THE TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY OF LATIN AMERICA: ITS INFLUENCE ON ADMINISTRATION

by

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PREFACE

The growth of public administration as a science requires that it be studied and investigated in as many fields and by as many approaches as validly possible. This paper utilizes an interdisciplinary approach to understand the challenges and opportunities confronting the public administration system in Latin America. The application of sociological, economic, and political concepts to the milieu in which the public administrative system operates in Latin America contributes to the understanding and explanation of Latin governments' functioning.

The large concepts and supportive information of many scholars' books were used in this paper, rather than the generally more specific and narrow concepts discussed in journal articles. It is hoped that the framework and application of theories relating to public administration in transitional societies as developed in this thesis will add to the science of public administration and will stimulate other scholars to pursue related concepts.

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ABSTRACT

The geopolitcal area of Latin America is in the process of change from a traditional agrarian past to a modern industrial future. The ramifications of this transition have significant effect on the administrative system of Latin America, which at once is offered both challenges and opportunities for development.

The administrative system in Latin America today is not sufficiently responsive to the needs of its citizenry. With increased responsiveness, the governments would probably encourage the pace of development because of their increased durability. The transition from a rural agrarian traditional society has resulted in a significant migration to the industrializing urban areas.

The new urban residents are usually unable to participate in the industrializing process, as the pace of development is slow and their high expectations are unfulfilled. These new urban hoardes exist as a marginal population, then, on the periphery of the participating small urban middle class. The administrative structure, which is generally based on the foundations of the traditional society, does not respond to the needs of the expanding marginal populations, and the result is stress within the socio-political framework.

Through an understanding of the stresses within the society and the effects of a transitional society on the administration, the need for increased administrative responsiveness is reiterated.

HYPOTHESIS

In order for governments in Latin America to be more durable than they historically have been, they must become more responsive to the needs of their citizens.

The citizens of Latin America today are involved in a society which is undergoing significant change and experiencing tremendous stress. The transition from a traditional agrarian society to a modern industrial society is the underlying cause for these changes and stresses; the rural-to-urban migration of the population which accompanies the transition from agrarianism to industrialism is an extraordinary occurrence which has great impact on the public administration system in Latin America.

For the purposes of this paper, public administration shall refer to that system utilized by governments to carry out the processes of governing. The political process of government in Latin America has its center of authority in the presidency. This is at once both a unique challenge and an opportunity for the governments of Latin America to be more responsive to their citizenry and to become aware of changes and stresses occurring within their jurisdiction and to respond positively. When public administration in Latin America evidences understanding of the milieu in which it functions, it should become more viable in meeting the continuous challenges of development and, moreover, become more durable because of its responsiveness.

INTRODUCTION

Latin America is undergoing a process of transition from a traditional rural agrarian society to a modern urban industrial society. The political system and its administrative processes are facing a great challenge to meet the changing demands of this transitional process. The people of Latin America are aspiring for higher standards of living and are expecting their government to provide the basic means by which social, political, and economic development can flourish (Urquidi 1964). The governments' responsiveness in meeting these growing demands focuses increased attention on the environment in which the political and administrative processes are functioning; it is hypothesized that, by meeting the demands of the citizens within the environmental context in which the political and administrative systems function, the governments of Latin America will enjoy a greatly increased amount of durability.

A panorama of the public administrative systems will be presented, describing trends in the political and administrative processes of Latin America and positing the major areas of weakness. The traditional setting of the political system will be explored, and the background against which the modernizing political system is developing will be described. The advent of industrialism and the transitional society will then be discussed; the impact of industrialism on the significant rural-to-urban migration of the population and the economic transition of the economy from agrarianism will illustrate the challenges

and stresses placed on the traditional political and administrative structures.

The socio-political changes and their ramifications for development of the administrative system in meeting the challenges of an urbanizing industrializing citizenry will then be discussed, with particular reference to Alexander Leighton's principles of government and their relevance to the demands of the people they govern. In conclusion, this paper will analyze the transitional society of Latin America through a systems approach and the prismatic society model of Fred Riggs.

Throughout this paper the emphasis will be on the milieu in which the public administration system functions. In many instances, papers discussing the challenges to the political and administrative development and the responsiveness of the political system to citizen demands have focused either on competing ideologies of the elite groups or on the power struggle between the military-landowners-Roman Catholic Church. These orientations will be included in this discussion of the transitional environment of the public administration system in Latin America, but they will not be the focal points of analysis.

The great importance of the presidency in Latin America offers an environmentally valid avenue for responding to citizen needs. The uniqueness of the central position in political and administrative structures which the executive plays is to a large degree explained by the Iberian heritage of Latin America. A contrast between the similarities and differences of Latin America and the United States will be offered to illustrate the importance of this heritage and its legacy of

influence on the environment for the transitional society in Latin America.

An academically universal science like Public Administration must have concepts which can explain socio-political phenomena in societies. An environmental perspective, as used in this paper, can contribute to an understanding of the functioning of a political and administrative system. The observation of phenomena from this perspective will provide support for certain developmental administration theories and, most importantly, challenge scholars to develop or pursue new concepts and theories.

SOME COMPARISONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Comparison and contrast of Latin America and the United States, especially with respect to the former's Iberian heritage, are offered for perspective of the milieu in which the administrative systems function in Latin America and their interrelation with the socio-political environment.

Similarities

Latin America and the United States share many points of history and tradition. The most salient tradition, perhaps, is the concept of being part of the "New World"--the feeling of unity which springs from this concept is formalized in such multifunctional organizations as the Pan American Union and the former Alliance for Progress.

Both Latin America and the United States were colonized by Christian western European nations; both have been politically independent for over a century and a half. American and many Latin American scholars share an ideology of liberalism and democracy. Both Latin America and the United States have had a mercantilistic past, and both, more or less, are capitalistic.

Differences

The basic socio-political dissimilarities between the United States and Latin America can be traced to the original settlers in their respective regions. North American settlers came mostly from the middle classes of England; they came with the purpose of seeking religious and

political freedom and individual economic opportunities: they came to create homes and a way of life. Their middle-class English background became transplanted to North America, and their Protestant orientations dominated the religious realm of society.

Latin America, quite the contrary, was settled by adventurers from feudalistic Spain and Portugal during a time known as "The Conquest." These adventurers sought the riches of the New World, rather than new homes and permanent settlements. These Iberian settlers transplanted a stratified Catholic society, wherein lies the basis of power in the executive of Latin America today. The executives of the Vice Royalties of Spain were the personal representatives of the King of Spain; after the severance of colonial ties, representatives of the Crown became all-powerful *caudillo* leaders of the oligarchic society existing in their region of South America (Alderfer 1967, Kantor 1969, Whyte 1969).

The United States emerged from her War of Independence as a fairly united country. Latin America, after her wars of independence, emerged as a group of noncohesive countries with little more in common than a feudalistic society led by powerful individuals and an economy based on agriculture and ever-decreasing mineral wealth.

Other major differences include the importance in Latin America of the military, which is oftentimes more concerned with nonmilitary objectives and more concerned with internal matters, and the importance of the established Roman Catholic Church which for centuries was part of an "Unholy Alliance" comprising the Church, the military, and the wealthy landowners.

The Spanish and Portuguese heritage of Latin America is quite important today and influences the environment in which the political and administrative systems function. The Latins are humanistic, aristocratically-oriented, as contrasted with the ascetic and egalitarian characteristics in the United States. Within the context of its Iberian heritage, and despite the many differences between itself and North America, Latin America is moving toward responsive economic and political development. The cry for social justice which was once uttered only by the educated elite is now heard from the urban masses, where they have become part of the industrializing society. Gradually, the differences inherent between an agrarian Latin America and an industrial United States are being changed and the development of a responsive administrative system is evolving (Martz 1965, Edelmann 1969).

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LATIN AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Each of the Latin American republics has a unique history and unique economic, social, and political processes. However, there are many similarities in the political processes of the Latin republics; enough similarities do exist (Pan American Union 1955, 1965) for a brief discussion here of the broad aspect of the administrative systems.

Administration in Latin America generally follows the political authority model of Max Weber, which he described as a traditional political system (Almond and Powell 1966). The traditional authority structure of Latin America was based on that transplanted by the Iberian settlers, who transferred their administrative forms from feudalistic Spain and Portugal. From the time of the Conquest until the end of the last century, the traditional authority structure had generally met the demands placed on it; it had changed in structure from feudalistic to patriarchal to patrimonial. However, the patrimonial structure has been increasingly challenged by the demands of a modernizing population in recent years.

The social structure of Latin America not only influences and in turn is itself influenced by the economic development of that region, but also the political system is closely linked to the social structure (Urquidi 1964). The traditional political system existed in a milieu which was agrarian-rural with an economy and an oligarchic society dominated by landowners, the Church, and a few military leaders. The

evolution of industrialism in Latin America has changed the environment in which the political system and its administration exist. It is now necessary for the political and administrative systems to reflect the changes in the authority structure which are being wrought by the changing political and economic environment. "Constructing a political system that functions well," wrote Harry Kantor (1969, p. 719), "is one of the most difficult challenges facing any group of human beings. Constructing one that is stable and also responsive to the wishes of the people involved is even more difficult...."

The broad aspects that are common to the Latin American countries in public administration include the presidency, the ministries, the economic and planning functions, and the personnel administration system.

In all the republics the institution of the presidency has the greatest significance. The ministries, comparable to the American national government's Departments, share common problems. The lack of economic planning and insufficient budgeting programs are endemic problems in all republics. The bureaucracy, which has been called the "essence of administration" (Pan American Union 1955, p. 37), is a serious problem area for all the countries.

The Presidency

The office of the president occupies the central position in all the governments. The power of the chief executive extends beyond policy making into the administrative and legislative fields of the nation. Historically, the president has been the center of government, in the

feudalistic stage of development, the patriarchal stage, and carrying into the patrimonial system where the extended kinship and friendship ties play an important role.

Rosendo Gomez (Martz 1965) traces the role of four types of executives in Latin America. The constitutional president, the demagogic *caudillo*, the military guardian, and the paternalistic *caudillo* are Gomez' major executive types.

The constitutional president is the most infrequently encountered of the types described. The conditions necessary for his ascending into power include the candidate's constitutional acceptability and his election by common suffrage. The constitutional president must conform to constitutional limits; that is, he must not alter the constitution to ensure his continuance in office and must restrict his personalism to the limits of the constitution.

The demagogic *caudillo* has a close relationship with the constitution, as he usually alters it to ensure his position; after he is elected, he considers himself above the constitution; he depends on mass support for his programs and plays on excessive nationalism. Juan Peron, ex-dictator of the Argentine, is a solid example of the demagogic *caudillo* who depended on the industrial masses for his grandiose nondemocratic regime; Fidel Castro with his megalomania (Kantor 1969) is another candidate for this classification.

The military guardian is a form of executive leadership which is emerging with greater frequency in Latin America today. Ignazio Silone in his *School for Dictators* wrote that the military sees itself as "the only barrier against the so-called 'anarchy' of the popular masses and

the corruption of the politicians" (Martz 1965, p. 53). A growing economy and an unpoliticized mass is necessary for the military to assume guardianship; a large middle class seeking political and social change would thwart the military's ambitions. A military guardian leader of Peru, General Manuel Odría, wrote that "party politics poisons the hearts of the people and sickens their minds" (Martz 1965, p. 53). With increasing industrialization and education, the military guardian type should wither.

The paternalistic *caudillo* is most typical of the preindustrial administrative systems in Latin America. The paternalistic leader perceives himself as the "father" of his country, quite literally. The citizens are his children and he rules the nation as he would rule a family. There have been enlightened paternalistic *caudillos* as well as despotic ones. In either case, a very low level of industrialism is found in the economy, and very little of the citizenry participate in the political system (Martz 1965).

Variations and combinations of the executive leadership types described above exist or have existed in all the Latin republics. The main theme is consistent, however, that in the presidency lies the center of national power. And in that center exist the opportunities for improvement and development of the administrative system. By growing beyond the preindustrial authority structure and including the interest articulations of other groups, the office of the president has the opportunity to lead the development of the political and administrative systems.

The Ministries

The ministries of the various Latin American governments have been characterized as the "front lines of administrative action" (Pan American Union 1955, p. 25). Historically, the ministries have been highly centralized organizations designed to meet the politics of the executive and the limited socio-political system which the president represented. Technological advances, an increasing notice of events which were once deemed unimportant, and demands for services by a changed client group made the former ministerial structure unsatisfactory. Thus, new ministries were created. The failure of existing ministries to delegate or structurally differentiate their roles in the administrative machinery (Almond and Powell 1966) caused by-passing of the existing ministries with the new demands: "a flight from ministry inadequacy" (Pan American Union 1955, p. 26).

Thus, the administrative structure now stumbles along with a centralized-decentralized ministry problem, the highly centralized limited-response ministries, and the autonomous decentralized agencies (Pan American Union 1955). This decentralized structure often operates at greater efficiency than the original ministries (Urquidi 1964, Wright 1970) and encompasses such areas as governmental enterprises, development corporations, credit banks, social welfare agencies, and cultural institutions (Wright 1970).

The problems in this excessive splitting and lack of responsiveness are the proliferation of ministries with less direction of national political programs, less effective-consistent administrative control, and limited feedback (Urquidi 1964, Pan American Union 1955, 1965).

Table 1 illustrates this point with respect to the Argentine as the example. Duplications and superimpositions of authority make the administration of responsive government programs difficult if not impossible.

The Fiscal and Planning Functions

Economic development of Latin American countries is a prime concern of all administrators and government officials in Latin America today (Pan American Union 1955, 1965). The financing of government programs faces great problems because of outmoded taxing structures. Table 2 illustrates the lack of dependence on personal and corporate taxes for the support of government revenues. Planning for future programs has been almost completely missing from the Latin American administrative scene (Whyte 1969). Technical assistance from the United States and the development of national and area schools of public administration, like the Vargas Foundation of Brazil and the Advanced School of Public Administration in Central America and the Paraguayan School of Public Administration and In-Service Training Center, illustrate trends toward development of administrators for better planning and budgeting.

Victor L. Urquidi, a noted Mexican economist, posits three ideas that are necessary for economic development to continue in Latin America:

1. economic development can be accelerated only through governmental intervention;
2. unless governmental institutions and instruments are modified, or, if necessary, discarded or replaced, they will not effectively accelerate growth and the goals of development will remain simple declarations of intentions;
3. the adoption of new institutional and political forms will have different economic and social consequences, depending on whether these forms are adopted by democratic means and represent the popular will (Urquidi 1964, p. 87).

Table 1. Historical Evolution of Argentine Ministries.

1853-1898	1898-1943	1948-1954	1958-1965
1. Interior	1. Interior	1. Interior	1. Interior
		2. Political Affairs	
2. Foreign Relations	2. Foreign Relations and Culture	3. Foreign Relations and Culture	2. Foreign Relations and Culture
3. Treasury	3. Treasury	4. Treasury	3. Economics
		5. Economy	*Treasury
		6. Finance	*Finance
		7. Industry and Commerce	*Commerce
			*Industry and Mining
			*Energy and Combustibles
		8. Agriculture and attle	*Agriculture and Cattle
4. Justice, Culture, and Public Education	4. Justice and Public Education	9. Justice	4. Education and Justice
		10. Education	
5. War and Navy	5. War	11. National Defense	5. National Defense
	6. Navy	12. Navy	*Navy
		13. Army	*Army
		14. Aeronautics	*Aeronautics
		15. Public Works	6. Public Works and Services
		16. Transportation	*Public Works
		17. Communications	*Communications
		18. Technical Affairs	*Transport
		19. Public Health	7. Social Assistance and Public Health
		20. Labor and Social Welfare	8. Labor and Social Security

* = Secretariats
Source: Wright and Williams 1973.

Table 2. Selected Revenue Sources

Country	% of Estimated National Revenue	Fiscal Year
Argentina[1]	11.19	1962-63
Brazil[2]	23.51	1966
Chile[3]	18.67	1962
Colombia[4]	42.90	1961
Costa Rica[5]	18.30	1964
Dominican Republic[6]	17.63	1966
Ecuador[7]	10.37	1961
Guatemala[8]	3.10	1966
Honduras[9]	9.87	1963
Mexico[10]	61.33	1964
Nicaragua[11]	13.65	1963-64
Paraguay[12]	9.69	1964
Peru[13]	26.63	1963
Venezuela[14]	12.00	1966
United States[15]	83.40	1964

Percentage of estimated national revenue computed from the following direct-tax sources:

[1]Personal and corporate income; rural land tax
[2]Personal and business income
[3]Personal and business income; property taxes
[4]Income, property, and timber taxes
[5]Personal income, business profits, land taxes
[6]Personal income; business and inheritance taxes
[7]Personal and industry income taxes
[8]Personal income; land and real property taxes
[9]Personal income and business taxes
[10]Personal income tax; mercantile income tax; commerce and production tax
[11]Personal income, inheritance, and capital taxes
[12]Personal and inheritance taxes
[13]Personal income and profits taxes
[14]Personal income and inheritance taxes
[15]Personal, corporate, and inheritance (estate) taxes

Source: Adapted from Kantor 1969 and U.S. Department of Commerce 1965.

The importance of a responsive administrative system in aiding the development of the economy of Latin America is underlined by Professor Urquidi. That the anachronistic taxing structures will have to be changed is one of the requisites for development. The actual execution of development programs for the Latin American nations is quite contingent upon broad, encompassing financial planning.

The Personnel Administration

The bureaucratic system of Latin America is often criticized as being the greatest source of administrative inefficiency while offering the greatest challenge and the greatest potential for improvement in the respective administrative systems (Pan American Union 1955, 1965, Honey 1968, Wright 1970).

Historically, the personnel of the Latin administrative systems was drawn from the landless aristocracy and the very small urban middle class sectors of the population (Wright 1970). The emphasis was on political stability, and loyalty to the executive was dominant to the point of "neglecting aspects concerning selection, classification, promotion, and remuneration" (Pan American Union 1965). The Latin American bureaucracies are now in a transition from Weber's patrimonial system where there is an administrative staff, specialized roles and officers of one kind or another which are directly controlled by the ruler (Almond and Powell 1966), to a modern system adaptive to an industrial society.

The lack of a civil service system has been an impediment in the transitional societies of Latin America. The rather rigid social structure and a rather low degree of social mobility have given the

bureaucracy low status (Whyte 1969) and a correspondingly low remuneration plan. Thus, the trend has been for the more talented members of the administrative profession to go elsewhere from the government for employment.

Professor Wright characterizes promotions and status, as well as recruitment and classification, within the personnel administration system to be based on kinship and, most importantly, their political affiliation (Wright 1970). The executive branch of several governments has recognized the need to have more than just the profusion of personnel codes which exist in abundance but are given nominal attention only, and to create acts which will foster a modern personnel system (Wright 1970).

In order for the governments of Latin America to be more responsive and thus more durable, they must ensure a unity of action from the executive and legislative intent carried down through the personnel system. This unity of action is threatened by a "clash between modernized, competence-oriented bureaucrats on the one hand and their traditional, person-oriented couterparts and partisan politicians on the other" (Wright 1970, p. 13).

For the personnel system of the administrative structure to respond successfully to the executive and the citizenry, it must be composed of trained, qualified personnel working within a coordinated, communicative structure and it must represent the people it serves. Almond and Powell (1966) assert that cultural secularization as well as structural differentiation with the political system are necessary for a high level of inclusion and regulation which themselves precede

distribution and responsive capabilities. A universalistic, rather than a particularistic bureaucracy is needed in order to have a bureaucracy which is trained in modern administrative methods and which does not owe its loyalty to a certain political leader.

RURAL HERITAGE

The population of Latin America has been and continues to be a predominately rural one (Dagon and Panero 1967). The great supply of natural resources and the large number of people give the area a solid base for industrialization; however, this base is inadequately utilized.

The agricultural system of Latin America is still often maintained as it was a hundred years ago. The farmlands are often either broken into either a multitude of low-productive small farms known as *minifundios*, or large, plantationlike establishments known as *latifundios*. Table 3 illustrates the dispersion of land into these usually unfortunate divisions.

A semifeudal agricultural system exists today in many of the Latin American republics. The landowner of the *latifundio* is the social and political power in the countryside; the vast majority of the citizenry in rural areas exist under a system where paternalism, enlightened or despotic, is the rule rather than the exception. The landowner generally fails to invest in modern farming equipment and techniques; thus the traditionalist system also keeps the production level of farms at a minimum. The rate of productivity by the population involved in agriculture is very low compared with other areas of the economy (Edelmann 1969). The ramifications of this peasant-landowner agricultural society extend beyond the social and political systems and into the economic system.

Table 3. Minifundios and Latifundios.

Country (in order of total area of farmland)	Year of census	Percentage of total number of farms: Less than 5 hectares (12.36 acres)	Percentage of total number of farms: More than 2,500 hectares (6177.6 ac.)	Percentage of total area of farmland: Less than 5 hectares (12.36 acres)	Percentage of total area of farmland: More than 2,500 hectares (6177.6 ac.)
Brazil	1960	34.0[a]	--	1.0[a]	--
Argentina	1960	15.7	2.6	0.1	59.8
Mexico	1950	72.6	1.3[a]	0.9	77.0[a]
Bolivia	1950	59.3	3.8	0.2	81.8
Colombia	1960	62.5	0.1	4.5	20.2
Chile[b]	1955	36.9	1.1[a]	0.3	63.7[a]
Peru	1961	82.9	0.1	5.2	64.5
Uruguay[b]	1961	14.7	1.4	0.2	33.4
Cuba	1952	13.9	--	--	--
Ecuador	1954	73.1	0.1	7.2	25.9
Guatemala	1950	81.0[a]	0.1	11.0[a]	27.5
Honduras	1952	57.0	0.0	8.1	13.2
Nicaragua[c]	1952	26.0	0.1[a]	1.5	20.0[a]
Dominican Rep.	1960	86.3	0.0	--	--
Costa Rica[c]	1955	36.0[a]	0.1	2.0[a]	21.0
El Salvador	1961	85.1	0.0	15.0	7.2
Panama	1950	52.0	0.1[a]	8.3	10.0

-- Data not available. 0.0 represents magnitude less than half of the unit employed.

a Estimate

b Excludes farms of less than 1 hectare.

c Excludes farms of less than 0.7 hectare.

Source: Edelmann 1969, p. 197.

The *minifundismo* also contributes to the low production level of people engaged in agriculture compared with other segments of the population who are engaged in mining and industry. The *minifundismo* system usually breaks up the tillable land into units so small that successful agricultural production is essentially limited. Oftentimes, as Smith points out (1970, p. 220), "the plots are far too small to produce even a minimum subsistence for the families who farm them." Thus, this vestige of a semifeudal land system adds to the social and economic problems of Latin America.

A United Nations study (1964) states that agricultural production has been a limiting factor in the economic development of Latin America. Primitive agricultural techniques and the historical disinterest of the oftentimes absent landowner combine to prevent successful agricultural expansion and modernization of farming techniques. Compared with other segments of the population, the very low production rate of those engaged in agriculture, considering that over half of the population is involved in agriculture (Edelmann 1969), the semifeudal land division, and the slow progress being made toward modernization of farming techniques (Martz 1965) underline the burden that emphasis on an agrarian economy has placed on the economic growth of Latin America.

Efforts by the governments of Latin American republics for social and economic reform have been many; the administrative machinery has attempted to carry out land redistribution efforts and other similar means to alleviate the situation. However, efforts for agrarian reform have been thwarted or diminished by the pressures from the "Unholy Alliance," and only recently have far-reaching measures been taken for agrarian

reform in the hope of promoting the general welfare (Urquidi 1964, Edelmann 1969, Smith 1970).

Contrasted to American rural areas, the rural village is usually a "ceremonial" or "church" center in Latin America while it is usually a trade center in North America (Smith 1970). This less relative importance of trade in rural Latin America marks again the isolation of the countryside and its residents; their *lati-* and *minifundismo* systems operate in many areas of Latin America as they have for many generations.

An external-dependency thesis has been advanced (Morse 1971) which describes the dependence of rural areas, in the traditional "backwater" sense, upon the few metropolitan areas. The thesis incorporates the perception of the metropolitan areas as "...an outpost of foreign politico-economic control which in turn dominates, exploits, and depresses its own nation or hinterland" (Morse 1971, p. 9). This perception of an internal "yoke," contrasted to the external "yoke" of foreign domination, has been noted by Latin American historians and politicians. Strictly interpreted as affecting technical and economic issues, the external-dependency thesis is applicable to many Latin American societies today. Gradually this socio-political and economic dichotomy between the rural and the urban areas is diminishing; however, great socio-political and economic stress is put upon the two areas because of the traditional disparity (Smith 1970, Leighton 1945).

Anachronistic farming methods, semifeudalistic agrarian societies, and isolated rural towns imbued in a semifeudal tradition are in marked opposition to an increasingly urban, modernizing society where

industry's role is constantly expanding. The inability for interest articulation by the rural masses because of their historical socio-political position and the absence of access channels to the modernizing power structure (Almond and Powell 1966) contributes to stress in the socio-political structure. The gradual introduction of modern farming methods which force many marginal farmers out of production and the inherent instability of the countryside (Urquidi 1964) were other major sources of stress on the political and administrative systems of Latin America.

TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY

"We live in the midst of enormous transformations to industrial society; the peoples of the world are everywhere on the march toward industrialism" (Kerr *et al.* 1960, p. 17). Latin America is currently on this inexorable march toward an industrial society. Concomitant with this transition toward industrialization is the growth of urban areas which are necessary to provide the manpower, material, and markets for the industrial impetus. The trend toward development from a traditional agrarian society to a rapidly changing industrial, urban society creates great stresses on a public administration oriented toward the limited demands of its agrarian background; that system is faced with a challenge to respond effectively and positively to the needs of the transitional society.

In Latin America, the rapid urban growth has overshadowed the industrial growth and thus disrupts an equilibrium which is necessary for the minimization of stresses and strains on the socio-political system. Because of this disequilibrium, problems are brought into the environment of the public administration system beyond those encountered by societies which enjoy a balance in the urban-industrialism growth area (Kerr *et al.* 1960).

Rural-to-Urban Migration

"Latin America," John C. Honey wrote, "is urbanizing faster than any other region of the world..." (Honey 1968, p. 62). The urban growth

phenomenon of Latin America is further magnified when compared to the very rapid population increase in that geopolitical area. Tables 4 and 5 illustrate the rapid population increase of Latin America compared to the growth of the world's population. The distribution of Latin America's population from the rural areas to urban areas is shown in Tables 6 and 7. The amazing shift of population, due largely to the rural-to-urban migration (Smith 1970), is shown in Table 8.

Previous to the 1920 period, Latin American urban areas grew slowly, as Table 4 shows. This slow growth rate perpetuated the socio-political conditions discussed by the external-dependency thesis. The decade beginning in 1920, which is also considered a cutoff estimate for the nationalistic period of Latin America (contrasted with the United States cutoff of *circa* 1870), experts consider the decade when Latin American society entered the transitional era: an era of "...economic nationalism, government planning, import substitution, United States politico-economic influence, and massive internal migrations..." (Morse 1971, p. 3).

Reasons for this phenomenal migration are many, but one is more consistently mentioned by authorities: Rural migrants expect to find greater economic benefits in the urban areas. Greater social mobility and political stability are other major motivators for the amazing migration patterns of the past decades (Urquidi 1964, Beyer 1967, Honey 1968, Smith 1970, Harris 1971).

The rural migrants' economic expectations are much higher than those which are actually achieved in the urban areas to which they have flocked. The disappointment of the new members of the urban population

Table 4. Population Estimates and Projections for the World and Major Regions, 1650-2000.

	Total population (millions)							
Year	World	Africa	North America	Latin America	Asia	Europe	Oceania	USSR
1650	470	100	1	7	257	103	2	1[b]
1750	694	100	1	10	437	144	2	1[b]
1850	1,094	100	26	33	656	274	2	1[b]
1900	1,550	120	81	63	857	308	6	115
1920	1,830	139	117	90	990[a]	486[a]	8.8[a]	--
1930	2,070	164	134	108	1,120	355	10	179
1940	2,295	191	144	130	1,244	380	11.1	195
1950	2,517	222	166	163	1,381	392	12.7	180
1960	2,990	273	199	212	1,651	425	15.7	214
1963	3,160	294	208	231	1,748	437	16.8	225
1967	3,420	328	220	259	1,907	452	18.1	236
1970	3,574	346	227	282	2,000	454	18.7	246
1980	4,269	449	262	374	2,404	479	22.6	278
1990	5,068	587	306	488	2,840	504	27.0	316
2000	5,965	768	354	624	3,307	527	31.9	353

[a]Including the USSR.

[b]Additional population included in Europe.

Source: Harris 1971, p. 64.

Table 5. Growth of World Population by Region.

	Share of world population (%)							
Year	World	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin America	North America	Oceania	USSR
1650	100	21.3	54.7	21.9	1.5	0.2	0.43	--[a]
1900	100	7.7	55.3	19.9	4.1	5.2	0.39	7.4
1963	100	9.3	55.3	13.8	7.3	6.6	0.53	7.1
1967	100	9.6	55.8	13.2	7.6	6.4	0.53	6.9
2000	100	12.9	55.4	8.8	10.5	5.9	0.53	5.9

	Rate of population growth (%)							
Year	World	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin America	North America	Oceania	USSR
1958-63	1.8	2.3	1.8	0.9	2.7	1.6	2.1	1.6
1960-63	1.9	2.5	1.9	0.9	2.8	1.6	2.2	1.6
1963-67	1.9	2.5	2.0	0.8	2.9	1.3	1.9	1.2

[a]Included in Europe.

Source: Harris 1971, p. 65.

Table 6. Distribution of Urban and Rural Population of Latin American Countries, 1950-1980.

	Latin American population (thousands)						
	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Total	156,120	178,802	205,916	237,200	273,520	315,889	365,098
Urban	61,369	77,063	96,572	119,362	146,344	178,435	216,202
Rural	94,751	101,739	109,344	117,838	127,176	137,454	148,896
% urban	39.3	43.1	46.9	50.3	53.5	56.5	59.2

Source: Harris 1971, p. 47.

Table 7. Decennial Increases in Urban and Rural Population in Latin America, 1920-1960.

	Estimated percentage distributions			
	1920-1930	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960
Urban[a]	40	39	61	67
Rural and small town[b]	17	17	16	19

[a]Cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants.

[b]Percentages do not total 100; difference in percentage lies in towns with populations less than 20,000.

Source: Beyer 1967, p. 95.

Table 8. Increase of Population Living in Cities of 100,000 and Over, 1950-1960.

Country	1950	1960	Difference
Brazil	9,094,368	16,123,912	7,029,544
Mexico	5,306,373	9,877,337	4,570,964
Colombia	2,196,265	5,303,840	3,107,585
Argentina	7,087,292	9,918,003	2,830,711
Venezuela	1,244,543	2,401,491	1,156,954
Peru	1,340,561	2,168,417	827,856
Chile	1,959,520	2,682,681	723,161
Ecuador	478,772	1,078,181	599,409
Cuba	1,517,141	2,081,800	564,659
Uruguay	768,413	1,202,890	434,477
Guatemala	294,344	572,937	278,593
Dominican Rep.	239,464	477,000	237,536
El Salvador	220,929	351,276	130,347
Costa Rica	159,150	320,478	161,328
Paraguay	206,634	305,160	98,526
Panama	190,062	285,365	95,303
Nicaragua	140,334	234,600	94,266
Honduras	99,948	164,941	64,993
Bolivia	346,130	378,319	32,189
Haiti	216,170	240,000	23,830

Source: Harris 1971, p. 172.

does not immediately manifest itself in the political administrative systems. The basic character of the rural migrant generally ensures a low degree of political participation and little opposition to the politics and social problems found in mushrooming metropolitan areas. The opportunities of participating in a "good life," which his newspaper and transistor radio tell the rural migrant (Smith 1970) is indeed in marked contrast to his perceived and real possibilities to participate (Gonzales Casanova 1965).

This situation will not endure forever, however; as the industrial economy expands and incorporates the new urban citizens, they, in turn, expand their expectation and demands from the socio-political system beyond that which was the role for them in their agrarian society (Beyer 1967).

Until the new migrants can politically, economically, and socially take part in the urban society, they often exist as a marginal population within the urban areas. Aldo Solari has described the marginal urban population of Latin America as those

> who do not receive the minimum of gratification from the social system (food, houses, shoes, education, and the like) and also do not have active participation in the determination of the goals of the society. They do not vote, for example, because illiterates are not allowed to vote, or because real elections do not exist; in either case, political decisions are taken by the traditional groups in power (as quoted in Beyer 1967, p. 195).

The effects of a marginal population upon the urban areas are stress causing; Solari continues:

> For instance, in cities, where the urban proletariat is very important, its members probably have developed against the marginal masses attitudes of fear which make the proletariat support the groups who are interested in maintaining the status quo. The

> manual worker in the cities, in other words, has against the marginal groups attitudes similar to those which in more integrated countries the middle class holds against the working class (as quoted in Beyer 1967, p. 195).

Thus, the migrant from the semifeudalistic countryside moves to a city which is ill-prepared to satisfy his needs. He is extremely fortunate to find employment in industry and he encounters suspicion and distrust from the existing group of industrial employees. He is surrounded by the appurtenances of his "high expectations" and yet is unable to obtain or fulfill these hopes. The newly arrived rural migrant is a voluntary exile in a new and stressful environment.

T. Lynn Smith, a noted rural sociologist and Latin American scholar, describes "push and pull" variables which cause the citizen to migrate from the rural areas to the cities. As has been discussed, economics is the big drawing, or "pulling" factor. Push variables are: low productivity in the agrarian sector, increasing competition from modern farming cooperatives, inadequacy of rural health, inherent instability in the countryside, and educational services (Urquidi 1964, Smith 1970).

The rural-to-urban migration is a great challenge to the sociopolitical environment in which the public administration system works. The growing demands upon a tradition-oriented governmental structure by an expanding urban-industrial society create great stress.

Latin American governmental and public administrative systems should respond to the stresses of their increasing urban masses. One response is the expansion, as much as is compatible with the economic foundations of the country, of industry in order to supply employment for the urban masses (see Table 9).

Table 9. Urbanization and Structure of Employment for Selected Countries.

Country	Census year	Urbanization index[a]	Industrial employment[b]	Second index as a % of the first
Argentina	1947	48.3	17.3	36
Costa Rica	1950	10.9	8.2	75
Venezuela	1950	31.0	7.1	23
Mexico	1950	24.0	8.4	35
Bolivia	1950	14.0	3.8	27
Great Britain	1951	67.7	38.6	56
Sweden	1950	34.5	28.7	83
France	1946	31.4	18.9	60
Austria	1951	39.8	21.5	54

[a]Percentage of total population in places of 20,000 or more inhabitants.

[b]Percentage of total active labor force working as salaried employees or wage earners in manufacturing.

Source: Beyer 1967, p. 126.

Industrialization

In Latin America, as "in all the different people of the world there are universal, basic characteristics inherent in human nature..." (Leighton 1945, p. 249), there are certain characteristics which may be analyzed against a static model which exemplifies the central themes transitional societies must go through before reaching that stage of development known as industrialism (Kerr *et al.* 1960).

Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison, and Meyer in their 1960 book *Industrialism and Industrial Man* establish such a static model--a framework which will describe the ease or the difficulty a society experiences while undergoing the transitional process toward industrialism. These concepts in that framework will be discussed below and their relevance to Latin American society explored.

"The less the emphasis upon work in the old culture, the greater the need for discipline at the work place" (Kerr *et al.* 1960, p. 97). In Latin America the emphasis has not been against work, but rather the molding of work's requirement to fit around current needs. No great thought was given to long-range needs, nor were plans formulated and carried out, generally, for long-range goals. The Latins' historical belief in a soul contrasts with the North American belief in a will which finds expression in the Protestant ethic and asceticism in most Western nations (Kerr *et al.* 1960, Urquidi 1964, Honey 1968).

From the Kerr *et al.* hypothesis, it is evident that discipline is needed in the society to promote the industrialization process. In Latin America's traditionally liberal ideology, especially in the urban

areas which Beyer (1967) contrasts to the class-structured oligarchic society in the rural areas, education would seem to be the best method for instructing the urban masses in industrial discipline. Education is also an imperative with industrialism, for it is through this means that skill functionally related to industry as well as professional skill necessary to maintain and expand industry will be developed. After receiving supporting educational background, the urban workers should have the opportunity to exercise these new beliefs in the industrial and socio-political system.

"The greater the emphasis upon the extended family, the slower the rise of professional management" (Kerr *et al.* 1960, p. 97). This problem continues into the urban areas of Latin America but not with the emphasis it maintains in rural areas; families are often separated, with the younger members going to the cities much as in internal migration in other Western societies has occurred. In place of the extended families in the new urban areas, usually with the marginal populations, are socio-political "bosses" or *patrons*: this person acts much as the old political ward bosses did in nineteenth century America. Political machines develop which offer the new arrivals a channel to articulate their needs. These machines--and they do not seem so well organized or, yet, have the political clout as did the political machines of America's past--are able to change the needs of the marginal population into marketable demands. This new form of "extended family," with the term broadly used, does not seem to hinder or greatly impede the development

of industrialization as does the traditional, rural extended family (Urquidi 1964).

"The greater the strength of the extended family, the slower the commitment of workers to industrial life" (Kerr *et al.* 1960, p. 97). Again, the Latin American social group of the extended family does not enter so greatly into the urban areas. The strength of the extended families in the agrarian society from which the new migrant comes does, of course, make the newly-arrived migrant feel apart in the urban situation.

Smith's sociological appraisal of the rural-agrarian society of Latin America has been discussed before; it is important to emphasize here that, in the agrarian Latin American society, the citizen relies greatly on the extended family and then spreads his social contacts out with interrelationships along his horizontal class lines; the village concept played a very minimal role in the agrarian society--it was peripheral at best (Smith 1970).

The new urban area, with its imperative for an interdependence and integration, creates a stressful situation for the rural migrant; because of the lack of jobs and the actual physical means to satisfactorily integrate the new hoardes that arrive daily, the large marginal populations which exist around and within the urban area grow (Urquidi 1964, Beyer 1967, Edelmann 1969, Harris 1971).

"The more diverse the groups in the old culture, the harsher the role of the nation state" (Kerr *et al.* 1960, p. 97). The traditional agrarian culture of Latin America has been modified within the past

several decades especially with the influence of the city and the pressures of the industrialization process constantly increasing. Nationalism in Latin America provides a common point for the varied classes, as well as for the rural/urban groups. In areas where nationalism is weak, the nation-state must assume a harsher role to explicitly control that which it cannot naturally elicit (Beyer 1967).

Other challenges face industrialization. Latin America's traditional role within the world economic system as a supplier of primary (agricultural and mineral) products (Ramírez Gómez 1966), as contrasted to world trade of manufactured goods, is a problem hindering industrial growth. Table 10 illustrates the disequilibrium between the export of primary and manufactured goods, which, up to 1958, accounted for at the very most, less than a quarter of export trade.

Raul Prebisch, a Latin American economist, formulates the theory that free trade benefits a rich industrial nation to the disadvantage of a peripheral, or primary-producing nation. This trade cycle operates to the periphery's disadvantage, as there is a great variance in the elasticity of primary and manufactured goods, the primary suppliers or periphery suffering in difficult times (Ramírez Gómez 1966). The marginality economically operates to hinder industrial growth, but is not sociologically attributable to the urban phenomenon; rather, this theory explains one of the limitations incurred by Latin America in entering the industrialization process at a date later than its fellow-members of the

Table 10. Distribution of Latin American Exports by Leading Products.

Figures are percentages of dollar value at current prices.

Commodity	1950	1955	1958
Petroleum and petroleum products	19.5	25.8	27.3
Coffee	21.5	22.0	17.8
Sugar	9.7	6.6	9.0
Cotton	4.4	5.4	4.1
Copper	2.8	5.0	2.5
Iron ore	0.1	1.1	2.4
Meat	1.7	1.6	2.2
Cacao	1.9	1.8	1.8
Wheat	3.2	3.4	1.7
Wool	5.2	2.5	1.7
Lead	1.3	1.1	1.1
Corn	0.7	0.3	1.0
Hides	3.0	1.4	1.0
Tobacco	0.8	0.7	0.7
Tim	0.8	0.7	0.7
Nitrates	1.1	0.7	0.5
Zinc	0.5	0.5	0.3
"Quebracho" (tanning)	0.5	0.4	0.3
Others	21.3	19.0	24.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Urquidi 1964, p. 186.

free-trading world; a difficult circle is established which is fraught with many problems to resolve.

The overwhelming need for available employment opportunities for the ever-growing urban masses is not met by Latin America's pace of industrialization; further, the physical needs for this urban phenomenon such as sanitation facilities, housing, and transportation facilities are usually beyond the government's fiscal capacity (United Nations 1964). Still the masses flood into the urban areas. T. Lynn Smith cites rural strife and the relatively stable urban environment as a major drawing factor which seems to override the difficulty of finding productive urban employment for the migrant (Smith 1970).

Irving Louis Horowitz in Beyer (1967) asserts that urbanism is usually both coincidental and parallel with the growth of industrialization and not a "stage" in the industrialization process. The relatedness of industrialization and the urban phenomenon continue into the field of general economic conditions of Latin America. Although the urban economic situation may at times be as bad as, if not worse than, economic conditions existing in rural areas, still the migrants pour into the teeming cities. Their presence in exploding numbers adds to the social, political, and economic pressures already straining the inadequate city services and further tests the governments' administrative systems.

SOCIO-POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Major shifts in the economic, political, and social elements that make up the environment in which the administrative systems of Latin America function have been discussed. The changes emanating from a society developing from a traditional to a modern structure create great stresses on the administrative functions of the governments; these stresses will be discussed within the socio-political framework of Latin America, concentrating on the concepts of the sociologist Alexander Leighton, who based his principles on a study of a society being administered by a system that was nonresponsive, if not exogenous, to that society.

Strains on the Administrative System

The administrative systems in Latin America exist in a transitional society; the administrative systems find themselves challenged because they perform within the same structural means as used for their former traditional society; thus, the administrative systems often operate within a socio-political framework in which they become increasingly nonresponsive to their client groups.

Alexander Leighton postulates that "in all the different peoples of the world, there are universal, basic characteristics inherent in human nature" and "there are profound differences in belief, sentiment, habit, and custom among the various communities, tribes, and nations which make up humankind" (Leighton 1945, p. 249). The problems of

administration in the transitional society of Latin America can be generalized to the problems faced by administrative systems in other transitional areas.

Leighton emphasizes the importance of stress in a society which has a different structure than its administration. In Latin America, stress on the socio-political system exists in the following areas. Threats to life and health, as well as physical discomforts found in the *barrios* and slums of the marginal populations, are a constant reminder of the suddenness with which the urban explosion is occurring and which the existing administrative structure is not geared to resolve. The loss of means of support and concomitant idleness for the marginal urban residents is partly explainable through the rapid increase in the urbanization process and the slow increase in the industrialization process which could provide the marginal residents with employment and the means to satisfy their needs.

While perhaps not intending to, many members of the government administrative system neglect the growing marginal populations in favor of the established residents principally because that is the sector wherein political and economic support for the government has primarily existed. The new residents, especially those dwelling in the marginal areas, often perceive the behavior of those in authority as unresponsive and capricious toward them. Leighton asserts that responsive governments should give special attention "to the task of integrating the administration with the leadership customs and habits in the social organization being administered" (Leighton 1945, p. 349).

Thus, as forces of stress alter the organization of the socio-political environment, the marginal populations assume growing importance. In reaction, Leighton asserts, this alteration of the society causes a disorganization which "tends to increase stress in communities" (Leighton 1945, p. 331). This underlines the importance for the administration to respond to these demands and stressful challenges of the changing social structure.

The growing urban middle classes often perceive themselves forced toward working situations and alliances with the traditional society's traditional powers. Thus, another unholy alliance occurs where the old power structure attempts to preserve its privileged social and political positions as well as its economic security by allying itself with the expanding urban middle class which has a very real investment in the stability of the urban environment, which they believe can be maintained by having the government respond to their needs in opposition to meeting the needs of the marginal population (Heady 1966, Beyer 1967).

The high expectations of the marginal population are usually not fulfilled. These same expectations which motivated the migration to the urban areas are often frustrated by the stagnate or slowly developing urban economy; these high expectations change to expanding exasperations (Smith 1970). The education which the rural citizen hoped to gain for himself and for his children, as well as the increased economic security, is often nonexistent or severely limited because of the lag in urban development relative to urban growth (Urquidi 1964, Smith 1970).

The systems of belief which are interdependent with the social system also come under great stress in the transitional society of Latin America. During times of stress, Alexander Leighton writes, the systems of belief of the population assume greater importance than during non-stressful times. The marginal urban populations, then, existing in a stressful environment, will tend to act on what their past and what their current environment's variables encourage them to believe rather than on "will," and thus they are less tolerant of an environment in which the administrative structure seems nonresponsive toward them (Leighton 1945).

Leadership: Challenges and Opportunities

A tendency exists in executive leadership in the Latin American republics for that leadership to be dominant and guiding in the governmental structure. Historically, this has been evident from the beginning of Latin America's independence until the present time (Martz 1965, Beyer 1967, Edelmann 1969).

In some of the less-developed areas where the impact of industrialism has been least, a nondemocratic patrimonial leader is more frequently encountered than in the more industrialized nations (Kerr *et al.* 1960). His occurrence is also evident in the marginal populations of the urban areas. These marginal residents carried with them many of the beliefs from their rural heritage. Should modernizing administrative structures fail to take heed of or respond to those challenges occurring within the socio-political framework of the transitional society, only chaos and alienation can follow with the subsequent problems to the administrative structure. "Incoordinations and disarticulations within

the administrative structure increase the social and psychological disorganization of a community under stress," writes Alexander Leighton (1945, p. 346), in observing the failure of an administrative system to understand or work with the articulations of a social system different from the governing body's administrative system.

The executive leadership in Latin America must take care not to endanger future plans for development for a brief respite of false security. As discussed previously, the cultural tendency for Latin Americans is the choice of short-range expedients over the long-range opportunities. Administrative attempts at alleviating the stressful situations existent in Latin American countries have indicated that surface improvements rather than far-reaching solutions have usually been taken (Pan American Union 1965).

The need for planning for the future is recognized by Latin American leaders and must be coordinated with short-term accomplishments: "...without good administration, there can be no plans, and without a plan there is no development" (Pan American Union 1965, p. 20).

Through education, the mass media, and utilization of unique structures within the marginal populations, the administrative system and the leadership have the opportunity to further political, social, and economic development of the area as a whole. A widely-shared ideology of development and a high degree of reliance on the government for achieving results in society are necessary for transitional areas (Kerr *et al.* 1960, Urquidi 1964, Heady 1966, Honey 1968, Smith 1970). Alexander Leighton has pointed out that "the organization of the

administration" should be "a functioning social structure" and it should answer "the needs, reactions, aspirations, and belief systems of its constituent members" (Leighton 1945, p. 349). Through incorporation of all segments of the population within the political administrative structure, development and durability will be encouraged.

A PRISMATIC MODEL OF LATIN AMERICA'S TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY AND ITS IMPACT ON ADMINISTRATION

A systems analysis of the transitional society in Latin America will provide an understanding of its impact on the public administration structure there. If the society of Latin America, which has generally been described in the preceding chapters of this paper, is considered as the encompassing environment or system, then the administrative structure and its functioning which are the consequences of the structure may be considered the subsystem (Riggs 1961, 1964).

The inputs into the administrative subsystem include socio-political and economic variables. The social variables include the social system which may be loosely correlated with Max Weber's three types of political authority: the feudalistic, where the authority system considers the members of society as its subjects; the patriarchal, which considers its citizens as its children; and the patrimonial, which considers itself a leader of citizens that are more than children yet are less than full participants in the political authority structure (Almond and Powell 1966).

Power, within the social and political variables, is not necessarily a concomitant with wealth, nor with authority. As has been discussed previously, the executive in Latin America has great power, but he is not necessarily from the upper classes nor is he necessarily wealthy.

In the transitional environmental setting of Latin America, the upper-class orientation from the agrarian past has been changing. The reorganization of the government, in response to demands from interest groups for increased services, necessitates greater specialization in the bureaucracy (Pan American Union 1965). Better organization of the governmental structure should also strengthen the planning function by means of a more responsive executive leadership (Pan American Union 1955, 1965).

The impact of the administrative system on Latin America's transitional society is to encourage "separate social ladders to eminence" (Riggs 1961, p. 34). Thus, the traditional rigid social structure of Latin America (Whyte 1969) is changing and the former social divisions are occupying a precarious position in this change process (Riggs 1961). In this changing social structure, the members of the "marginal" population are a new importance which suggests that the administrative system should increasingly include and respond to this segment of the society.

Also within the social input of the administrative subsystem is the symbolic system which Lasswell and Kaplan (1950) use to describe the significant facts of the socio-political systems. This explanation includes the symbols of myth, formula, and code.

The myth element deals with the ultimate source of authority which, in Latin America, is the presidency. This focus of authority allows the executive the opportunity to foster his nation's economic, social, and political development by encouraging a responsive administrative system. The nature of the citizen and his essential relationships

are the other elements of the myth symbol. In the Latin republics, the Iberian heritage further strengthens the concept of a strong executive in the political and administrative systems. The formula in the system deals with the set of rules by which the political and administrative structure is constructed. The code is the element describing the laws and regulations devised for carrying out the structure or formula.

The economic input into the administrative subsystem, Riggs emphasizes, is the concept of marketing and several marketing principles: planning, communications, management, organization, and public relations. The "market structure" of Latin America can exist only on the many controls of the environment in which it operates. The marginal populations of many areas have had limited influence on the market structure, oftentimes, because their needs were not translatable into sufficiently marketable demands. With the changes occurring in the transitional society and the concomitant stresses, the marginal groups are gaining influence which, although difficult to qualify or quantify, must be taken into consideration by the administrative system in the market situations.

In 1964 Fred Riggs constructed a model which defines the process of administrative development. This model, which describes transitional societies through a Prismatic Theory of Society, provides a clearer understanding of Latin America's milieu for administration and enables a perspective to be gained of the progress of administrative development in the transitional society.

Riggs' model suggests two hypothetical societies: one an agrarian society with a structure that performs a limited number of functions

and the other an industrial society which performs a multitude of functions. Table 11 illustrates these societies.

Table 11. Riggs' Hypothetical Societies.

"Agraria"	"Industria"
1. Predominance of ascriptive particularistic, diffuse patterns.	1. Predominance of universalistic specific and achievement norms.
2. Stable local groups and limited spatial mobility.	2. High degree of social mobility.
3. Relatively simple and stable "occupational" differentiation.	3. Well-developed occupational system, insulated from other social structures.
4. A "deferential" stratification system of diffuse impact.	4. "Egalitarian" class system based on generalized patterns of occupational achievement.
	5. Prevalence of "associations," that is, functionally specific nonascriptive structures.

Source: Caiden 1971, p. 260

The agrarian society is termed fused, as in the theory of light when one beam is emitted as a pure light. The industrial society is termed diffracted as light is when the beam is split into many colors from the original pure beam. Basically, this would imply that the traditional agrarian society of Latin America had few demands on its political system and that the political system offered very limited administrative functions. An industrialized society in Latin America, however, would demand many functions of its administrative structure because of the complex nature of the society.

Neither of these conceptualized societies exists in Latin America today. Riggs posits a prism between the agrarian specific administrative system and the industrial diffracted administrative system existing through which the changes occur, as inputs and outputs of the administrative subsystem pass.

The prismatic model of society allows a perspective to be gained of Latin America's administrative system. The model suggests that public administration in Latin America functions in a transitional society and is becoming more complex as industrialism replaces agrarianism. The inputs and outputs of the administrative system are dynamic; the milieu in which that system functions tends to be highly nationalistic. Thus, the society would be an endo-prismatic one rather than an exo-prismatic one.

The significance of the endo-prismatic society suggests that the administrative system, which relies mainly on domestic pressures for diffraction/development, must encompass the growing importance of the marginal populations. The marginal populations of the urban areas will become more important as the transition of the society continues from the simple agrarian past to the complex industrial future and from the rigid closed society to the interrelated mobile society. This growth of importance of a hitherto powerless segment of society lends credence to the contention that the administrative system must be responsive to that segment's demands.

The prismatic society theory of Riggs is useful in conceptualizing the many problems confronting administration in Latin America today.

It also allows a perspective of the milieu in which the administrative system will function to be suggested.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapter describing Fred Riggs' model of a prismatic society through which the environment of public administration could be explained in transitional societies culminates efforts in this paper of establishing a framework to explain the momentous changes which challenge the public administrative system in Latin America.

Three major themes have been suggested throughout this paper: the general stress within the environment that affects the administrative system; the challenges of the marginal populations who themselves are products of a transitional society; and the importance and consequent opportunities for strong executive leadership to bring about development through responsiveness and durability of the governments in Latin America.

The stresses in Latin American society are similar to those which can be found in many areas undergoing change from a rural, agrarian past to an urban, industrial future. A traditional power structure, as discussed by Max Weber, exists in Latin America as well as in other developing nations especially in Asia and Africa. Latin America, however, would seem to share more traits with developing areas of Europe which are changing to industrialism because Latin America's power structure does not reflect the imposition of recent colonial tradition as do most areas of Africa and Asia. The pressures from rural bastions within the government and social structure are vestiges of a past which is slowly giving way to the inevitable march of industrialism and urbanism.

Marginal societies in Latin America, composed of those transplanted bucolics seeking success and opportunity in cities, are common in all countries. In transitional societies, the marginal populations oftentimes form a majority of the population but, because their political, economic, and social powers are limited, they have little present impact on the political-administrative system of the country. In urban industrialized countries, like the United States and Sweden, marginal populations also exist, creating unique challenges to the government to be responsive to the demands of those segments of the population, if not to incorporate them within the socio-political framework.

Several possible areas for further investigation are suggested by the importance of marginal populations. One would be a comparison between the efforts of the United States' Model Cities Program's Citizen Participation components which endeavor to incorporate the marginal urban population into the administrative system of urban projects, and the efforts of the Trudeau government in Canada to respond to the marginal population of Quebec but not to incorporate it in the Canadian administrative framework. As in Latin America, these efforts by the United States and Canadian governments seek to ensure the durability of their governments and to further national development, although by different means of responsiveness to their marginal populations. In Latin America, where the resources of the governments' administrative system are greatly limited, the question arises not should the marginal population's needs be responded to, for responsiveness to all segments of the population is recognized by administrators as an *a priori* need for modern administration and national development. The question is, rather, how should the

phenomenon of transitional society be responded to in a way that would enable all elements of society to be included and that would encourage national development. A valid response to society and to the need for development would be the utilization of the unique strength found in the presidency in Latin America.

The historical importance and the cultural role assigned the presidency in Latin America has some similarities with the "strong-man" leaders of many transitional societies. However, the presidency in Latin America differs significantly from those nations whose society condones or supports dictatorships because of the Latin republic's widely-shared belief in a democratic ideology. A national leader, responsive to all of the population, including those segments created by the urban phenomenon, would integrate the administration of the country with the community that it administers. The national community, which is developing from the "agraria" society to the "industria" society of Riggs' prismatic model of society, would enjoy development to a responsive administration led by the executive and the government. They would be of representative character because of their inclusion of and responsiveness to all segments of the population. This would encourage both durability and development.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The center of power in Latin American countries is in the presidency; this power allows them to perceive themselves as the "molders of a new destiny for their people, promoters of modernization and therefore as initiators of industrialization, as builders of effective governmental machines, and national power" (Riggs 1964, p. 36). The symbol system of Latin America and the transitional nature of society in that area allow the executive to use his position of influence to positively contribute to the challenge of industrialization and modernization. If the executive is responsive to the needs of the citizens, the durability of his government will be aided and the development of his country will be furthered.

It is well for the leaders of Latin America to remember that, as Alfred North Whitehead has repeatedly stated, societies which are unable to combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision must ultimately die.

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