. If its leaders like the team leader personally, his help is easier to accept. Developing good personal relations with the institution's leaders therefore has high priority for the team leader when he is new. When this is achieved, then he must show that he is technically competent to provide the help needed to accomplish the task—building an institution.

Although the team leader's efforts have to be supported by the whole team and individual team members can help out in specific tasks, responsibility for the project's progress with the institution's leadership is almost completely his. Success of the project is impossible without a high level of performance on his part. He must win acceptance, which in turn actually increases the team's effectiveness.

Contact and Rapport with Host Institution Leaders

The team leader must have frequent close contact with the top administrator and others in the leadership group, both inside the institution and in the government and other centers of power. This is not merely a matter of getting to know what is going on in the institution. Sufficient informal contact has to be maintained with the decision making group to gain their confidence and retain rapport. Only through such rapport and by understanding the power structure, can strategy be successfully employed to accomplish project objectives.

Basically then there is nothing more urgent for the newly arrived team leader than to get to know the people he will work with, and to enable them to get to know him. He needs to know, most of all, the leadership of the institution and relevant sectors of the government. This means that "people" activities take precedence over "things" activities. The team leader must devote time to listening and being listened to, to checking out his priorities and preferences with those of the leaders of the host institution, to asking about and clarifying unstated assumptions, to being a person open to influence and questioning.

Perception of Country Needs and Definition of Host Institution Role

The basic concept of the host institution producing something that society needs, which in turn will merit public support is both sound and useful. The team leader can help the top management focus and articulate this institutional role and give the necessary leadership and stimulation. When the institution's attention is sharply focused on country needs, it is ready to pay increasing attention to its internal functioning.

Once the institution has a clear concept of its role and its potential contribution to country needs, it will engage in a number of activities in which the team leader can be helpful:

- Evaluation of previous relationships between the institution and its government and public.
- Establishing productive contacts with government and public entities at many levels.
- Developing public realization of the institution's potential usefulness.
- Achieving consensus between the institution and the government regarding the institution's role and responsibility.
- Maintaining contact and rapport.
- Ensuring public support for the institution and complementary government agencies.
- Planning and execution of specific strategies for institutional development.

Changes in the leadership of institutions in developing nations occur with high frequency and the likelihood of completion of all of the above activities under a single administration is low. When institutional leadership changes, many of the above stages will have to be repeated, until they become "institutionalized."

Elements of the Institution to be Affected

The institution building model in Chapter III listed five institutional elements—leadership, doctrine, program, resources, and internal structure—and four linkage vari-

ables. The team leader needs to make two judgments with respect to these characteristics; first, which are most in need of improvement, and second, which elements that need improvement are most open to his influence.

The Leadership of the Institution

In years past the top leadership of institutions in the developing nations was often in the hands of a senior person. He had considerable administrative experience but this was usually not acquired in a single type of institution. The second and third echelons of the administrative structure, however, were much more likely to be occupied by younger persons with much higher technical competence but with little administrative experience. The delicate but essential part of the task of building leadership has been to strengthen this middle layer of management personnel while still retaining the experience and political strength of the senior persons. Ways had to be found through which these better trained persons gained experience in making institutional decisions and were available when changes in leadership could be made.

The help which the team leader can give to institutional leadership lies not so much in his ability to conceive better ways of doing things or better policies to follow but in his capacity to explore objectively and dispassionately with various institutional leaders the relative merits of several alternatives. High regard is quite common for the team leader who discusses the pros and cons of various approaches and who documents the several views well. On the other hand, team leaders who make dogmatic recommendations on the basis that "this is the way we did it at home" serve little purpose. To affect the leadership of an institution, the team leader is, therefore, best concerned with exposing the principles upon which policies and procedures should be based. For this, private, privileged conversations with the senior man usually provide a more effective setting than public meetings and seminars. The team leader may find it useful to prepare himself for this line of activity by reflecting, perhaps for the first time in his life, on the history of his own institution and critically analyzing the influences which helped or hindered its development.

Doctrine

One of the greatest difficulties in offering advice abroad on attitudes and philosophy is that the advice which is proffered is often based on a different set of values than those held by the host nationals. To the extent that the recipients question the advisor's set of values, or more particularly, to the extent that they question his understanding of their own values, they are inclined to discount his advice.

One of the few ways in which confidence can be established in the team leader's ability to properly weigh the values of the host nationals is for him to engage in professional activity jointly with those he seeks to influence. Conversations in the field, the lab, or the classroom are generally more palatable and productive than formal conversations about attitudes and philosophy in the office or conference room. Influencing doctrine, like influencing leadership, is a delicate matter. The safe way of

doing it, and often the most effective way, is indirectly through other doors that are open.

Program

Program must be carefully tailored to the country's needs, to the role which the institution is to play in the nation's development, and to the resources (human, fiscal, and physical) which are realistically anticipated for the institution. The team leader is not particularly expert in advance in these matters and he needs first to gain perspective and understanding of them himself. This means resisting the strong temptation to urge the adoption of program elements based more on previous experience than upon a realistic appraisal of the institution's environment.

The optimum role of the advisor in influencing program content must include activities which give him a genuine understanding of the restraints of the local culture and custom in the operation of the institution. He must have a fairly wide contact with the area to be served by the institution to enhance his understanding of the country's needs. His capacity to interpret these needs will be greatly conditioned by his acquaintance with the country and its people. One of the obvious ways of doing this, of course, is to travel within the country in the company of his local colleagues. Such forays provide a forum for discussion of the institution's role in the country's development and the realistic programs which can give this role expression.

Resources

Institutions in developing countries are short of many resources, and the most basic and persistent among these shortages are trained personnel. Developing the institution's staff is therefore the team leader's best means for working himself and the rest of the team out of their overseas jobs. The crucial issue is to link staff development closely to institution building, its progress and its prospects. This puts institutional concern with positions, numbers and timing squarely alongside the more commonly considered question of selecting particular people for training.

Personnel training is such an important part of the leader's responsibility that it will be considered separately in Chapter X. It is emphasized here, however, that the initial resources for staff training come largely from external sources and therefore the team leader has an active, nurturing part to play from the beginning.

It is somewhat uncommon in developing countries for institutional leaders to think of augmenting their funds and public support through cultivating the great body of "grass roots" constituents. Experience suggests instead that the basic decisions for support are made among a relatively small number of influential people and, therefore, the normal procedure is to appeal directly to these for increased support. The concept of an institution gaining support in accordance with the services it renders is quite novel and unfamiliar. The most effective role for the team leader in this matter is to lead the institution into developing this general public support for its activities.

The team leader usually has at his disposal a limited amount of funds for program operation and to purchase

certain commodities. The wise use of these funds can assist the institution in initiating useful programs and in acquiring needed equipment that is otherwise unavailable. The unwise use of these funds, however, can persuade them to become involved in programs which the public will not continue to support, and it can litter their labs with "white elephant" pieces of equipment that are too expensive or too sophisticated to operate locally.

Commonly, the team leader will use his equipment funds for purchase of commodities from abroad. This contributes to institution building only if it is carefully timed with staff training and program development. In the early stages the requirements are usually pretty standard and predictable: whole laboratories, standard sets of books for the library, vehicles of appropriate types and numbers. As the institution develops and its program is sharply focused on needs of society, however, commodity requirements become quite specific, and external assistance must be carefully weighed to avoid enticing the institution away from high priority concerns.

Internal Structure

The team leader rarely has the opportunity to be involved in the development of an institution's organizational structure from the beginning. There is nearly always some type of organization in existence, and while the team leader may prefer an alternative organizational arrangement, he should carefully weigh the probable consequences of reorganization. Most organizational changes which are suggested on first sight are normally conceived as means of getting around bottlenecks caused by existing personnel. If the offending persons were appointed to their present positions because of political influence, it is not likely that they can be "reorganized out of the picture." On the other hand there are basic organizational principles which affect the efficiency of management and of servicing institutional programs. Such principles must form the basis for reorganization proposals.

Linkages

The main point to be made about linkages is that this aspect of institutional development has been neglected far too much in the past. Therefore, the team leader has to plan for their development with more determination and imagination than he needs for the other more obvious elements of institution building. Through linkages of various kinds flow the institution's resources and its products; they constitute the network of its essential relations with the world outside.

Hence, their development is central to institution building. Failure of linkages is very common and very costly. New institutions, like newlyweds and new Presidents, have a honeymoon period of hope and public acclaim. By the time that is over the new institution is judged by how good its services are, how helpful and cooperative it is, how competitive it is for scarce public funds, and how many people demand its continued support. Institutional linkages become even more important when its purpose is highly innovative and when the political environment is highly unstable.

Dilemmas in the Team Leader's Work

Dilemmas are at the heart of the team leader's work, and experienced team leaders have identified the following as some of the most important in institution building.

Dependence and Independence vs Collaboration

The institution to be built is to be innovative. It must develop a life and character of its own, but it cannot be so innovative that it loses touch with those it is to influence. On the other hand, it cannot permit tradition to suffocate its innovative character. It is the strategic task of the institution's leadership to manage these conflicting tendencies.

The team leader is often confronted with leadership in the host country that is imbedded with tradition, and he is forced to represent the major innovative element for the institution's leadership. How innovative, how different, can the team leader be and still be effective? Too little would mean not making the major difference that external assistance sets out to make. Too much would mean either "taking over" the new institution and being its head in all but title, or getting walled off by the institution's leadership.

The dilemma can be addressed in a variety of ways if the team leader is conscious of the problem and does not lose sight of the ultimate objective; namely, the development of innovative leadership.

What matters most in developing a suitable strategy is not the speed and degree of innovation the team leader can get away with on his own, but what he can get the institution to accept and stay with over a long period. What he wants to avoid are the extremes of a leadership so dependent on him that it will be disabled when he departs at the end of his tour, versus a leadership so independent that technical assistance has little effect.

Immediate vs Long-Term Gains

Immediate demands will continue to crowd in on the team leader's time just as they do on the leadership of the institution. It is easy to become so involved in short-term action programs and internal structure problems that the basic needs for development of doctrine are ignored. The greater the rapport with institutional leadership the greater will be the pressure to participate in solving immediate problems. The most lasting contribution from the team leader, however, will be in the full adoption of a doctrine that is adequate for the innovative role of the institution.

One solution of this dilemma lies in the continual involvement of appropriate team members and their counterparts in resolving some of the immediate demands. This will have the added advantage of bringing a broader institutional base into the administrative decision making process. For instance, the team leader may be asked to sit on all staff selection boards. After doing this a few times he may be able to advise his counterpart to delegate preliminary screening to department heads. This strengthens the institution's internal structure and saves the team leader and the institution's head needless hours of work. More basically it is an example of a principle which can be incorporated in the institution's doctrine: that tasks will be distributed according to functional efficiency and economy.

Extensive vs Intensive, Fast vs Slow

One of the changes that development brings is that new institutions are assessed more by what they produce than by their traditions or the high social status of their leaders. While the team leader supports this view, he recognizes that this could produce a multitude of short-term, uncoordinated programs deliberately designed for high visibility. The alternative extreme is to commit the entire program to long-term priority needs that will require many years to show results.

The resolution of this dilemma lies in helping the institution to commit its major program resources to the longer term needs and use external resources to accomplish the more transitory activities. This will assure a reasonable mixture of the two, and it will leave the domestic support where it ought to be in the end.

Programs for Resources vs Resources for Programs

Programs and resources must be planned together if the project is to be successful. Experience has shown that when programs and resources are not carefully coordinated, one of two situations develop: either a broad-scale program is scheduled in the hope of attracting funds later or resources are aggressively solicited with little regard for the type of program on which they must be used. This poses the serious dilemma of whether to wait patiently for sufficient funds to execute the innovative programs that the institution is being designed for, or to acquire staff, equipment and operating funds for other activities in hopes of eventual return to the primary role.

Again, a middle course is recommended, but only if the institution realizes the constant danger of being lured off course by temporary grants. Resources are the one component in the institution building model where the team leader has some power as well as influence. Directly, he can ensure that external assistance resources get well used. Beyond that, the team leader can regulate the rate of flow in accordance with the quality of program planning. For instance, he can refuse to entertain requests for additional expertise, equipment or participant training that do not spring from carefully considered and projected program and resource plans. The flexibility of his resources is a more powerful influence than the actual magnitude and in this sense they become a strong lever in institution building.

Handing Over vs. Continuing Professional Contact

One criterion of success in institution building is the speed with which external assistance can be terminated—in fact this becomes almost an obsession with project evaluators. Project termination implies the end of funding for professional interchange between technical personnel in the developed and developing countries. One cause of institutional underdevelopment in third world countries is the lack of resources for contact and interchange with more developed institutions. Experience has already demonstrated that abrupt termination of technical assistance projects is followed immediately by a severe sense of isolation and abandonment in the host institution.

The dilemma is how to anticipate and plan for handing over the full institutional support responsibility and at the

same time maintain the momentum of institutional development. What are the minimum achievements required before withdrawal is initiated?

The team leader must lay plans early in the life of the project for the phasing of the external inputs away from direct support of institutional operation toward facilitating the continued international interchange. This aspect of planning has been seriously neglected in the past, but in the next decade many programs currently in operation will be ready for such changes. Failure to plan specifically for this type of phasing of external assistance will almost certainly result in abrupt termination of the project at some point.

Chapter VI—The Role of External Assistance in Institution Building

The primary objective of technical assistance in institution building projects is to help form an institution that is staffed with competent host nationals and that is adequately supported from local government sources. Two crucial issues arise constantly in the administration of outside personnel and outside resources in keeping the above objective in sharp focus. The first issue is "what aspects of institution building can be effectively influenced by external resources; i.e., what procedures lead most rapidly to national self sufficiency in sustaining the institution's functions?"

The second crucial issue concerns the specific role to be performed by outside personnel. What must be accomplished by their personal presence that cannot be done cheaper or more effectively some other way?

Both of these issues are central to the team leader's administrative responsibility since they guide his management of all the resources that are provided through his project. They are particularly relevant to the management of the team members, and therefore this chapter provides useful background for Chapter VII on the team members.

The Role of External Resources in Institution Building

The resources that are provided through external assistance seldom constitute more than a minor part of the total resources committed to an institution building project. Therefore, these external resources can only be regarded as catalytic and stimulative, and they should be directed mainly to those institutional characteristics that respond positively to external influence.

The team leader should recall that the basic phenomenon of institution building may and often does proceed entirely independently of technical assistance. The major function of an institution building technical assistance team, therefore, is to facilitate and accelerate the institution building process.

Provide Change Models

It is difficult to generate new ideas about how to do things differently, to conceive of different styles of operation, or to imagine a different role for an organization in society without stimulation from the outside. There is considerable inhibition to the imagination in knowing too much about the local environment. Thus, the local leadership can see too many reasons why new approaches would not be successful or should not be tried. They will know of many political conflicts that will be generated by certain innovative thrusts. They are often inclined to believe that the costs of confronting these difficulties will be too high and therefore their imagination is stymied in the development of change models.

Outsiders are not so restrained by detailed knowledge of customs, political currents, or inadequacies of support when they are looking for better models for the organization. They rely on the experience or the intellectual achievements of other societies to supply ideas for new

models, and they usually have the technical and managerial know-how to help local people in using these instruments.

The very fact, however, that they are capable of dreaming new dreams does not make them omniscient in molding these models to fit local needs and local circumstances. Technical assistance personnel, therefore, are frequently perceived as spearheads of change, but this can be dangerous or counterproductive unless the local leadership collaborates strongly to dilute with realism the foreigners' enthusiasm for their familiar models. The adjusting of exotic models to the realities of the local situation requires the combined attention from both sides.

Participate in Providing Leadership Services

In the framing of doctrine, the establishment of priorities, the development of programs, and especially in the building of the internal organization, outsiders can often provide genuine help to institutional leaders. They are sometimes in a position to break through formal administrative or social channels and thus to intercede with government on behalf of the developing institution. An outside "expert" often gains the ear of a Minister when it is inaccessible to the institutional leaders.

Introduction of new elements into an institution requires not only the basic conceptualization of the ideas, but also needs the guiding hand of someone experienced in the operational techniques that are required to make the new system work. A new teaching system or a new service role for the institution is virtually impossible to introduce if no one is experienced in making it work. The technical assistance team may be able to provide this experience. The caution flag to raise, however, is that institutional leadership must acquire these skills at the earliest possible moment.

Provide and Allocate Valuable Resources

Such resources as technically trained personnel, staff training opportunities, equipment, operating funds and information are valuable in themselves, but they also facilitate the process of change by providing both inducement and independence for the local leadership. These outside resources have the side effect of legitimizing and increasing the influence of foreign technical assistance personnel, which in turn provide opportunities for experimentation with new and different innovations.

While these valuable external resources may be regarded as opportunities for improvement, they also carry with them grave responsibility for encouraging institutional development along proper lines. There is often irresistible temptation to use external resources for elements of the institutional program which are not entirely central to the high priority goals and objectives of the institution. Once started on the wrong path, they can easily drain off scarce institutional resources into activities that are not of great importance in national development.

Outside resources are generally necessary for initial changes to occur since it is virtually impossible to supply them from local resources in adequate amounts in the early stages of institutional change. These new resources normally present additional expenditures over and above

the traditional costs rather than reallocations of existing resources. Outside assistance, therefore, may be crucial to making institutional changes, even though the proportion of resources provided from the outside may be small relative to the entire institutional resources.

Assist in Transfer and Adaptation of Technology

The early years of technical assistance proceeded under the assumption that transfer of technology was simple and that it could be accomplished with very little adaptive research. It is now clear that most technology must be carefully adapted to the local environment by systematic testing and altering if it is to succeed. It is one thing to have "book knowledge" of a technology, but it is quite another to understand the technology so well that symptoms of malfunction are recognized and causes removed as the innovation becomes "institutionalized." Technology in this instance includes modern administrative-management concepts and practices as well as scientific knowledge and techniques. Technical assistance personnel help to build confidence among local personnel in transferring and adapting technology, and this is indispensable to the major institution building purposes. However, technical inputs are emphatically *not* the totality of the institution building function, and therefore this must not be regarded as an end in itself.

Provide Operational Monitoring

Operational monitoring refers to the continual examination of strategies for achieving the goals set for the institution, the shifting of the resources and structure to accomplish the primary objectives, and the taking advantage of changing opportunities in the environment. Monitoring is a relatively recent function that has been provided from technical assistance, and it is to be sharply contrasted with the usual "control" or auditing type of evaluation.

It is important to note that all of the above five functions which may be performed by outsiders are actions which eventually must be taken over by the institution itself. Therefore, the best strategies for the team leader are those which are designed to leave these activities to the institution's own resources as quickly as possible, but not before they are well enough established to operate efficiently under local initiative.

General Guidelines for Using External Resources

Overall guidelines in the development of strategies that utilize technical assistance inputs in the most efficient possible manner is the subject of other chapters in the GUIDE. There are, however, a few generalizations which should be made here and which will introduce the detailed presentations in subsequent chapters.

There are three major inputs which can be made through technical assistance. These are 1) services of professional personnel, 2) training for staff members, and 3) commodity and program support for the local institution. These inputs are not equally productive at the same stage in the institution's development. There is considerable evidence from the past fifteen years of technical assistance experience to show that some of these inputs are much more productive early in an in-

stitution's development and others become more efficient in the later stages. A few guidelines emerge from a study of past experience.

Develop "Critical Mass" in Staff

In the early phases of institutional development the most urgent requirement is to get a "critical mass" of staff members who have sufficient technical background to be able to initiate effective programs in their respective departments or areas. This is the part of technical assistance which takes the longest time and therefore it should be started at the earliest possible moment. This cannot be done, however, without some pre-planning of the institution's new doctrine and some idea of the programs which will be undertaken. Thus, all of the elements of an institution must receive some attention from the very beginning, but it would be preferable to concentrate external resources in the area of staff training much earlier than has been customary in the past. (See Chapter X)

Supply "Advisors" at Proper Time

As soon as staff members begin to return from advanced training abroad, it is urgent to capitalize on the enthusiasm which they bring with them and to provide them with guides and some resources for getting programs underway. It is at this point that technical assistance "advisors" can be of greatest utility, and it is at this point that a small amount of program support funds will go a long way. "Advisors" can contribute very little to institution building while their "advisees" are away on a study grant.

Sensitive Timing of Program Support

As the institution matures, its programs become well identified and the staff has good technical training. At this point the lack of other types of resources such as equipment, laboratories, research facilities, etc., become the most restrictive aspect of institution building. By this time the institution should be producing some exciting results that attract local support, and the wise management of external resources will be specifically directed toward the encouragement of local support. This means that it will be just as important to determine when to withdraw a particular kind of external support as it is to supply it to the institution in the beginning.

Support High Priority Programs

The wise allocation of external resources implies that they must be applied to the activities which are important to the nation's highest priority needs. It would be little short of criminal to encourage the institution to develop along lines that are of low priority in national planning and therefore have little prospect for developing local support.

Realistic Level of Support

The allocation of external resources needs to be carefully tailored to the institution's capability for continuing programs once they have been started. It is not uncommon, for example, to find outsiders waxing enthusiastic over the development of a segment of the institution far

out of proportion to that institution's later needs. It would be counter-productive to lure a department or a section of the institution into an oversized involvement along one particular line only to find later that the institution could not, in fact, justify such development within its overall program priorities.

The Role of Team Members in Institution Building

There has been much confusion and difference of opinion as to what outside technical personnel are supposed to contribute in enhancing and accelerating the institution building process. One helpful way that has been found to understand this process is to describe the entire series of changes that occur in the institution from the beginning to the end, and to weave the interplay and contributions of outside technical personnel into this change process. This makes it possible to illustrate the specific role for a team member at whatever stage or level he may find himself involved in the formation of a new institution or the reformation of an existing one.

The following description is a "construct" that has been distilled from the experience of more than a decade of technical assistance in institution building, and it is generalized from a wide range of host institutions. The process cannot be expected to unfold in any single project as it is forced to do here, but the basic principles

illustrated have been found to have wide validity and application.

The "construct" is diagrammed in Figure 6. For the sake of convenience it views the role of team members at four levels of host institution organization; namely, the individual staff level, the mid-management or Department level, the top management level, and the linkage relations with government and the public. The changes occurring within each level are presented in sequential order, but that order may vary somewhat in different projects.

Relationships at Individual Staff Level

Team members normally find themselves working with a number of individuals with varying levels of responsibility. Here we are concerned with the relationships at the individual staff member level. The development to be achieved at this level is an increase in the host staff member's competence and the formation of productive attitudes toward his professional and public responsibility; i.e., a strong commitment to the institution's doctrine. This phase is both the foundation for the process of institution building and its ultimate justification. The output of the institution occurs at this point and all other phases exist primarily to facilitate activity and performance at this level.

FIGURE 6. A "Construct" of the Role of the Technical Assistance Team in Institution Building

STAGES IN THE RELATIONSHIPS WITH

INDIVIDUAL STAFF	DEPARTMENT HEAD	TOP MANAGEMENT	LINKAGES
<i>Rejection Acquiescence</i>	<i>Rejection Acquiescence</i>	<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>Multi-level contacts</i>
<i>Technical Visibility</i>	<i>Leadership Visibility</i>	<i>Contact Leaders</i>	<i>Institutional Visibility</i>
<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>Institutional Dialogue</i>	<i>Consensus on Role</i>
<i>Short-Run Activities</i>	<i>Program Planning</i>	<i>Define Doctrine</i>	<i>Continuing Publicity</i>
<i>Consolidate Gains</i>	<i>Aware of National Needs</i>	<i>Institutional Plans</i>	
<i>Long-Run Activities</i>			
<i>Institutional Perspective</i>			
<i>Career Plans</i>			

Rejection-acquiescence Stage

The presence of a foreign team member may imply two things to the host staff: (a) inadequacy of the host staff member, his organization, and even his country, and (b) imminence of a change. Both of these are threats—the first to a person's self-respect and security and the second to the security of the existing organization or the present system of his personal relationships. Both of these threats tend to evoke defense mechanisms, and the normal defense for the host staff member is to reject the foreign element. With some, this rejection is of such magnitude that the team member's participation in the development process never starts. With others, the rejection gives way to an acquiescence to his involvement in the program. The acquiescence could result from force, persuasion, the need to know, or something else; but it is prerequisite to the succeeding stages.

Technical Visibility Stage

Rejection is overcome by inter-personal compatibility and is manifest by the ease and eagerness with which the team member and the staff member associate with each other. Those actions and activities which normally promote better human relations will also be effective here in bringing about early personal acceptance.

Technical acceptance, however, requires a different manifestation on the part of the team member. Rarely is professional reputation enough to give the host staff member confidence in the technical capacity of the team member. Technical ability in another environment is not directly and automatically transferable, and some of the potentially best team members have been virtual failures in technical assistance efforts because they have not "proven themselves" locally. The host staff member perceives risk in too rapid acceptance of an outsider, part of which is objectively justified and part of which results from the earlier mentioned threat to his own position. Technical visibility is tangible, visible evidence that the team member can make contributions in the local environment which compensate for the negative effects of his presence. Some visibility can be achieved by the efforts of the entire team, but the individual team member's own technical ability must also be proved.

An important feature of technical visibility is the impression given as to the motives of the team member. Visibility for personal aggrandizement of the team member will impair acceptance, whereas visibility for the purpose of improving the lot of the host staff member will enhance it.

Acceptance State

Acceptance implies willingness to be openly identified with the team member in a cooperative relationship, and a certain threshold of acceptance must be achieved as a prerequisite to progress in subsequent stages of technical assistance.

Both technical acceptance and personal acceptance occur in varying intensities and they increase in the normal progress of a program. It is important to note, however, that acceptance of one individual is not transferable to his successor. Acceptance may be easier or more dif-

ficult for a new team member depending on how his predecessor performed, but in any case, it will be necessary for each new team member to cross these thresholds also.

Initiation of Joint Short-run Activities

The previous stages are essentially conditioning activities for both the host staff member and the team member. They set the stage, they make a favorable environment, but they do not actually contribute to institution building. This is accomplished in the following stages.

One of the earliest aspects in which the team member actually becomes involved in institution building is the initiation of some activity in which the two persons are involved as a pair, with individual success or failure dependent on pair success or failure. The main objective is **success in a joint venture** and a short-run activity with a high probability of success is most effective. If this activity is productive; i.e., useful, the stimulation will be greater. But successful accomplishment is the essential element and its purpose is to initiate a change of attitude from indifference and pessimism to self-confidence, initiative and optimism on the part of the host staff member.

Consolidation of Gains

New activities tend to initiate changes in attitude and thus lead toward the necessary personal and individual commitment by the staff member. This commitment must be guided and reinforced in the direction of commitment to the host institution's new doctrine, new program, and to the formation of linkages which are required for successful institutionalization. The team member and the host staff member are operating as a pair, as colleagues; but it will be inevitable in many cases that the team member will assume a dominant role in the early stages by suggesting new ideas, new techniques, new programs and new linkages. It is important that as the staff member gains new insights and begins to develop new commitments that the team member makes sure that the initiative passes over to the host staff member. The team member's function gradually becomes less one of initiating new ideas and more the encouraging and nurturing of the flow of ideas from the staff member. Failure to recognize the appropriate opportunity for such a shift in emphasis will result in continued dependence or even resentment on the part of the staff member.

Formalizing Long-run Activities

Activities up until now are *ad hoc* no matter how good they are. The time will come, however, when sufficient confidence is gained by the staff member and by his administrators that they will want to entrust to him important, long-range institutional programs and responsibility. It is the role of the team member to aid in identifying the appropriate long-range programs to which this staff member can most fruitfully devote his energies and to help him with the planning and the initiation of these activities. The role now is one of genuine colleagues where both members of the pair are productive professionals with the common goal of executing these long-range programs in the most efficient manner.

Development of Institutional Perspective

Throughout the above stages several things have happened to the staff member. He has learned that individuals do have unused potential even with severe resource limitations. He has increased his confidence in himself. He has seen that he can be useful and he sees possibility of support for useful activity. He may be strongly tempted to "go it alone" rather than fight institutional battles. He is led to see, however, that he will soon be stymied as an individual without certain assists which require changes in his institution. Thus, he tends to develop an identity with his institution which involves both his responsibility to it and his dependence upon it; and both of these he sees as relating to the public interest. He develops a genuine sense of personal and professional commitment. The role of the team member is to accelerate and deepen these changes in every way possible.

Development of Career Plans

The final stage in this individual-to-individual phase is the development of a career plan and strategy. The staff member has a well developed idea of what he wants to accomplish, for personal reasons to be sure, but also with a growing sense of responsibility; and he has a well developed idea of what he will have to do in the area of self-development to accomplish it. He will also have made some progress in executing the plan, since it grows out of and is a continuation of all that he has been through. From this point, the relations with the team member continue on a peer basis. This is the culmination of the contribution that must be expected from the team member at this level; although he may continue to bring the staff member into wider contacts with his professional world long after their physical separation.

Relationships at Mid-management Level

The team member may also find himself working with staff individuals who have administrative responsibility for a Department, a Division, or a Section of the institution. Thus, the team member may deal with several levels of relationships concurrently. His relationships at the mid-management level are not independent of his other relationships, but it is helpful to describe them separately here in order to draw certain distinctions. We will use the term "Department Head" to refer to this mid-management group although in any particular institution the appropriate term may vary widely.

The relationships with the Department Head involves **groups** and inter-group relationships. However, the critical contacts are still made by individuals, and therefore, inter-personal relationships remain an important but not the only influence under consideration. It is helpful here, however, to recall that the Department Head acts as a representative of a group and his decisions therefore have wider implications than if he were acting for himself alone.

Rejection-acquiescence Stage

The relationship between the team member and the Department Head involves the same personal interactions as described for individual staff members. Interference in the program of a Department tends to evoke the

same defense mechanism as described earlier. Acquiescence and acceptance are initiated as soon as the Department Head begins to see advantages which will outweigh the adverse influences which caused the rejection in the first place.

Leadership Visibility Stage

The team member's visibility in program leadership at an administrative level is more difficult to achieve than in a purely technical activity. The transfer of technology from one culture to another is regarded by host personnel as being easier than the transfer of management systems which involve people and their peculiar cultural implications. Furthermore, some of the basic objectives of a foreign management system are often at variance with those of the host institution. Thus, technical visibility in shaping administrative units within the institution involves actions, activities, ideas, conversations and general demonstration of understanding of local conditions which will tend to inspire confidence in the team member's judgment and personal qualifications.

Acceptance Stage

Personal and technical acceptance must be broader in scope. It involves more than a single person—it involves a higher degree of institutional support, and therefore, there is a higher risk in acceptance at this level.

There are other aspects of this relationship which are also important; namely, a) the activities of the team member and the Department Head are more visible than at the staff member level, b) collaboration has deeper consequences since it involves administrative policy, c) personal acceptance implicates various members of the department as well as the Department Head, and d) at this level the advisor is dealing even more with attitudes and inter-personal relationships than with technical substance. Therefore, he must have the general confidence of host personnel that he can receive and deal with sensitive information safely and discreetly.

Program Planning

The role of the Department is to facilitate and enhance the activities of the individuals within that unit. Therefore, concerns for organizational changes are less important than attitudinal changes about the role of management in favor of sympathetic and stimulating leadership and away from authoritarian or dictatorial roles. Dialogue between team members and Department Heads in this area can only be initiated after some degree of rapport and confidence has been achieved. Initial discussions in these matters are usually unstructured and deal more with principles than with the specific departmental problems. They might involve the Department's role, its needs, its growth, its future and its relationships with the rest of the institution. Sooner or later, however, these general discussions will give way to discussion aimed at specific decisions which will organize the department's existing human resources. They will lay a framework within which additional resources must fit, and they will develop priorities for future departmental activities. These discussions will take account of the inefficiently used human resources in the Department and will seek ways in which they can be put to more effective production.

The Department's structure, philosophy, and posture within the overall institution will reflect the Department Head's personality, aspirations and background, and they will include the changes in these characteristics that have occurred because of the team member's influences. The modification of attitude and basic philosophy will be the most productive changes and they will perhaps require the greatest degree of statesmanship on the part of the Department Head. Therefore, progress in this area will be particularly slow in those individuals who are steeped in the traditions of existing bureaucracy and who are constrained by a large number of personal ties. Organizational changes can come faster but they will contribute much less to the building of an institution in the absence of basic changes in doctrine.

The result of the above activities will be the development of a realistic overall plan for the Department which has a substantial degree of understanding and acceptance by the Department staff. This will include the new attitudes, new approaches and new perspectives that are registered by the Department Head. The plan will be one which carefully estimates resource requirements for the programs that have been conceived and which established priorities on programs and resource allocations. It will also include the planning of the careers of the individuals within the Department to satisfy departmental needs, and this in turn will require close cooperation with top management.

Awareness of National Needs

By now the Department Head is able to see the role his department can play in the development of his institution and his country. This will result partly from his growing sense of responsibility to his institution and his country and partly from increases in prestige and satisfaction which he has experienced from new activities undertaken by the binational pair. This state is characterized by articulation of departmental role and the translation of this role into specific activities. It will begin to be reflected in the minds and activities of the more innovative and progressive members of the department.

Relationships at Top Management Level

The team leader will be the primary contact with the institution's top management, but there will be many occasions in which team members can also make useful inputs at this level.

Acceptance Stage

A team leader must achieve personal and technical acceptance much as the other members on his team. The various stages through which he passes, however, will not be as apparent because of the modifying effects of the team's performance and the political sensitivity of the position. He must accomplish a higher level of personal and technical acceptance for effectiveness. Success of the project is almost impossible without a high level of performance on his part.

Contact with Institutional Leaders

This stage will be marked by close contact with the top administrator of the host institution and others in the

power structure. Contacts will be both formal and informal. They will be continuous. The team leader has to know what is going on in the institution, which means that sufficient informal contact has to be maintained with the decision making group to gain their confidence and retain rapport. This stage is also marked by the team and team leader identifying with the host institution to the point that the latter is convinced that its problems are of genuine concern to the team leader and the team.

Institutional Development Dialogue

Initiation of institutional development dialogue will begin to structure the many random discussions held previously. It will build upon similar dialogue by individual staff members and Department Heads at their respective levels. This dialogue will develop concern for longer range plans, discussion of problems and opportunities, alternative approaches to problems and their consequences, views of host country needs and how the host institution can fit into them. The dialogue will examine the institution's capacity to meet its responsibility, the allocation of present resources, and the needs for new resources. It will begin to expose some of the political and personal affiliations and ambitions both inside and outside the institution which will have to be dealt with.

Institutional Doctrine Defined

The institution's doctrine emerges full blown as the dialogue becomes translated into concrete ideas about the institution's role in national economic development. These ideas are a function of the country's existing situation and its needs, the host institution's special competencies, and the aspirations of competing institutions. The institution sees itself as producing something society needs, and if it produces efficiently, it expects the economy to support it well. A consensus develops among the Departments of the institution regarding the institution's doctrine, and top management articulates the doctrine as a means of stimulating loyalty and productivity.

Institutional Plans Developed

Long range institutional plans emerge as a consequence of understanding the nation's needs, the resources available to the institution and the political environment in which the institution will function. Rational, positive action which takes full account of these factors requires strategies for moving from existing patterns and programs. Plans are carefully made for obtaining necessary physical resources, for upgrading staff competence and for reorienting institutional programs to high priority needs.

Relationships with Institutional Linkages

The planning of institutional strategy for development involves understanding the forces and agencies that are competing as well as those that are collaborating with the institution. Just as action at each higher level within the institution is necessary to enhance and protect the gains made at subordinate levels, so gains of the total institution must be secured by actions at the broader so-

ciety level. Government is the management entity in society, but there are other elements in business, the profession and the general public that are also interested in the products of the institution.

Multi-level Contacts

Mutual understanding, respect and confidence develop at several levels between the institution and its environment as a prerequisite to effective coordinated planning and action. Again, this requires initial demonstration of institutional competence and usefulness in areas that government and the public consider relevant. Top management contacts and relationships develop, but they have little chance for continuing success unless undergirded with functioning relationships at middle management and staff levels. The contacts at all levels must be sufficient in number and quality to sustain a favorable impact on government and the public.

Institutional Visibility

Nothing succeeds like success. Therefore, effective and productive activities at all levels have as an integral part of their design giving public visibility to the institution. Continuing support cannot be expected if neither the public nor government are aware of the institution's presence or its activities. The development of competence must precede bids for additional institutional responsibility. Thus, institutional visibility becomes a key part of its development strategy.

Consensus on Institutional Role

After demonstrations of the institution's usefulness, there develops a consensus with other government and private agencies regarding their mutual relationships and respective roles. This serves the institution's purposes best if they are articulated or formalized, but each has a viewpoint and an appreciation of the other's viewpoint, and these viewpoints are accommodated. However, since other agencies are involved, the risk of jurisdictional disputes is high. Therefore these relationships are not only bilateral but multilateral in many cases.

Continuing Public Relations

Institutional officials and staff may establish good rapport with government and the public at one point in time, but the high rate of turn-over and the rapid change in the political scene will require constant and continuing effort in this area. As government officials change, much has to be re-established; hence the necessity for productive multi-level contacts and adequate relations with other entities in society. The development of a public information and public relations program that is compatible with the institution's doctrine therefore becomes a continuing process.

Chapter X—Staff Training

Every institution building project will involve additional training of institution staff members, and it is common for technical assistance projects to have access to funds for the further training of selected staff members overseas. This "participant training" program is one of the most highly prized elements of technical assistance as far as host institutions are concerned. It may be only a small part of the total staff training that is provided, but it represents a major force for improving technical competence, for broadening technical perspective, and for developing "propensity to change." Therefore, the team leader must be sure that the strategies employed in the staff training program are closely related to the overall institution development plan.

Major Purposes of Overseas Training

Three major purposes are satisfied through the overseas training program; namely,

- develop institutional leadership
- provide basic technical training
- update staff

These purposes are normally fulfilled through quite different types of programs. Therefore, programming flexibility is of great importance.

Develop Institutional Leadership

Institutional leaders need to see alternative ways that programs similar to theirs are conceived and implemented. They need to talk to administrators of other institutions, to see new technologies at work, and to excite their imaginations about alternative ways to structure their own institution. They need to inquire into institutional doctrines used elsewhere, and they need to see how others develop institutional linkages.

This form of leadership training is needed very early in the life of the project. In fact, it is probably most productive when performed as a prelude to actual initiation of the project. It involves one to two months of visitation to locations carefully selected to give a broad spectrum of programs. It is most effective if two or three institutional leaders travel together and have opportunity to discuss the relative merits of each program as it is visited.

This type of leadership training helps establish the basis for future training of staff members throughout the institution. Initially it will involve only the key members of the top administration. Later it will include mid-management personnel who will have responsibility for satisfying the training needs in their own Departments. This will be particularly important for the highly respected, older administrative personnel. They perhaps cannot be expected to go abroad for an advanced degree, but they will continue to be useful and effective institutional administrators of younger staff members if they have the benefit of a short, stimulating exposure abroad.

Basic Technical Training for Staff

Basic technical training will absorb the major part of available training funds. It will involve programs of six months to three years depending on whether a narrow field or skill is required or whether an advanced degree will best fill the institution's needs.

The urgent requirement is to form a "critical mass" of technically trained staff as quickly as possible. This means having a sufficient number of staff trained so that they mutually reinforce each other in doctrine as well as in technical matters. Recall that the total number of such trained persons in the environment will be small at best, and it will be very easy for a trained person to become frustrated and discouraged if he is isolated technically.

Staff members who have received good training abroad tend to rise quickly in the administration of the institution or to be lured away by other governmental agencies and this usually occurs before they can train their own replacements. Therefore, the total number of trainees required by the institution normally will far exceed the initial estimates.

Updating of Staff

Updating or refreshing staff is a never-ending process, and it usually begins soon after the other training programs are underway. Again this usually involves a short tour of up to six months, but it is vital to the institution's ability to continue to serve society.

Timing of Training Programs

The training of institutional personnel takes the longest time to accomplish, and therefore it should be started at the earliest possible moment and should receive highest priority **early** in the project. While this will require considerable pre-planning of the institution's new role and doctrine and some idea of the programs which will be undertaken, it would be preferable to concentrate external resources on staff training much earlier than has been customary in the past.

An accelerated training program early in the project requires close coordination with other aspects of building the institution. If staff are sent for training in large numbers, the institution's operations are severely impaired during their absence. This is often offset by asking team members to take over their responsibilities while they are away. This is a very costly way to replace staff members. More importantly, this usually sacrifices the opportunity for the team member to **work with the staff member**—which is the major purpose for his coming in the first place. On the other hand, the team member can accomplish a great deal more if the staff member has already received his basic training.

The dilemma of early timing for most of the training program is not easy to resolve. The team leader is warned to give this part of the project vigorous attention if the other aspects of his project are to be efficient. Again, experience says—emphasize training early in the project.

Major Steps in the Training Program

Five major steps are outlined in the training program, and failure to give adequate attention to any one of them could compromise the entire program.

Establish Institution's Needs and Priorities

The first major step is to determine the competencies needed by the institution to achieve its goals and purposes. The emphasis is on positions to be filled—not on persons wanting to study abroad. The team leader will

confer with many people including team members and institution officials. He will think about various aspects of the project such as:

- development plans of the institution
- gaps in staffing pattern
- purposes of the project

The initial decisions about training programs may need to be altered in later stages as institutional progress occurs. However, a firm staff training plan that extends over several years will help guard against temptations to accommodate personal rather than institutional needs.

Selection of Trainees

Selection of trainees is frequently a trying experience. Many individuals would like to be sent and the need is great but there are several criteria to be weighed in making selections:

- institutional priorities as indicated by a list
- competence and professional potential
- commitment to the institutional position
- language facility
- professional orientation

Team members will be particularly helpful in suggesting and screening candidates. Much responsibility resides in the selection of trainees. If they fail, either in the training program or upon their return, they will cause great anguish to all parties concerned, and they will have denied other candidates an opportunity.

Perhaps the most difficult decision in the selection process arises when "the candidate is not qualified but he is the best we have to choose from." There are few if any recorded instances where the decision to proceed with the unqualified candidate proved to be wise. Even if he completes his training course, the institution will be "stuck with a lemon" for many years.

Another difficult decision in selection of candidates is presented by pressure to include the son of a political figure even though he does not appear on the institution's list of priorities. Training selection committees are useful both for guidance and protection in such matters, but a firm policy must be established and adhered to.

Plan Individual Programs

The team leader and other members of the team are in a favored position for orienting the prospective trainees before they leave for foreign study. The team has an idea of the needs of the institution and they know the kind of training which is available outside the host country. The trainees should have a clear idea of the kind of training they expect to receive and how this training will contribute toward the goals of the institution.

The participant trainee will probably be studying abroad in a language different from his mother tongue. The first few months of such study are extremely difficult and frustrating, even if language were no handicap. Graduate schools are becoming increasingly selective in admissions, and language facility is a first requisite. Therefore, the team leader must insist that adequate language training is provided to overcome this problem. In some instances the technical assistance team will have to take the lead in organizing a program to insure that trainees arrive in the foreign country with a sufficient knowledge of the language in which they will be study-

ing. Failure to take this precaution will tend to frustrate and destroy the individual's usefulness to his own institution rather than enhance it.

The actual training program for the staff member must be closely coordinated with the overall strategies for institutional development. The training is not provided primarily to satisfy personal desires of the host staff member, but it is provided as a means for building an institution. Planning the individual's program must be done in this frame of reference if the funds provided for the purpose are to achieve their highest accomplishment. This suggests that programming should be highly flexible to accomplish these purposes. On the other hand it needs to be relatively inflexible in departing from institutional needs in order to accommodate the individual participant's desires. It is essential that the team leader and EAA speak with one voice in executing policies for these purposes.

Follow-up During Training

The investment in a trainee is very heavy, both for the host institution which must carry the program in his absence, and for the sponsoring agency. Therefore, the investment merits careful attention and follow-up during the training period.

Many problems arise during the course of study, and a large proportion of them can be resolved by a simple phone call. They may involve decisions about the program of study, the payment of unanticipated costs, or the welfare of his family. Whatever the problem, it can be distracting to maximum accomplishment if allowed to go unresolved. The follow-up by someone who is familiar with the participant's training program and with his institution's needs can be very productive. The team leader's home institution is usually best equipped to perform this service even when the site of training is at another location.

Again, close coordination is required between the follow-up servicing of the participant and the institutional development plans. It is quite common for a participant to attempt to change his course of study in midstream if he feels it will improve his market value upon his return home. This is often done without regard for his own institution's staffing needs. The participant's research program or his professional training needs to be tailored closely to his intended role in the host institution. The team leader needs to depend on the home institution for his careful guidance of the participant. It is obvious, however, that the home institution cannot provide such guidance if they do not have adequate information on the entire process. They need to know the participant's background, why he is sent to a particular institution, the line of training he is expected to receive and the role he must perform when he returns home. Furthermore, they must know the time that is allotted for the training experience. With this information in hand, they can perform outstandingly useful service and can relieve the team leader of much worry and responsibility.

Re-entry to Host Institution

As soon as the staff member returns from training abroad, it is urgent to capitalize on the enthusiasm which he brings with him and to provide him with guides and

some resources for getting his programs underway. It is at this point that technical assistance advisors can be of greatest utility, and it is at this point that a small amount of program support funds will go a long way. Yet it is surprising how many times technical assistance teams and host institutions seem completely unready for the return of a trainee. This may be understandable in cases of early return of a participant, but not so for the orderly return on schedule of a participant whose return date has been known from the start of his training program. The team leader and the host institution have, in many cases, wasted much precious investment because the returnee was abandoned at the wrong moment. The team leader should recall that upon returning home, the participant may be the target of jealousy and political competition from his peers and even his administrators. He usually needs reinforcement and encouragement and at times temporary funding to get some projects underway. This type of investment is often highly productive in protecting the investment already made in providing participant training.

Employment policy is a delicate matter. It has many traps and pitfalls. It is best approached as an important issue in the initial project negotiations when top leadership in government have the matter under consideration. This seldom happens, however, and the team leader is left to work it out with institutional leadership. He is strongly advised to meet this issue squarely in the early stages of the staff training program.

Employment Policy for Trained Personnel

It is not uncommon to find institutions still trying to build a competent staff after 10 years of active training programs. This results when institutional employment policy fails to recognize the increased market value of trained personnel. Returnees quickly find that other agencies of government also need trained staff, and they naturally seek the best jobs available. There is no denying that if he accepts another position the investment in training will still do some good in the country. However, if the institution's development is given high priority by host government and EAA, a favorable personnel employment policy must be part of the price they pay to build the institution.

Much is written about brain-drain and defection of trainees, and often strong contracts are designed to ensure that trainees return to their institution. The ultimate solution, however, lies in relieving the causes of defection. The most basic cause is the poor climate for professional development and the low rewards in his own institution. Typically, a returning Ph.D. is paid the same salary he was receiving three years previously. Advancement is withheld until he develops political strength and support. He is returned to the same menial tasks he performed before he went away. It is little wonder that he begins to look elsewhere to have his capability recognized.

Institution building requires the formation of reasonable and effective employment policies that stimulate staff performance and that elicit institutional loyalty. This often goes against the grain of bureaucratic restrictions, and institutional leadership may need some outside assistance in introducing and maintaining such policies. The team leader will find that external assistance is usually welcome in "topping up" local salaries, and that may be necessary as a short term solution in a few cases. But institutional doctrine and program cannot succeed for long if an adequate employment policy cannot be developed as an integral element of the institution.

Appendix A

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