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**Administrative Procedures and Strategies of
The Technical Assistance Complex
in Institution Building
Contracts**

by

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June 30, 1968

**One portion of the Final Report of the CIC-AID Rural Development Research
Project, Contract No. AID/csd-840**

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is part of a research effort, known as CIC-AID Rural Development Research Project, being done by a group of U. S. Universities under contract with the Agency for International Development.

Objective:

The objective of the research is to develop some guidelines on organization, administrative procedures, and strategies useful to AID and Universities in the operation of technical assistance contracts. It's principal focus is on institution building contracts.

Procedure:

The procedure being used is to gather AID and University experiences from more than 15 years of technical assistance contracting and to attempt to develop some generalizations concerning contract operation. These experiences have considerable variation. They vary with time, among countries, among contracts, and even within one contract. Yet some generalizations do appear feasible.

Such generalizations will serve two main functions. One function is to serve as guidelines for the planning and execution of contracts. The other function will be to provide hypotheses for further research into the contracting problem.

This paper is one of the means by which the project is gathering experiences. It is written in the form of tentative generalizations on three important aspects of institution building contracting. These tentative statements were developed from the experiences, observations, and opinions available to the researchers during the early stages of the project.

The procedure now involves checking out these tentative statements with persons who have had a significant experience in contracting. This checking out should produce: (1) corroboration for certain ideas, (2) considerable revision of others, (3) deletion of some, and (4) addition of new insights into the process that so far have not been captured.

Since the paper is dealing with generalizations, it must be somewhat abstract. Since it tries to serve both research ends and practical operating ends, its language will not quite please either the researcher or the program administrator.

You as the reader are requested to react to this paper. Reader reactions will constitute findings in this phase of the research. Reactions of all kinds are invited. Is the paper or any segment of it relevant or not relevant? Are there relevant points that have been omitted? Are the ideas correct or are some of them wrong? Are the points treated adequately? Anything else?

SUMMARY COMMENTS ON THE PAPER

The deliberate attempt of the Agency for International Development to rebuild old institutions or develop new ones in countries receiving technical assistance is indeed ambitious. It is also a highly complicated task involving a complex organization that must deal with a wide range of phenomena-social, psychological, political, economic, cultural, and technological. These factors must be dealt with in contexts that are relatively new and unfamiliar to most of the U. S. personnel involved.

The United States organizations and groups involved in this task have not developed, as yet, a strong or significant tradition in this kind of activity.

In an attempt to unravel the complex process of institution-building contracting, this paper has singled out three aspects, which experience seems to indicate as most relevant. These are: (1) the organizational relationships that exist between the Agency for International Development and the Contracting University throughout the contracting endeavor, (2) the processes involved and the Host Institution changes sought in the institution-building activity itself, and (3) the conduct of the Contracting University's field team in the actual accomplishment of the institution building.

A summary of each of these three sections follows.

The Technical Assistance Organization

The management group in a contract is complex. It involves both AID and the University, and each of these has two distinct entities, the headquarters or center group and the field or mission group. The University and AID have different ends and philosophies of operation even though they belong to the same culture. These differences are carried overseas by their field mission groups where another dimension of difference is imposed by a substantially different cultural environment. In spite of these differences the four distinct entities must achieve some kind of administrative coordination and linkage so that they operate in effect as a single group.

Because of the use of the contract document, one could expect that the relationship would be simply defined as contractor-client between AID and the University, with the field mission group clearly subordinate to its own headquarters. This simple relationship does not explain what happens in real life. These simple relationships do exist, at times, but one also observes collaborative relationships and superior-subordinate relationships in place of client-contractor relationships, and specific and identifiable instances in which the field group in effect issues instructions for the Center.

In many cases the universities have not been able to define clearly the relationship of its field team with its campus units. Performance of

any member of this AID-University organizational complex depends on how he understands the organization, its objectives, its decision-making authority structure, and his own place in it.

Building the Host Institution

The complex AID-University organization must accomplish certain fundamental changes in a Host County organization made up of autonomous groups that are just as complex as its own. The focal point is the Host Institution.

Institution building involves strengthening of the Host Institution itself, i.e. internally. This involves concern with its leadership, its organization, its program, its operating philosophy, and its resources. Perhaps of more importance than the internal aspects of institution building is another set of factors -- those aspects which link the Host Institution to its environment. To be relevant as an institution, in the sense of the process called institution building, the institution must have an impact on its environment that is conducive to economic development.

To have this effect it must establish certain linkages with the environment. Several impacts and linkages are relevant. It must perform a useful service such as teaching the youth, performing research on important problems of a sector of the economy, or teaching adults improved techniques and new information whether the adults are farmers or are government policy makers. These services are called program or product linkages. It must introduce some new ideas which other groups accept and eventually use, such as the concept of science in agriculture.

Another kind of linkage enables the institution to survive and function. These are enabling linkages and involve obtaining authority to perform its functions as well as necessary resources or appropriations. Government is the normal source of authority and resources.

Institution building also involves ability of the organization to maintain the innovation or new ideas it initiated, and a certain freedom from older institutions in its program development and in its accounting for its appropriations.

Field Team Conduct in Institution Building Process

The University field team is the sub-group of the AID-University organizational complex that provides its contact with the Host Institution and is most instrumental in accomplishing institution building. It is a foreign group with the explicit objective of changing the Host Institution. This involves a complicated social action process, some parts of which have been identified below.

One aspect involved is acceptance by the Host Institution of individual

members of the field team and eventually of the field team itself. This acceptance evolves through various stages, starting with the simple personal acceptance of field team individuals by Host Institution individuals. Other levels identified are acceptance as technically competent, acceptance in program leadership and internal administration, and acceptance as being competent to function in government relations.

Strategies of the field team must be geared to these levels. The field team cannot be effective beyond the level at which it is accepted. On the other hand it must exploit all the opportunities available to it.

The field team can deliberately set out and accomplish these levels of acceptance, can recognize the level at which it is accepted, and can develop strategies to accomplish its potential at that level.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE
TAC STRUCTURE OF RELATIONSHIPS

The management entity involved in a technical assistance contract, which we call the Technical Assistance Complex (TAC), consists of four distinct entities. These entities are the Agency for International Development in Washington, AID/W (Aid Center); AID's field group, USAID/Mission; the Contractor (Center), usually a United States University; and the Contractor's field group. For the specific purpose of the contract, these four entities must function as a single entity with a unity of administration. For the two Center entities, the contract activities make up only a minor part of the program. For the Contractor field group, execution of the contract is the sole reason for being. For USAID/Mission, the contract is only a part of its program, but a greater part than for the Centers. These groups must achieve a measure of "Administrative Unity", that is to say that in one sense they need to conduct themselves as a single entity.

Achievement of administrative unity--i.e. concurrence on contract objectives, resources, means, and procedures--is a major task in view of the varied interests, points of view, and traditions of the participant entities.

Administrative unity appears as an effective centralization of decisions (or concurrences) on objectives, resources to be committed to the project, means to be used in the project, and administrative procedures within the TAC. Such a concurrence can come from a domination by one of the other entities, or it could come from interaction among the entities, or innumerable combinations of dominance and interaction. We can expect degrees of administrative unity, but no cases of pure zero or perfect administrative unity. Perhaps operationally, administrative unity is better described as compatibility of objectives, concurrence on resources, coordination of means, and concurrence on administrative procedures among the four entities of TAC. The central characteristics of administrative unity are adequate order and coordination.

The degree and nature of administrative unity is a function of the kinds of relationships within TAC, both among persons and among the entities. We can identify five relevant sets of relationships among entities:

(1) The Contractor-Center to AID-Center, (2) The Contractor-Center to Contractor-Field, (3) AID-Center to AID-Field, (4) Contractor-Field to AID-Field, and (5) Contractor-Center to AID-Field. In some situations there is more than one sponsor or donor, and in others more than one contractor. In these cases the complexity increases.

For analysis, we conceptualize different kinds of relationships that could exist in any set of relationships.

1. Relationships between parties of equal authority
 - 1.1 Client-Contractor relationship in which the contractor identifies his own survival and welfare in the performance of a

- 1.2 Collaborative relationship in which each party perceives that he can serve himself best by collaborating with the other party, and that his own success is dependent on the success of the other party.
- 1.3 Competitive relationships in which each party perceives that his own success is dependent on the failure or reduced success of the other party.
- 2. Relationships in which one party has authority over the other.
 - 2.1 Dominant superior-subordinate relationships in which the superior sets objectives; decides on means, resources, and procedures; and gives orders to the subordinate.
 - 2.2 Partial superior-subordinate relationships, in which the subordinate, because of special conditions in specific situations, is not required to follow orders of the superior and may even in effect give orders to the superior.
- 3. Unstructured relationships in which (1) all or any of the above relationships apply with none more important than others, (2) all or some of above apply with different ones being dominant at different times, or (3) the relationship has not been mutually agreed upon by the parties involved.

The relevant entities of TAC can be shown schematically.

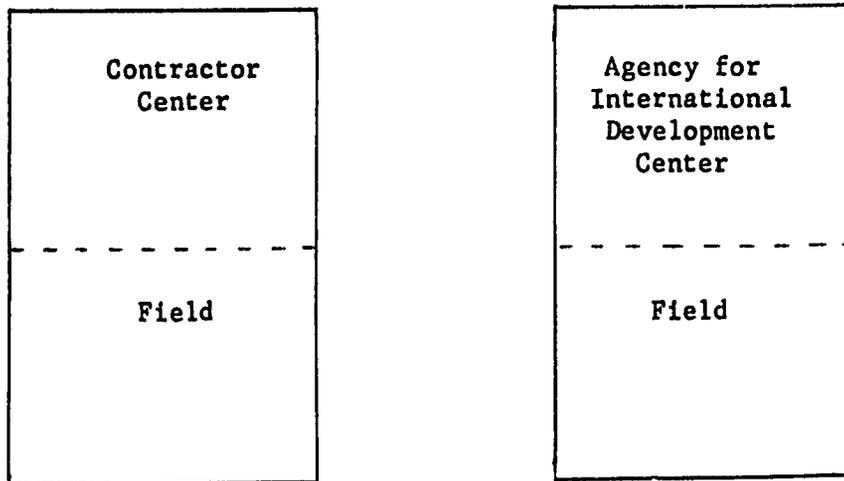
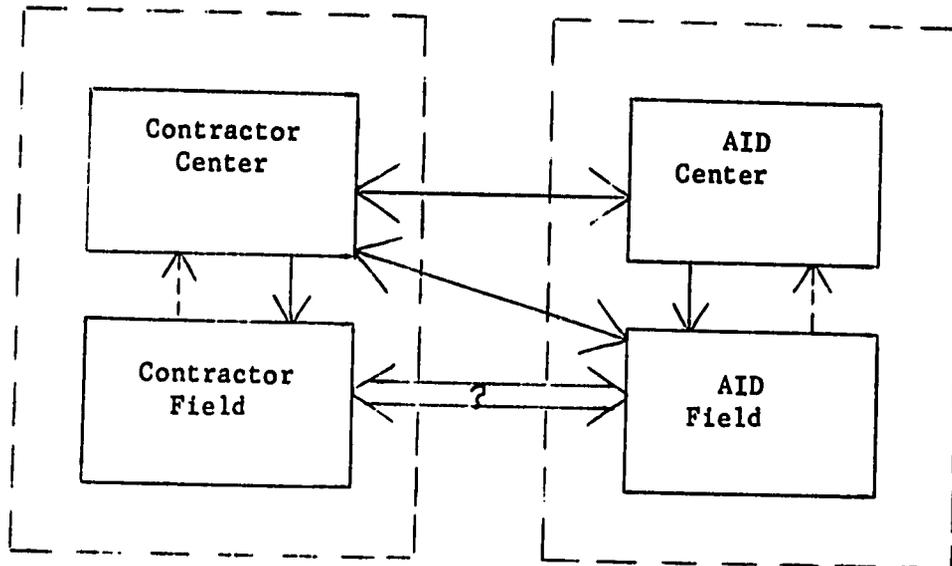
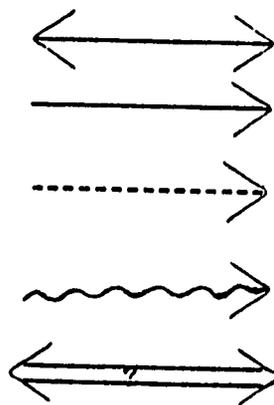


Figure 1. Relevant Entities Involved in Technical Assistance Complex (TAC)



Key



Client-contractor relationships

Dominant superior to subordinate relationships.

Partial superior to subordinate relationship

Collaborative relationships

Unspecified relationships

Figure 2. Gross relationships Existing Among Entities of TAC. The question mark between units indicates two questions. What is? What should it be for effective performance?

Figure 1 simply identifies the major entities that appear as one begins the analysis of TAC structure. In Figure 2, an attempt is made to specify a little further the observed, predictable, and expected gross internal relationships among the TAC entities.

Some of the relationships are fairly specific and certain. No matter what the degree of centralization or decentralization that exists, there is no doubt that the center-field relationships are superior to subordinate from the center to the Field. Even with powers delegated to the field, the powers are the center's to delegate. However, in certain situations the

It may result from sheer inability of the field to execute orders of the center. Clear as these relationships are, they are no more than gross relationships, and do not form an adequate basis for the individuals involved to understand their positions in relation to others.

Other relationships among the entities are much more difficult to identify, even in a gross manner. General relationships between AID and contractor are ostensibly client-contractor relationships. Yet, the "success" of the entire University is not dependent to any great extent on its performance for AID. Evidence suggests that a University may at times consider itself a collaborator with AID and may insist on considerable autonomy, almost independence, in contract administration. Evidence also indicates that AID may at times consider that the contract somehow places the University-or the part of the University involved with the contract-in a subordinate position almost as if it were a sub-unit of the AID organization.

Sometimes AID-University relationships make effective work difficult, and at times the relationships are highly productive. There is little evidence available that is useful in evaluating relationships in terms of optimizing productivity or effectiveness so that one can answer the question, "What should be the nature of the relationship?"

The nature of the relationship is further obscured by the fact that a high proportion of actual contracts between the two entities, AID and the University, are made by professional administrative personnel, including lawyers, accountants, and auditors, and thus relatively few contracts are made by personnel actually engaged in and responsible for program achievement.

The success of the University Field Team does depend on the service it renders to someone. It may consider AID its client, or it may consider the Host Institution its client. At times all kinds of relationships have existed, including competitive relations, between the two field groups. There is evidence that in practice there is no standardization of relationships in the field and little basis for a broad consensus on these relationships. One could hypothesize on the basis of much discussion, that three types of relationships should exist depending on the situation at hand. Collaborative relationships with respect to program, client-contractor relationships with regard to administrative procedures, and AID superior relationships when international politics are involved.

Until these relationships become somewhat more clear than at present, individual members of TAC do not have any adequate basis for understanding how they fit into the general picture and what their functions should be. This inadequate understanding tends in general to reduce their effectiveness.

The foregoing conceptualization treats relationships between and among the entities which are sub-units of TAC. It does not pertain to individual-to-individual or individual-to-unit relationships. Two of these are important. One is the relationship between the individual technician of the field party and the home campus. He retains some sort of a tie to the

through the field party. The degree to which he is related through each of these channels is neither stabilized nor standardized.

The other relevant relationship involving the individual is that of Team Leader to his own University. The Team Leader occupies an important post in his University's administration, but his status is quite unusual. His relationship to the administrative group, as compared to the relationship of other individuals in administration to the administrative group, is differentiated by five significant factors. Each of these factors can be relevant in how the Team Leader defines his role and thus determines his behavior. These factors are quite apart from his own personal qualities.

1. His administrative relations have no parallel among the myriad of conventional University administrative relations. In his sub-group he is dealing with a temporary aggregation of individuals, each of whom has a continuing permanent identity with another segment of the University and with another leader. Externally, he has to relate himself and his University to the foreign operations of the U. S. Government and to various institutions of a foreign government.

2. Because of difficulties of communication from Field to Center, the Center cannot be informed to the extent necessary to instruct the Field. This increases responsibility of the Team Leader, giving him in effect policy making functions normally beyond those of other positions of similar rank. This is one of the most dramatic manifestations of the partial superior-subordinate relationship described above.

3. Considerable evidence exists that the campus-based administrative group does not realize the extent of freedom or responsibility placed on the Team Leader. The implication of this is that there is not an adequate understanding between the Team Leader and his superiors and peers in administration of Team Leader role and responsibility. Some Team Leaders do define and perform adequate roles, in spite of this inadequacy in the structure.

4. The Team Leader participates very little in interaction within the administrative group and thus lacks the support of contact, counsel, and discussion with superiors and peers and the support of the highly developed services of the modern U. S. University.

5. The Team Leader occupies his administrative post in many cases only temporarily. Thus he breaks peer relationships with colleagues in order to establish superior-subordinate relationships with them, which in turn must be broken in order to re-establish peer group relationships.

Each member of the team faces many of these situations but to a lesser degree.

Another relationship is that between individuals of the Contractor field party and individuals of the Host Country. This will be treated

TAC are neither stabilized nor standardized. Thus typically the member of a field team has no clear understanding either of what to expect from others or of what others expect of him. Some members develop a useful set of expectations. Some don't. Since the two expectations are important determinants of behavior, this situation may be a significant obstacle to project achievement. These expectations normally develop out of experience and are based on custom and tradition. So far AID-University contracting has not produced a tradition that can provide adequate expectations. With the customary rapid turnover of field team members in both entities the development of a tradition will be difficult. It is doubtful that the contract as an instrument has the inherent capacity to provide these expectations. This indicates that some means needs to be devised to help TAC members of all levels and entities either to understand better what these relationships are or to decide what they are going to be.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF
INSTITUTION BUILDING

In most technical assistance projects, the main objective is to help the Host Country to bring about certain changes in certain of its organizations. These changes are listed in the program agreements between the U. S. Government and the Host Government, as well as in the contracts which the U. S. Government writes with the contracting U. S. University.

Projects in which organizational change is intended are known as institution building projects. Virtually every project involving U. S. Universities has an institution building component.

Definitions and Assumptions

The term "institution" has several meanings in the U. S., and a certain confusion exists as to what an institution is and as to what is meant by "institution building".

A conceptualization developed by the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building^{1/} seems to be useful for explaining the kinds of changes in Host Country organizations that technical assistance contract projects are seeking to bring about.

The group defines "institution" as a concrete organization, but one with certain specific attributes.

The organization must produce a marked influence on the behavior of individuals in a significant sector of the economy.^{2/} Service to farmers through applied research, for example, is a value or norm that traditionally the Land-Grant College has supported in the U. S. This is in contrast to the norm or standard of prestigious research which is often found in agricultural colleges in other countries. It makes a marked difference on the behavior, not only of college personnel but of all personnel of agencies serving agriculture, depending on which of these norms or standards are prevalent in an economy.

^{1/}This material is taken from "Institution Building in National Development-- An Approach to Social Change in Transitional Societies", by Milton J. Esman and Fred C. Bruhns, a mimeograph published by the Research Headquarters, Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 15213. Other names mentioned in connection with this conceptualization are Hans Blaise, Saul Katz and Jiri Nehnevajsa of the University of Pittsburgh, Ralph Smuckler and Eugene Jacobson of Michigan State University, William Siffin and Fred Riggs of Indiana University, and Irving Swerdlow and Julian Fried of Syracuse University. These four universities make up the Inter-University Group.

...sisters, and protects normative relationships and action patterns and performs functions and services valued by the environment."

The very fact that the two governments agree on an institutional building project explicitly indicates that a change of some kind is deemed to be needed. So the Pittsburgh Group adds a definition of "institutionalization". It is "the process by which normative relationships and action patterns are established". This is exactly what institution building consists of, and the only way to establish them is to develop organizations that can foster these new kinds of influences on human behavior and by some process incorporate them in the broader society. For operational purposes, an organization is essential, but in the broader sense the new kinds of behavior are the objectives, and the organization is the instrument.

Two kinds of phenomena, then, become important in institution building. One kind pertains to the development of the organization itself, the instrument. The other pertains to the processes by which the organization relates to, and thus influences and is useful to the society, which the Pittsburgh Group calls environment.

Esman and Bruhns call attention to some assumptions which are related to these concepts. They are:

- (a) Development, or more modestly, social change, and the necessary new values, functions, technologies, and action patterns, cannot be effectively introduced and sustained in developing countries except through an organization or network of organizations which supports the new processes, action patterns, and norms. In short, these innovative values, functions and technologies must be institutionalized.
- (b) This process takes place in and through institutional organizations which must either (1) be newly created or (2) adapted and reorganized for this purpose.
- (c) Institutional development need not be a 'natural' or evolutionary process which occurs independently of human design. In the present era, new technologies and new institutional forms are almost everywhere deliberately induced and directed. This sense of deliberate human purpose and human direction warrants the use of the phrase 'institution building' and suggests a key role for those involved in the development of the process.
- (d) Institution building is thus an approach to the development process which relies heavily on the concept of 'social engineering' and which stresses the leadership functions of modernizing elite groups, society's managers, within that process and the alternative action strategies available to them.
- (e) As development occurs, social functions or technologies become increasingly specialized. With specialization, interdependencies develop. This institution's incorporating innovations are thus involved in a network of both complementary and competitive relationships, and on these relationships institution building must focus.

- (f) Institution building is conceived of as a general and widespread social process. Certain elements and actions can be identified as generally relevant to institution building, but the form in which they appear will differ depending both on the type of institution and on the social environment.
- (g) It is possible, through systematic and comparative analysis of institution building experiences, to derive elements of a technology of institution building that will be useful to persons engaged in introducing innovation into developing societies, whether they be indigenous change agents or foreign advisers.

The Pittsburgh Group has developed two other sets of useful concepts. One set it calls the "test of institutionality". It helps to answer the question, "How does one know when an organization has been institutionalized?" The second set is made up of "analytical concepts" which are useful as guidelines both to project administrators who are participating intensely in the institutional process and to researchers.

Tests of Institutionality

Three tests of institutionality have been identified.

1. Does the organization have the ability to survive without making so many compromises that it has in effect produced no significant innovations?
2. Does the Society regard the organization as having intrinsic value? If so, the organization will be relatively free of domination by any one group including government, in so far as setting its rules and procedures are concerned and in acquiring resources. It is also strong enough to defend itself against attacks by other groups.

Example: Does the organization have its own governing body or does it have to answer closely to the legislature or other element of government? Has there been any loosening of controls of any nature--salary levels, curriculum, program, examinations? Is the institution's budget tightly controlled, line by line? Or does the budget come in few categories with considerable discretion to administrators? Is the organization strong in its competition with others, or is it timid and fearful and subject to violent changes from the outside? Can it expand and change its program by internal decision in order to adapt to the social and economic situation and especially to changes in the situation?

3. The third test is the extent to which the new organization's relationships and action patterns have become norms for other organizations.

Example: Are other agencies tending to imitate it in certain of its more relevant aspects? Are there areas in which others seek its counsel? Does it have influence on government policy?

Analytical Concepts

The Pittsburgh Group breaks the set of analytical concepts down into three sub-categories. Items in these categories make up a check list of processes and phenomena, useful to both administrators and researchers. As of now, there has been developed very little in the area of criteria for judging these items. These three sub-categories are (1) organizational variables, (2) linkage variables, and (3) transactions.

Organizational Variables

Five organizational variables are conceptualized as relevant.

1. Leadership consists of the persons who actually participate in or influence the formulation of policy and program of the organization and in its operation. This may include some persons not apparently a part of administration. This group of persons becomes the effective management entity of the institution or organization.
2. Doctrine of the organization or institution is made up of the values, standards, philosophies, and mentalities that prevail in it. Doctrine is reflected in policies, programs, and operations of the organization.
3. Program is constituted by the output of the organization. This is usually services, such as education or training, but it could be translated into numbers of students graduated, publications issued, new crop varieties developed and seed stock produced, or simply information on new technology. In some cases it would be an actual commodity, such as seed.
4. Resources include the inputs into the organization. Just as program is what the organization provides for Society (or the environment), resources are what the organization receives from the Society to be used in producing the outputs.
5. Internal organization is the final organizational variable identified. This refers to how individuals inside the organization relate to each other, who has freedom to make decisions and take action, how decisions are made, who gets rewarded and by what criteria, and other items of this sort.

Linkage Variables

The organization or institution must be tied into the Society or environment. It must be an integral part of a bigger mechanism, which includes other similar parts, i.e. other institutional organizations. In the Pittsburgh concept, linkages refer to other institutions through which the target institution or organization is tied into the total Society or Economy.

1. Enabling Linkages are those organizations through which the Society provides the institution with both the authority and the resources that enable it to function. This almost always includes a legislature, but it may be a state or federal legislature. It probably includes elements from the executive branch of government, perhaps several elements. Involved will be charters and regulations as well as appropriations, contracts, and grants.

2. Functional Linkages are those other institutions that directly make use of the target institution's output in serving the Society. These include institutions that hire graduates, that diffuse or use directly the new technology or products, that send personnel to be trained by or seek counsel from the target institution. It also includes other similar institutions with which cooperative programs are developed.

3. Normative Linkages are those institutions in the Society which act as guardians of the Society's values, standards and norms. This would include churches, political parties, and ideological groups.

4. Diffuse Linkages are the generalized interest groups - such as farmers, bankers, students - which are not organized in recognizable, concrete entities. This linkage may be considered as the Public, in the un-specific sense of the word "public" when used in "public relations".

Transactions

In the Pittsburgh conceptualization, Linkage refers to another institution that has a relevant relationship with the target institution. The Linkage concept does not refer to the actual interpersonal contacts and interactions that occur between and among individuals who represent the groups. These contacts and interactions are included in a sub-category of concepts labelled "Transactions".

Transactions are the actual contacts which representatives of the institution have with representatives of the Linkage institutions. In these contracts goods and services are exchanged or power and influence are exchanged. Transactions serve at least four functions:

1. They strengthen or create bases of support for the institution and its program.
2. They acquire resources for operation.
3. They seek to bring changes in other organizations which enhance the chances of the institution in achieving its objectives.
4. They seek to transfer values and norms of the institution to institutions.

Notes on Operationalization

In a very general manner, some of this conceptualization can be shown schematically as in Figure 3. The Host or Target Institution, together with relevant other institutions makes up the Host Country Complex, which is not a concept parallel to the Technical Assistance Complex. The TAC must for certain purposes function as a single unit. Only in very general and broad terms is it necessary for the HCC to function as a single unit. In fact, in this conceptualization the Host Institution must function as an autonomous entity to a far greater degree than is permissible or desirable for any one entity of TAC. Thus, the arrow indicating transactions in Figure 3 represents external relationships rather than internal relationships such as the arrows in Figure 1 and 2 represent.

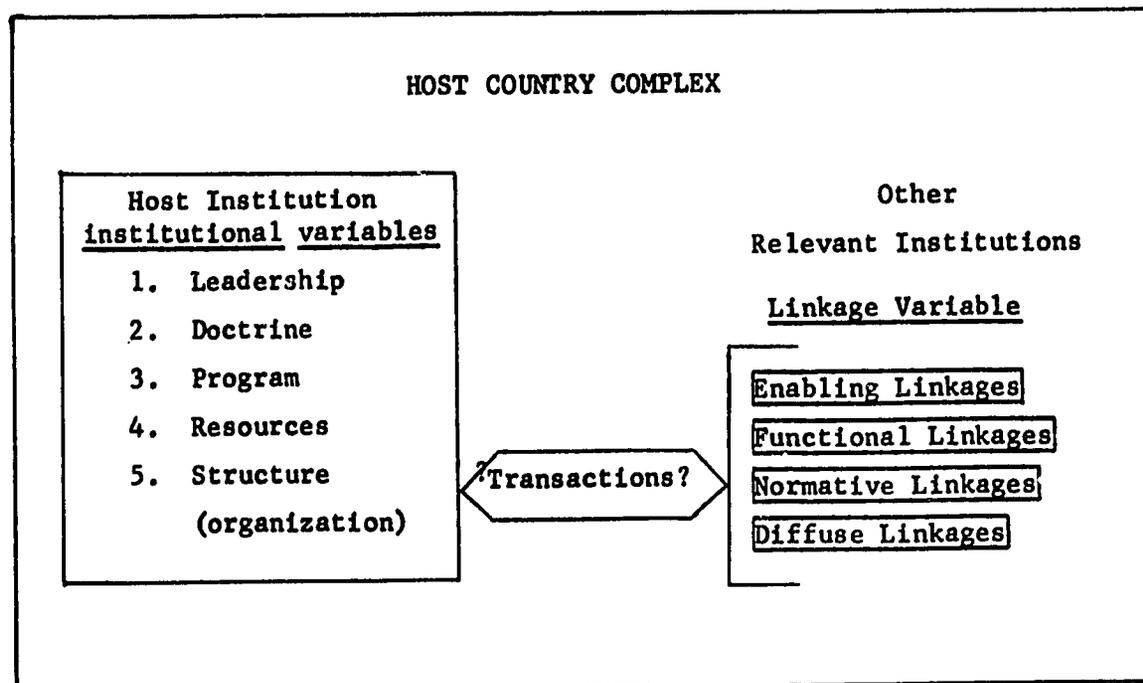


Figure 3: Schematic Representation of the Institutionalization Conceptualization.

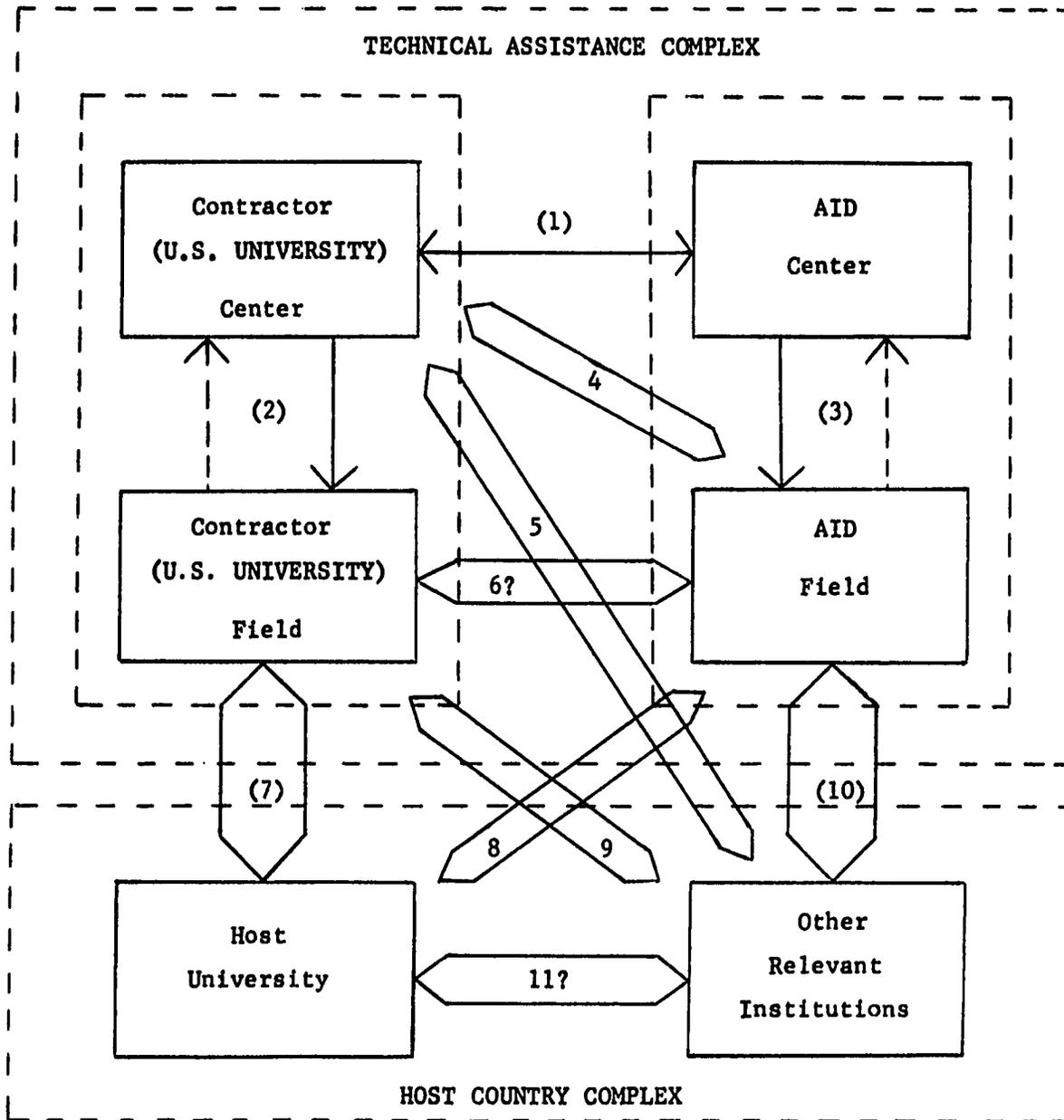


Figure 4: Schematic Representation of Relevant Relationships in Institution Building through the Technical Assistance Contract.

Figure 4 is an attempt to show how the TAC organization and the HCC organization are tied together. It is overly simplified. In many projects there are donors other than AID, such as a U. S. Foundation or an international agency. In some situations there is more than one host institution, and sometimes they are closely related functionally, but sometimes they are not. In other situations there are several contractors. Figure 4 does not suggest this complexity, and indeed little information has been compiled on this organizational-relationship phenomenon.

Still other complexities probably exist, but the empirical evidence is slight. A complex organization such as TAC, which is to a certain extent a voluntary coalition of autonomous entities and which needs to function as a single entity, probably demands a considerable self-discipline of its sub-units in order to maintain this unity. Some evidence exists that in certain situations this discipline is lacking. The result is that the units of TAC acting independently of total TAC are establishing lines of contract within TAC and with entities of HCC which are probably expedient in the short-run. Long-run consequences of these spurious contacts are not clear.

The institution-building task itself is perhaps subject to some pressures born of expediency. One of the greatest of these is the pressure from whatever source to show short term results, i.e., impacts on the environment. Such a comportment can actually divert resources from the task of building an institution.

In summary the two conceptualizations are presented as models of the organizational and administrative tasks facing technical assistance workers. They indicate the information relevant to the needs of contract management. They should also indicate the paucity of empirical data as yet not mobilized to help know both "what is" and "what should be".

The conceptualization up to this point has confined itself to organization relationships. There are still to be considered the individual to individual relationships involved in the bi-national collaboration. Contracting history provides a wide range of roles defined by contractor field team members. Some consider themselves as advisory only, with no responsibility to involve themselves in production. Others regard themselves as productive workers in the sense of "visiting professors". Still others consider themselves as full participants in the life of the Host Institutions, teaching, doing research, and performing other needed functions but in addition concerning themselves with the organizational and administrative problems of the Host Institution. Completing the continuum is the fourth group whose members actually occupy administrative positions in the Host Institution and are involved in line administration of Host Country personnel using Host Country resources.

It can be assumed that each type of role definition is best suited to some specific situation. The optimum match, however, has not been isolated. Logically one could expect the advisory role to be most suited to projects in which the institutionalization process was almost complete, with the administrative-operator role best suited to projects in which the institutionalization process was just beginning.

A word of caution must be inserted. Administrative terms do not adequately express the roles of field team members. In some cases "advisors" work and participate in the Host Institution and "visiting professors" are quite concerned with institutional development.

Even unit-to-unit relationships must be executed through individual-to-individual relationships, and this serves to introduce the third conceptualization which pertains to the work of the USU field team. This sub-entity of TAC working within the Host Institution constitutes the productive relationship of the entire process. The conceptualization of this part of the process follows.

A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE-INSTITUTION BUILDING PROCESS^{1/}

This is an attempt to conceptualize from various empirical manifestations the process by which a technical assistance project in institution building achieves its goal.

"Technical assistance" implies a group from completely outside the system and even outside the culture. Thus "technical assistance in institution building" involves foreigners working intimately with indigenous institutions with the express purpose of making substantial internal changes.

The Construct conceptualizes four levels at which the process takes place. These levels are clearly distinct conceptually. They are difficult to distinguish empirically.

The whole process of institutionalization aims at creating an environment in which the individual engaged in a technical activity, can increase his production of a service useful to the Society. Each succeeding level in the TA-IB process tends to insure the gains and accomplishments of the preceding level. In turn, any permanent progress results only as accomplishments at each level supports the succeeding levels.

The first of these levels is the individual, technical, and productive. Principal development here is an increase in the individual's technical competence and the personal development it implies.

The second of these levels is middle management (parallel to departmental level in U. S. organizations). Main change at this level is a re-orientation of activities of program which can be brought about by a certain re-alignment of resources available and perhaps some increase in resources but within the general existing organization.

The third level is top management of the institution. Changes here to be expected are organizational and operational changes necessary (a) to accommodate the change and increase in program activity growing out of developments at middle management, (b) to stimulate new activity, and (c) to increase resources.

The first three levels pertain largely, but not entirely to the institutional variables in the Inter-University conceptualization. The fourth level pertains largely to the linkage variables, most importantly to the enabling and functional linkages.

The fourth level involves Society's management entity or government. Main changes expected to occur here are (a) the government's attitude concerning the role and usefulness of the Host Institution and (b) the government's actions in allocating resources and authority. This level aims at conditioning the environment.

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An institution that requires technical assistance requires a change in thinking, i.e. the development of the "will" to do new things or old things in a new way. The will can be developed within each level. In each level there is usually some unexploited opportunity and resource to make some changes. But in general, lack of opportunity and resources impose severe restrictions. Providing opportunity and resources to one level requires a change in will at the next eschelon of the heirarchy. None of this implies that any one level remain passive with respect to the will of another level. Any level can have an influence on any other level.

TA-IB PROCESS

PHASE A: Individual-Technical Relationships

All stages listed in this phase are necessary. In most cases they are sequential, if not totally discrete. This phase is both the foundation for the process of institution building and the only justification of institution building. Output occurs at this point, and all other phases exist only to facilitate activity and performance at this level. Effective performance justifies increased resources, and in turn additional resources have the single objective of increasing output.

STAGE 1: Rejection-Acquiescence.

Technical assistance implies two things: (a) inadequacy of the individual, his organization, and even his country and (b) eminence of change. Both of these are threats, the first to a person's self-respect and security and the second to the security of organization or the present system of personal relationships. Either of these threats can evoke defense mechanisms.

With some individuals in the host organization this rejection is of such magnitude that the process cannot start. With others, the rejection is less, allowing an acquiescence in the program. The acquiescence could result from force, persuasion, the need to know, or something else, but it is not necessary to explain it for purposes of this Construct.

STAGE 2: Personal Acceptance.

Rejection is overcome by interpersonal compatibility and is manifest by development of bi-national pairs. This stage is apparent at the start of a contract. It is as real later in the contract, although less apparent. The fact that rejection is dormant or latent in later arrivals to the project, does not mean it does not exist. As a function of the normal progress of the project, the tolerance for personal incompatibility will increase. Other factors will compensate incompatibility to some extent, which is not specified in this construct.

Personal acceptance will begin with a single bi-national pair. In a group effort such as institution building projects, there has to be a proliferation of pairs. After a certain proportion of the TAC group is involved in bi-national pairs, the group can be said to have achieved the state of personal acceptance. This proportion, while not specified, may be a useful index of team progress.

STAGE 3: Technical Visibility

Rarely is reputation enough to give host technician confidence in the technical capacity of the TAC technician. The host technician perceives risk in too-rapid acceptance, part of which is objectively justified, and part of which results from the earlier mentioned threat. Technical visibility consists of a demonstration of the technical capacity of the TAC technician in the host institution environment, i.e. evidence he can make contributions which compensate the negative effects of his presence.

Visibility can be achieved by TAC team effort or a TAC individual effort. Demonstration can be visible to many persons or only to the other member or even potential member of a bi-national pair. The visibility effort may be intrinsically productive but its main purpose is to demonstrate TAC competence. It may be planned or just happen.

STAGE 4: Technical Acceptance

Frequently Technical Visibility and Technical Acceptance occur almost at the same time, but conceptually they are different. Visibility gives credit and prestige to the TAC person, tending toward an individious comparison, a master-pupil relationship, or both. Acceptance implies willingness to be identified with the other in a relationship that tends to cooperation between peers. Two attitudes--propensity to cooperate, and perception of the other as a peer--in both persons greatly facilitate progress.

Chronologically, stages 2, 3, and 4 will usually follow in this order, but visibility could precede personal acceptance. It must precede technical acceptance. Both technical acceptance and personal acceptance occur in varying intensities and increase in normal progress. High and dramatic visibility accelerates acceptance, i.e. carry both technical and personal acceptance to a higher intensity in a shorter period of time if host persons participate in it.

STAGE 5: Initiation of Joint Short-Run Activities

The next stage is to initiate some activity in which the two persons are involved as a pair with individual success or failure dependent on pair success or failure. 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, the stimulation will be greater. But successful accomplishment is the essential element, and its purpose is to initiate a change of attitude from lethargy and pessimism to self-confidence, initiative and optimism on the part of the host member of the pair.

There needs to be a proliferation of activities, including other activities by this pair and activities by other pairs. The TAC member of pairs will probably have to be most responsible for the initiation of these activities during this stage. While first activity of the pair is to develop interpersonal relations, subsequent activities emphasize usefulness and help develop a sense of responsibility to society.

STAGE 6: Consolidation of Gains

New activities tend to initiate changes in attitude and thus lead toward the necessary personal and individual commitment. But actions are not enough. Permanence of the change depends on the degree to which the new experiences and insights are assimilated and integrated into the host person's concept of his professional role. An indication that this assimilation has been achieved is a manifest need for self-expression. Until this time, the TAC member has been dominant in the initiating role. In this phase, initiative passes to the host country member. Main function of the TAC member is less to initiate new ideas and more to encourage and nurture ideas from the host country member of the pair. Continued initiation by the TAC member will not develop the necessary self-confidence in the host member. It will tend to make the host member dependent on the TAC member or even resentful of him. In this phase manifest activities of persuasion and demonstration will slow up. They will not stop. Individual HI personal development, which is not manifest, will be consolidated. TAC member of pair can turn to other useful activities, perhaps essentially technical or perhaps to the formulation of a new pair with another HI person.

STAGE 7: Formalizing Long-Run Activities

Activities up until now are ad hoc no matter how good they are. In this phase, which is intermediate between ad hoc and institutionalized, activities take on a certain formality, i.e. they become recognizable to others either in the institution or outside. They also acquire a certain persistence. Activities may be selected from Stage 5, new activities may be synthesized, or perhaps all activities of Stage 5 become formalized in this stage. Main criteria for formalizing and continuing in the long-run are usefulness and relevance to Society. The host member of the pair recognizes this importance and his institution's responsibility to the Public. These are results of former achievements and are incentives for further achievements. It's also in this stage that the pair begins to exhaust its potentials for accomplishment without support from a higher eschelon in the organization.

STAGE 8: Awareness of Personal and Technical Inadequacies

As self-confidence develops along with the realization that one can have a certain control over his destiny, so also does his ability to analyze himself realistically and objectively. An awareness of inadequacy perhaps always existed, but he can now evaluate it objectively as a problem to be systematically solved, rather than subjectively, as a threat to personal integrity and security against which defense must be mounted.

STAGE 9: Development of Institutional Perspective

By this time several things have happened to the host technician as an individual. 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. He can project these attitudes to colleagues and to the institution, for which he sees new potential. He has

also seen that as an individual, without certain assists which require changes in his institution, he will soon be stymied. Thus he tends to develop and identify with his institution which involves both his responsibility to it and his dependence upon it, and both of these he sees relating to the Public.

STAGE 10: Development of Career Plan

Final stage in this individual to individual phase is the development of a career plan and strategy. Host person has a well-developed idea of what he wants to accomplish, for personal reasons, to be sure, but also with some 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 execution of the plan, since it grows out of and is a continuation of all that he has been through. From this point, the bi-national pair continues on a collaborative basis even though personal growth continues indefinitely and the host member has less training than his TAC counterpart.

(NOTE: There is no implication here that the TAC person is tied to only one Host person in a rigorous counterpart arrangement. Such arrangements are specific administrative arrangements and have nothing to do with the essence of the TA-IB Process.)

(NOTE: It is an easy error to confuse step 10 of the Construct with the administrative activity of participant training. Participant training is one of the instruments for executing a career plan, but a person may become a participant by a number of other processes, some of which are empirically unrelated to this conceptualization.)

TA-IB Process

PHASE B: Middle Management-Program Relationships

Technical assistance in institution building must arrive at the point of changing programs. It can arrive here from any direction, or it can start here, and the approach will have considerable impact on the actions and interactions which become manifest. In the Construct, this phase evolves from the former phase and it includes the essence of actions, interactions, and relationships no matter what their manifestations.

Phase B involves groups and thus inter-group relationships. However, contacts are made by individuals and thus inter-personal relationships lose none of their importance. Bi-national pairing continues, but members of the pairs do not act as individuals only; they act also as representatives of groups rather than as individuals. In Phase D there is an amalgamation of the host group and TAC group so that they work as one group in dealing with HI environment.

STAGE 1: Rejection Acquiescence

Interference in program tends to evoke the same defense mechanism as described in Stage 1 of Phase A. Rejection will be mitigated somewhat in this phase because of (a) success in negotiating Phase A and (b) previous

pair collaboration. In some cases Phase A pairing will involve a host person who functions at middle management level as well as at the technical level. In any case bi-national pair not a TAC individual, takes initiative in provoking change. In the Construct, interference in program or initiation of activity at the middle management level becomes necessary to develop the potential of the individual collaboration. (See Stage 7, Phase A.)

STAGE 2: Personal Acceptance

Personal acceptance here is a continuation of this stage in Phase A. It must be broader in scope, i.e., involve more HI personnel, and more intense, i.e., involve a higher degree of support, because (a) both the pair and the TAC member are more visible than at the technical level, (b) the collaboration has deeper consequences since it involves administration, and (c) the TAC member has to be accepted by a group such as a department, not simply by one person. The TAC member cannot be regarded only as an acceptable person and technician; he must warrant confidence and be able to receive and deal with sensitive information safely.

STAGE 3: Program Leadership Visibility

Visibility is more difficult to achieve in program than in technical activity because a program change takes longer to prove its value than a simple technique. Conceptually the bi-national pair of Phase A in the stage of formalizing the joint activity will have to come to the attention of middle management in a formal manner. This will be in the form of a request, a suggestion for change, or both, to the responsible person in middle management. Empirically, leadership may recognize and even encourage some development techniques and activities before they are fully appreciated at technical level. Technical visibility in program will be the logic of the request or the suggestions. Middle management will test suggestions and request in terms of objective impact and also impact on his prestige and security. The psychological at this point is as important as the logical.

STAGE 4: Provisional Program Leadership Acceptance

Because of the time it takes for an adequate demonstration of competence in the area of program, there develops a provisional acceptance which is adequate for the host member of the pair to assume a small risk in innovation. This occurs the moment middle management decides to take some action. It may be only to approach top management for a request, but it usually implies a change in policy or philosophy. Complete program acceptance will occur when the innovation has proven viable, which admits of something less than complete success. Competence is not automatically transferable from technical area to program area, but technical competence is helpful and may be a prerequisite. Nor is a reputation earned in other situations automatically transferable, although it helps.

Success in changing a single aspect of the department, perhaps to formalize an individual activity is roughly parallel to the joint activity of Phase A.

NOTES ON STAGES 1-4: In an ideal situation the same technician who won acceptance at the technical level is operating at the program leadership level, and acceptance is cumulative. In a contract program, acceptance won at the technical level is to a large extent transferable to a successor who may soon work at the program leadership level. This does not introduce a contradiction. The successor still has to win acceptance through the same process in the long run. In the short run, he will have a grace period during which the host member of the pair, at either level, will react to him "as if he had won the acceptance", i.e., he will have provisional acceptance. If he does not win acceptance on his own, he will lose this advantage and be accepted to the level at which he does demonstrate competence. After the host member of a pair has attained certain self-confidence and self-direction, Stages 6 to 8 in Phase A, tolerance of inadequacies in the TAC member of the pair increases. This is to say, the TAC member will be accepted for what he can contribute, whereas the same inadequacies in his predecessor would have precluded acceptance. When acceptance can be provisionally transferred to a successor by a substantial proportion of the bi-national pairings and when relationships are being established in program leadership, there is an acceptance of the TAC team by the host organization. This level of acceptance is conceptually quite distinct from individual acceptance even if the latter occurs in a high proportion of the bi-national pairings.

This provisional team acceptance will occur when a high number of bi-national pairs are in Stages 6 to 8 Phase A and some are through Stage 4 of Phase B.

STAGE 5: Departmental Development Dialogue*

After the initial activity and a fairly definite bi-national pairing at this level one of the pair members will initiate a sort of undirected discussion with respect to the entire department, its future, its role, its needs, its growth etc. Personal acceptance must increase in this stage because the host member will be discussing his personnel with the TAC member. This acceptance is not transferable. Serious discussion of this nature indicates a major breakthrough** and effective rapport is established. This stage also involves the solutions of small discrete departmental problems.

STAGE 6: Initiation and Program Planning

The non-directed, informal dialogue of Stage 5 must become directed and aimed at specific decisions which will organize the department's human resources. An increase in departmental activity resulting from

*The word "department" is used here to denote middle management. It is recognized that department has little meaning in some cases and has different meanings in others.

**"Serious" in this sense excludes discussion of colleagues resulting from envy, insecurity, or dislike or for the purpose of gaining competitive advantage. "Serious" indicates that the host national is worrying considerably less about "Boundary Maintenance" or keeping the outsiders out.

prior work and discussion will begin to make use of the unused human resources, and need for additional personnel and its more efficient organization will become apparent. Such plans and thinking will be in accordance with the department head's personality, aspirations, etc., including the changes in these characteristics that have occurred. Some department heads will simply not move, but some will. A project moves here by maintaining pressure in all areas and moving ahead when and where it is possible.

STAGE 7: Acceptance in Program Leadership

At some point in the evolution, the department head accepts the TAC member as competent in dealing with program. Such acceptance does not imply implementing all TAC person's ideas. This is distinct from the provisional acceptance, which implies that the department head will talk and will explore alternative decisions. Manifestations of this stage are not clear. Relationship changes are subtle. Sometimes only in retrospect can it be determined that changes in departmental administration resulted from the collaboration. Perhaps some TAC members can sense it. Because of the problem of identifying this stage, evaluation of project progress is difficult and it is easy to lose an opportunity to exploit this acceptance. Many projects are delayed by the failure to recognize the opportunity. In some cases the department head will move into the next two stages without TAC recognizing it.

STAGE 8: Awareness of HC Needs and Program Requirements

Planning now begins in earnest. The department head is able to see the role his department can play in HC development. Partly this will result from his sense of responsibility to the country, and partly it will come from increases in prestige and satisfaction he has experienced from new activities undertaken by the pair. This stage is characterized by definition of departmental role and the translation of this role into specific activities.

STAGE 9: Development of Departmental Plan

This phase will be ended by the development of a plan for the department which puts resource requirements opposite the program as emerged from Stage 8 and establishes some type of priorities on programs and resource needs. It will also include some kind of time table for accomplishments. This stage of development of middle management is necessary for the full development of the individual's career plan which in turn will need some modification to fit in with the department. In turn it depends on developments at top management.

NOTE: A high level of activity within some departments does not indicate attainment of any particular stage. This may result from opportunism on the part of either the individual or the department and may consist of simple ad hoc activities that have only general or coincidental relation to any long-run cumulative program. On the other hand a cautious department manifesting little activity may be making progress in terms of institution building criteria.

TA-IB PROCESS

PHASE C: Top Management-Organization Relationships

The sequence of relationship attainments which occur at the individual and middle management levels also occur at the top management level. Others also occur, and they are not necessarily interdependent timewise.

STAGE 1: Team Acceptance

Acceptance of the TAC team is dependent on an acceptable level of competence and performance of a high proportion of the team individuals, plus an acceptance of the team at both the technical and middle management levels. Respect for and acceptance of the team is a necessary precondition for permanent accomplishment at top management level. Team acceptance does not imply acceptance of every individual. In fact with team acceptance the tolerance for a lack of performance of a small proportion of the team is increased. See note on Stages 1-4, Phase B.

STAGE 2: Personal and Technical Acceptance of Team Leader

A team leader as an individual must pass through the same stages as an individual, even though these stages will not be manifest because of the team's performance. In addition he has to accomplish a higher level of acceptance, and this will be a function of both the team's performance and his own capabilities. Although his efforts have to be adequately supported by team's continued performance, and individuals can help out in specific tasks, responsibility for moving the project in this phase is almost completely that of the team leader, and achievement is impossible without a high level of performance on his part. The prestige of the position, a function of team respect, will give an initial impetus, but he wins acceptance beyond that, and his acceptance actually increases the team's effectiveness. To an extent he carries the team.

STAGE 3: Contact and Rapport with Host Institution Leaders

This stage will be marked by close contact with the top man of the host institution and others in the power structure. This contact will be formal and informal. It will be continuous. TAC has to know what is going on. This requires more than a single contact. Distinct from simple contact is rapport. This stage is also marked by the team and team leader identifying with the host institution and the latter's conviction that its problems are team leader's problems and thus the team's problems. The Host Institution will regard USU team as closely distinct from TAC entities and will increasingly consider USU team as a component of the Host Institution. The relevant bi-national pairing here will involve the team leader and one or more leaders of the institution.

STAGE 4: Initiation of Institutional Development Dialogue

Initiation can be from either member of the pair. This dialogue will begin to structure many random discussions held previously, as technicians and middle management execute their stages. This dialogue will develop

concern for longer range plans, discussion of problems and opportunities, approaches to problems, consequences of certain approaches, views of Host Country needs and how Host Institution can fit in to them, HI capacity to meet its responsibility, deployment of present resources, and the needs for new resources. This stage will consolidate and exploit preliminary successes of earlier stages.

STAGE 5: Perception of HC Needs and Definition of HI Role

In this stage the dialogue becomes translated into some concrete ideas acceptable to HI as to its role in the national economy. These ideas emerge as a function of the country's needs and situation, the Host Institutions special competencies, and the experiences and developments of earlier phases. This stage is marked by the concept of HI producing something the economy needs, and the economy in turn supporting the institution. There is a consensus developing in HI, growing out of departments, but the top management articulates it and gives the departments leadership and stimulation. Entire TAC team contributes to this development and has arrived at a realistic appraisal of the potential of the HI. Morale is generally high as TAC and HI form stronger ingroup ties in regarding their external relations. Contributions of USU team must become more sophisticated by this time.

STAGE 6: Development of Strategy by HI for Accomplishing its Function

Strategy development involves understanding forces and agencies competing with HI as well as those collaborating with it. There is a recognition of the need for positive action, rather than a passive attitude. Contacts are made with HG and other relevant institutions and efforts are initiated to understand how HG analyzes country needs and HI role. Evolving strategy may not be articulated at this stage, but there is a marked change in behavior of HI personnel and something of a common orientation for this behavior. It is generally accepted both as being true by the HI and as a specific challenge that governmental action is necessary for successful completion of the stage.

In most cases the present organization will not be adequate for the expanded role and function of HI. In these cases a re-organization is a necessary part of strategy. In this stage there will be consensus on the need for re-organization and on what it should be in general. There will not be agreement on details until a later stage when HG authorizes re-organization.

STAGE 7: Execution of STRATEGY

Rational positive action in relating to Host Country is almost always a new element in Host Institution thinking. This stage requires considerable leadership from TAC, and it involves risks of TAC receiving credit rather than HI but in general USU and HI personnel are to a considerable degree regarded as representatives of a single entity. Although emphasis is shifting to country needs, attention is still given to the internal functioning of HI so that activities are maintained and the HI is performing functions deemed important by HG. Execution of HI strategy in effect

involves the entire Phase D. Inherent in this stage is the HI attitude that HI can be and must be the prime mover in creating favorable relations with government.

TA-IB CONSTRUCT
PHASE D: Government Relationships

Just as action at each higher level within the HI is necessary to secure gains at subordinate levels, so gains of the HI must be secured by action at the greater society level. And government is the management entity of the greater society. In this phase TAC and HI function as a single group, with the TAC identifying almost completely with HI and with HI almost completely accepting the TAC group in their external relationships.

TAC team leader and members must come in contact with relevant institutions of Host Country, in order for the HI to develop fully. This contact is specific. TAC personnel are specifically in the role of collaborators of HI and are specifically not in the role of representatives of the U. S. government. Confusion over these two roles will often delay progress at this point. Proper role of TAC in Host Government relations is a function of the TAC team's identification with HI.

STAGE 1: Evaluation of Previous HI-HG Relationships

Team leader recognizes that typical U. S. relationships between government and public agencies do not prevail in HG, and therefore U. S. development formulas are of limited usefulness. On the other hand, HI leadership has been tradition bound in relations with HG, and changes that are too rapid cause problems. This results in a rational evaluation of the present and historic situation prevailing and not a generalized solution. Such an evaluation indicates problem areas and opportunity areas.

STAGE 2: Establish Multi-Level Contact with HG

This stage could begin as early as Stage 5 of Phase A. But it becomes essential at this point for normal progress. This is for the HI what much of Stage 3 of Phase A is for technicians. It is a process of the HI becoming visible to HG and demonstrating a competence in an area that HG considers relevant. Top management contact and relationships have no chance for continuing success unless undergirded with functioning relationships at the production level. These must be in sufficient number to make an impact on HG.

STAGE 3: HG Realization of HI Usefulness

Effective and productive relationships at working levels between HI and other agencies important to HG, while essential, do not automatically develop HG confidence in HI. Specific contacts are made here which use the demonstrations to condition HG to regard HI in a different perspective with respect to its role in both formulation and execution of agricultural policy. In many cases, contacts with farmers are developed which serve as generators of public support potential.

STAGE 4: HI and HG Consensus Regarding HI Role and Responsibility

After demonstrations of usefulness and contacts calling this usefulness to the attention of HG, there develops a consensus between HI and HG regarding their relationships. This will not be written, nor articulated, but each has a viewpoint and concept of the other's viewpoint and these two viewpoints are compatible. However, relationships are not simply between the two entities. Other agencies are involved and the risk of jurisdictional disputes is increased.

STAGE 5: Maintain Contact and Rapport

HI officials establish and maintain a rapport with HG. Team Leader or even other TAC members can be involved, provided they have sufficiently identified with the HI and are regarded by HG as a significant part of HI. As officials in government change, all has to be re-established, thus indicating the importance of the multi-level productive contacts and adequate relationships with other entities. This rapport not only enables HI to know and influence what is happening but also what is likely to happen, what HG wants to happen, and what HI can reasonably expect from government. HI has the task here of identifying with HG, not the party in power, giving HG the impression that HI recognizes its major function is to be useful to society as represented and managed by government.

STAGE 6: Publicity Support for HI and HG

This stage is marked by the realization of the political nature of a publicly supported institution and the need to develop specific activities that will translate HI service and usefulness into appropriations and increased authority.

STAGE 7: Planning and Execution of Specific Strategy

This stage is marked by HI and HG consensus on a fairly broad front concerning (a) what HI can do in the HG agrarian program and (b) what authority and resources HG can provide to HI. This will require some painful decisions, because HG has severely limited resources. HI re-organization, if needed, awarding it more autonomy and a more efficient and flexible organization is one indication of achievement at this stage. HG by nature has a set of criteria for evaluating alternatives different from that of HI. HI (and TAC) responsibility here is to educate itself (HI) as well as HG on cost, consequences, timing, etc. This stage is never finished. Both conditions and personnel will change. When this stage of the process can continue through changes in government, even with considerable problems for HI, one of the necessary conditions of institutionalization has been achieved.