

Technocrats in the Philippine Rice Program: Middlemen in Masagana 99

VICTORIA M. ARCEGA*

This case study explores the dynamics of technocracy in the Philippines. Using a Philippine agricultural development project, Masagana 99, as vantage point, this study identifies who are the technocrats and discusses the values they share, the behavioral patterns that distinguish them from scientists and administrators, their socio-economic backgrounds, their recruitment and career patterns, and the social matrix in which they emerge. These dimensions suggest that Philippine technocrats constitute a "third culture"; they are men-in-the-middle.

The Problem

Modernizing societies have witnessed the rise of various roles played by agents of development and change — foreign technical assistants, extension agents, educators, etc. This is an exploratory case study of the origins, patterns of behavior, and networks of one type of emerging agents of change in the Philippines — the technocrats — as they participate in a government project for attaining self-sufficiency in producing the staple crop of rice, "Masagana 99."¹ Since the current administration assumes that technocrats are important to the developmental processes in the

Philippines, the path for development in this country may be better understood by underscoring the patterns of behavior of these agents for modernization.

This research explores the nature of technocracy in the Philippines, particularly:

- (1) the circumstances under which technocrats originate and the factors that lead to their emergence (both as individuals and as a collectivity);
- (2) the functions they perform and who defines them;
- (3) the social space in which they operate and perform their functions;
- (4) the life-styles they exhibit in the context of their work, their career aspirations, the frustrations and satisfactions they experience, and their norms for assessing their performance as technocrats; and,

*Research Associate, College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.

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¹The Masagana 99 Rice Program is the government's project for attaining self-sufficiency in rice production to meet local consumption needs. The Masagana 99 stands for the targeted production goal of the administration of 99 cavans per hectare.

(5) the bases on which technocrats can be differentiated or stratified.

This study examines the role of personal networks for the emergence of technocrats and for the performance of their functions. It explores how these networks are created and how varying types of networks are used, depending upon the functions or activities in which technocrats are engaged. This focus rests on the proposition that networks are the very social spaces within which technocrats emerge and/or operate to perform their functions. Since the status of technocrats is not institutionalized, their behaviors are not governed by other distinctive groups or organizations. Technocrats, therefore, operate according to a personal set of relationships and behave on the basis of this set.

This inquiry was inspired by emerging studies on networks² which are defined as structures that are "non-groups."³ Among the generation of social scientists pursuing this topic,

²See Dan Aronson, "Editor's Preface" and "Social Networks: Towards Structure or Process," both in *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (November 1970), pp. 221-225 and pp. 258-268, respectively; J. A. Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish," *Human Relations*, Vol. VII (1954), pp. 39-58; J. Clyde Mitchell, "Networks, Norms and Institutions," in Jeremy Boissevain and J. Clyde Mitchell (eds.), *Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction* (Paris: The Hague, 1973), pp. 15-35; and Alvin Wolfe, "On Structural Comparisons of Networks," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-244.

³Jeremy Boissevain, "The Place of Non-Groups in the Social Sciences," *Man*, Vol. III, No. 4 (1968), pp. 542-556.

there is overall agreement that "behaviour must no longer be regarded as a variable purely dependent on larger groups" but that such groups themselves may be the products of these social forms of behavior.⁴ The assumption is that man as an interacting social being is capable of manipulating others as well as being manipulated by them.⁵ This differs from the structural-functionalist conception of the individual as being governed by some "moral order" — the rules or norms governing the group or society as a whole.⁶

These "social forms" are different from groups because sets of relationships established by ego are situationally defined and proceed only for as long as ego chooses.⁷ There is lack of solidarity or "consciousness of kind," typical of a group, among the individuals with whom ego interacts. Interaction is temporary and highly ephemeral.

The concept of network is pivotal in this study since, it is proposed, technocrats are not strictly governed by specific norms or rules of groups or organizations; rather, they generate and articulate new norms. The experiences that are found useful by them in performing these functions — their interpersonal interactions — are explored for their characteristics and usefulness.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 544.

⁵Boissevain and Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁷Bo Anderson and Manuel Carlos, "What is Social Network Theory?" Paper presented at the University of West Virginia in May 1974.

This study is basically exploratory and does not lend itself to well-defined hypotheses. There is still a dearth of data from which to draw testable hypotheses about technocrats and networks as social matrices within which they operate.

Methodology

Reputational panel. Because of the non-institutional status of the technocrat in the Philippines, 62 selected participants of the National Food and Agriculture Council (NFAC), the organization which sustains the rice project, *Masagana 99*, were interviewed for their perceptions of the characteristics of a technocrat. These participants thus served as the reputational panel members or informants for this study. They had been involved in the planning and implementation of the project at the national office in Metropolitan Manila and in two provinces: one in Luzon and the other in the Visayas.

The participants were initially asked to nominate persons in the project who typified technocrats and who were involved at either one or two specific points in time in its conception and implementation.⁸ Among the 169 nominees, 24 were identified by most of the panel members as technocrats, and thus became the main focus of the study. These most often-

cited 24 technocrats were operationally defined as "visible" to distinguish them from the "less visible" nominees who received fewer nominations. Several strategies were employed to obtain information about technocrats as persons and as a collectivity: in-depth interviews of each technocrat with the aid of a schedule of open-ended questions, bio-data sheets and self-administered questionnaires.

Project focus. This study focuses on the involvement of technocrats in *Masagana 99*, beginning with the evolution of the objectives from the national agency, then with the construction of implementation strategies and their execution in two selected provinces. An examination of the series of steps involved from the time this particular project was conceived up to the time it was implemented, made it possible to describe and analyze the various levels of technocratic involvement and the various processes that took place in the performance of technocratic functions. This study attempts to ascertain where the technocrats were located in the long line of processes from original policy-making through implementation and what this location meant to their roles. The project focus provides a vantage point for identifying not only those participants who are "behind-the-scenes" at the national and the provincial levels, but also those who are not officially linked with key positions in the government. These include those who have no formal positions with any departmental agency but who became involved with

⁸The panel members were asked to identify the technocrats who became involved in the conception of the project prior to its adoption in May 1973, and the technocrats who were involved in the project at the time the study was conducted (from February 1975 to August 1975).

the project in various ways.

Furthermore, this approach enabled the author to reconstruct the behavioral patterns typical of a technocrat within a given concrete activity, i.e. it provided an understanding of the linkages established by technocrats in this sector.

Towards a Definition of Technocrats

Although the existing literature provides a basis for pre-conceiving the meaning and roles associated with "technocrats," the author attempted to minimize bias by eliciting their definition from the members of reputational panel organized for this study. What follows is a reconstruction of the results of the panel interviews.

There was agreement among the reputational panel members that technocrats perform such various roles in the project as policy-maker, planner, administrator or a combination of these roles. They are held together by general orientations or values which selectively combine the prevailing scientific-technical culture and civic culture. They are guided by the following norms:

- (1) Objectivity — one is committed to make decisions on the basis of a rational assessment of the situation, of the alternatives, and of the events as they in fact occur;
- (2) Realism — one makes a decision in accordance with what is pragmatically feasible;

(3) Change-orientation — one can be flexible, innovative, dynamic and open-minded;

(4) Time perspective in problem-solving — one has a sense of urgency and of actively seeking direct solutions to real problems; and

(5) Collective orientation — one gives primacy to and is sensitive to the needs of the national polity.

The emergence of the code word "technocrat" during the panel interviews signified the members' conceptions about the project in focus, *Masagana 99*, and about how persons coming from the scientific and administrative communities operate when they become involved with the bureaucracy. Panelists expressed a model for behavior that depicts the persons involved as departing in specific ways from the usual patterns of behavior manifest in their communities of origin. The scientist-technocrat differs from the ordinary behavior or stereotype held of a research or an academic scientist. An administrator-technocrat is dissociated from the negative connotations about a bureaucrat.

With respect to the scientific community, there is posed a challenge for answers to policy-oriented questions. The ideal scientist-technocrat is portrayed as a person who avoids being entrapped in what is called by panel members as "esoteric fields" or "ivory-tower-dwelling abstractions." He

is one who is highly responsive to "real life problems." He is often described as being "a hybrid between a scientist and a common man. He is able to translate what comes out of the scientific world into something useful in time and space. He knows how a scientist thinks, what a scientist does, and who are to be affected by such an activity."

Researches that have practical implications cannot be a technocrat's domain, however, if the results are not conveyed to decision-makers responsible for the adoption of the complex of outputs generated from his endeavors. "A technocrat is a person with technical knowledge and he conveys this knowledge on a policy-level." He is one who can transmit ideas or transform resources in such a manner that they can be implemented. "He knows how to communicate with them and is persuasive enough for these ideas to be adopted." One panelist even strongly argued that the immediate concern of a scientist is to convey existing technologies for adoption rather than to "uncover" new ones, for as it is, a big discrepancy already exists "between the adoption of available technology and what the farmers are practicing." What should be done is to "encourage the removal of the constraints . . . to get our presently known technology adopted."

Various new sets of roles, therefore, are introduced into the norms of the technocratic community. According to the panel members, there are not

only demands to conform to the rigors of one's own endeavors as members of the scientific community. Membership in the technocratic community also challenges one to develop a sense of commitment to the national polity and a sense of relevance among members' actions, by translating the complex of outputs from the scientific domain into the solution of the selected real problems. A scientist-turned-technocrat performs a "political function" in a sense for his ideas do not remain within the boundaries of the scientific world but are transmitted to selected sectors of the public for adoption. It is important for a technocrat to consider the *relational aspect* of his role vis-a-vis an existing political machinery so that he would be able to communicate the complex of outputs for legitimation by policy-makers. He has to transmit these outputs in a form that is comprehensible to their end-users. He resolves the issue about whom to approach to get ideas accepted and in what manner these ideas should be presented to make them acceptable.

With respect to the administrator-technocrat, the panelists saw his actions as being governed by roles akin to those of Schumpeter's idea of an entrepreneur.⁹ An administrator-technocrat is adept at introducing innovations and is not captivated by bureaucratic rigidities or rules. However, a technocrat in the public sector de-

⁹Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Business Cycles: A Theoretical and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process*, Vol. I (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938), p. 87.

viates in certain respects from the entrepreneurial mold conceived by Schumpeter. Entrepreneurship, as viewed by this theorist, refers to the workings of the business sector and, therefore, implies the pursuit of greater profitability. A technocrat in the public sector was ideally typified by panelists as being "able to run the organization between a charity ward and a profit organization." The idea behind a public agency is not to reap profits but to "deliver services to the community," which is the "basis for which it should exist." Nonetheless, such services should be rendered efficiently within the stated purposes.

The suggestion that a technocrat is able to lead the organization beyond the "charity ward" seems to denote a reaction against the widespread notion of the government as a "patron" and a "dispenser" of free goods for the public. In a survey of studies by Dia on the farmers' image of government in the Philippines,¹⁰ there was a general tendency to consider the government as a source of "dole, the source of jobs, the solver of problems, and a form of institutionalized philanthropy."¹¹ This statement seems to challenge technocrats to generate greater self-reliance on the part of the public to make their own contributions towards improving conditions of life.

¹⁰Manuel Dia, "Filipino Farmers' Image of Government: A Neglected Area in Developmental Change," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (April 1965), pp. 153-166.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 154.

Profile of Technocrats

What is the background of the technocrats under study? Where do they originate? What roles do they perform in connection with the *Masagana 99* project? In the succeeding paragraphs, an attempt will be made to answer these questions.

Of the 24 visible technocrats interviewed in depth, 13 were involved mainly in activities centered in the national office (which we will refer to as the "Center") during the various phases of project conception and implementation. The rest, eleven of them, were involved in the implementation activities in the provinces. Three of the thirteen at the Center were foreigners. There were no foreigners who emerged as "visible" technocrats in the provinces.

The findings can be generalized as follows:

- (1) Technocrats in this study emerged from three groups of institutions — government service, academic-research-technical organizations, and private corporate business. Altogether, they participate by being involved as decision-makers, policy-makers and/or administrators of the project.

The varied institutional origins of technocrats stem from the fact that there is a dearth of persons in the government service sector with the appropriate talents, experience, competencies and networks to fulfill the ever-changing roles and expectations

for technocrats. Technocrats must have a combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes and interpersonal ties to enable them to carry out diffuse and open-ended roles. Technocrats often perform such intertwined roles as catalysts and brokers.

As catalysts, technocrats selectively organize, synthesize and refine the knowledge which has been generated in the scientific technical community. As brokers they convey innovations to existing entities or sectors of the public. At one level, technocrats translate the results of the scientific-technical culture into the language of policy-makers. For their part, policy makers legitimize the adoption of these innovations. On the second level, technocrats articulate the scientific technical innovations legitimized by policy-makers to persons engaged in the implementation process.

Furthermore, there is an increasing reliance on professional persons from the non-governmental service institutions because of the increasing interdependencies of various institutions in undertaking the complex task of development. Effective attainment of developmental goals necessitates the involvement of persons with scientific, managerial, and administrative backgrounds. Technocrats have the perspectives and competencies necessary for articulating the rapidly developing information and knowledge to the appropriate social structure in a heterogeneous civic culture.

Most of the technocrats in the national Center are identified with the

non-governmental service sector. The two institutions that are generative of central technocrats with agricultural background are the main centers for advance training and research in agriculture — the International Rice Research Institute and the College of Agriculture of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños. These technocrats have been at one time or another, students, trainees, staff members, and/or affiliates in varying combinations of research, teaching, extension and administrative functions in these institutions. Another institutional source is the private corporate sector and encompasses both multinational and Filipino-owned firms. This sector has historically been renowned for attracting and developing managerial expertise and has generated future technocrats whose main experience is in management.

Some central technocrats enter the project laterally, assuming key or middle-level types of position as bureau-technocrats. Others continue in their regular position while functioning in the capacity of full-time or part-time advisers and consultants in the decision-making during the conception and/or implementation of the project. It is not uncommon for technocrats to hold several positions concurrently.

Provincial technocrats enter the project via their positions in pre-existing governmental bureaus. They are upwardly mobile in the sense of going up the different rungs of the career civil service.

- (2) Filipino technocrats in the project studied have a college education or more. Nearly a fourth have some foreign education and about three-fourths have cross-cultural experiences in the last five years through attendance in seminars and workshops in their fields of specialization, primarily in the developing countries.
- (3) Seniority in age is not important for the attainment of the status of a visible Filipino technocrat. Fifteen or sixteen, or about 76% of the 21 Filipino technocrats studied are below 45 years of age. This is a drastic contrast to the higher civil servants of the government in 1958, 79.7% of whom were in the older set (45 years old and above), according to Francisco's study.¹²
- (4) Socio-economic origin is an overarching predictor of the kinds of earlier opportunities for socialization which help in preparing persons for future roles in technocracy.

The two technocrats at the Center with upper-class origins were educated in American institutions and acquired more than an undergraduate education in a continuous process of schooling. They financed their education mainly through family assistance. They have been involved from the out-

set of their career in key positions of administration in the private sector, particularly in institutions they partly own and have helped in founding.

Those with middle-class and lower-class origins also had opportunities for attaining graduate education. This they acquired through non-family financial sources. They obtained support for advance education through varying sources such as the work organization, foreign foundations, aid provided by a university in a foreign country, and their own savings. They pursued advance education later in their work life than did technocrats emerging from the highest social class. These middle and lower-class technocrats are mostly affiliated with academic-research institutions and the government service sector. Altogether they experience upward mobility rather than lateral mobility, and do so by going up the graded rungs of a career ladder in an organization. However, in both cases, persons in applied research move upward earlier in their work life than those in extension administration, i.e. persons involved in supervising individuals engaged in disseminating technologies to the grassroots.

The difference in the mobility pattern can be related to the nature of technocracy itself. That is, if technocracy can be considered a structure with a hierarchy based on the complexity of innovations introduced, technocrats linked with applied research activities become more prominent earlier in their work life than

¹²Gregorio A. Francisco, *Higher Civil Servant in the Philippines* (Manila: College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1960), p. 117.

those in extension administration. Individuals who are in extension administration gain upward mobility more slowly in the career civil service. This is so because extension work depends upon the scientific-technical innovations generally evolving from research activities in which young and talented persons may be able to participate. On the other hand, implementing innovative research results requires more intimate knowledge of end-users which extension agents are in a better position to have.

- (5) Technocracy in this project is sex-linked! All of the 24 technocrats under study are men. It is so because technocrats operate in the center of state-related power that technocracy tends to be male-dominated.

Historically, key positions in politics and government¹³ and the roles in decision-making processes concerning national issues¹⁴ have been commonly held by men. But this is not to say that women do not get involved in technocracy. There are indications that women in kinship networks provide support to technocrats.

- (6) Further differentiations can be seen in the personal profile among Filipino technocrats by

¹³Jose V. Abueva, "Social Backgrounds and Recruitment of Legislators and Administrators in a Developing Country: The Philippines," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January 1965), p. 16.

¹⁴Perla Makil and Frank Lynch, *PAAS-CU/IPC Study of Schools and Influentials: Final Report, Part IV* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1972).

the locale of their involvement in the project. Central and provincial technocrats can be distinguished by age, levels of education, institutions in which they were educated, and foreign cross-cultural experiences.

Central technocrats are younger (averaging 37 years of age vs. 45 for provincial technocrats), more often have graduate education (8 out of 10 vs. 3 out of 11 for provincial technocrats), more often obtained their education in local private institutions or abroad or both (all of the 10 central technocrats vs. 5 of the 11 in the provinces), and have gained cross-cultural experiences through attendance at seminars and workshops abroad in the last five years (9 out of 10 vs. 6 out of 11 provincial technocrats). As already noted, provincial technocrats are predominantly from the career civil service, have lower class origins, and have also been linked with institutions that provide fewer opportunities for socialization into technocratic culture.

- 7) The entry of foreign technocrats occurs primarily at the Center rather than in the provinces. They have performed the function of articulating technical-administrative innovations rather than disseminating these innovations to the provinces. Extension work can be more effectively undertaken by Filipinos who know the local language, traditional leadership and local culture.

The Social Matrix of Technocracy

As has been argued in the paradigm presented at the beginning of this study and as the data obtained in this research indicate, the social matrix of technocracy is the network of constituents who are organized according to specific activities created or initiated by technocrats. Although technocrats must take into account the specific norms or rules governing formal groups or organizations, they generate and articulate new ones. The matrix of technocracy is without fixed boundaries because it is specific to the persons who initiate the activity within the broad goals envisioned for the program or plan. The social matrix, therefore, does not embody positions for which duties or responsibilities are completely predetermined. Roles are dependent on the persons creating them. Technocracy can be distinguished from bureaucracies, corporate groups, or organizations which have codified duties and responsibilities assumed by its members and passed on from one generation to the next. Technocracy consists of persons whose roles are created to fit their missions and are shaped by their actions. They are tied together by network.

Innovations can be generated by an individual only to the extent that he can mobilize the appropriate networks of persons who can be "accessories" to and supportive of his part of the larger scheme. Thus, the emergence of an individual as a technocrat depends upon his having access to per-

sons necessary in the performance of a particular catalytic role. More specifically, those who are reputed as central technocrats in the project have access to persons in the leading centers of research and private corporations, and to national power figures. The innovations generated by these technocrats are primarily of the technical-administrative type.

Those who emerge as provincial technocrats are individuals who successfully put together networks concerned with the dissemination of the innovations forged by central technocrats. Their networks include linkages to technocrats at the Center, to the extension workers who disseminate the "package of technology", to provincial power figures, and to persons knowledgeable about local infrastructures. Thus, the network for each technocrat varies with his role in the larger scheme. The role of a technocrat and his charisma are dependent on the existence and availability of such persons and knowledge.

Technocracy is not a self-generating social unit. Its purpose for being, its personnel, its body of knowledge and its authority all stem from outside the network. What enable the networks to come into existence and to hold persons together are their ties with centers of authority that give legitimacy to their acts. While networks are formed in the various processes of articulating such social groups as the scientific-technical community, policy-makers, and the bureaucracy at the

central and provincial levels, networks only find their authenticity by having access to and the sanction of those with the power of the state.

Because technocracy is not a self-generating social unit, various symbiotic systems contribute components to its functioning. Although the composition of the symbiotic systems that are of importance to the viability of networks in technocracy falls beyond the purview of this study, an understanding of how a particular technocratic pattern develops and works can not ignore these sustaining patterns. The disparate support systems for *Masagana 99* which the technocrats have attempted to articulate include the research-scientific institutions, the business sector, the national and provincial agencies of the government implementing the project, the policy-makers, the binational and multinational agencies in the Philippines, the universities abroad and in the country, and the historical traditions and lifestyles of farmers. How these many-sided systems can be connected into technocratic networks and how these networks, in turn influence the systems are beyond the purview of this study.

Philippine Technocracy as a Third Culture

Students of Philippine administrative culture and behavior have often lamented the dysfunctions created by traditional culture in the efficient workings of organizations.¹⁵ Some are

of the opinion that the personalistic or particularistic complexes of norms (e.g. familism, patron-client relationship, *compadre* system) in the traditional culture militate against the recruitment of personnel on the basis of merit and the objective assessment of the credentials of a potential entrant. The pervading influences of the traditional culture allegedly circumvent the impartial operation of the bureaucracy because the recruits, oftentimes, do not match the qualifications called for by certain positions. In spite of the formal rules established for the career civil service, which aim at ensuring the entry of competent persons, numerous provisions undermine the bureaucratic processes and allow for a patronage mode of entry into the organization.

Because of the dominant influence which traditional norms have had on the operation of the bureaucracy, it has been argued that a gap exists between what a bureaucracy purports to be and how it operates in reality. Hence, while Philippine bureaucracy has been patterned after the Western model in values, norms, and structure (i.e. rationality, formalism, merit, functional specificity), this model remains primarily an ideal. The formal structure represented by organizational charts does not actually work according to their form. There are various mixes and matches of personalities which the boxes in these organizational charts do not manifest.

¹⁵Onofre D. Corpuz, "The Cultural Foundations of Filipino Politics," *Philippine*

Journal of Public Administration, Vol. IV, No. 4 (October 1960), pp. 297-310; and Francisco, *op. cit.*

As Hollnsteiner aptly remarks on the apparent division between labor and management represented by the typical company chart: "The viewer from the outside cannot tell just by looking that the workers or supervisors represented by these boxes are 'close' to the executive in *that particular* box. Listening will inform the outsider that company personnel speak less often of 'we the workers' and 'they the management,' and vice versa, than in terms of personal identifications."¹⁶

What then is the relationship of technocracy to the existing bureaucratic culture? Technocracy is a relatively new adaptation in the Philippine state-system. While the past structure of the Philippine bureaucracy has been noted for interlacing personal factors with the recruitment process, in contrast, technocracy has unusual competence and expertise as its primary basis of recruitment. Although technocracy indicates a "modern" trend by its emphasis on merit, a continuation of traditional pattern is still suggested by the fact that the recruitment is limited to certain candidates, i.e. to persons with particular "connections" with the sponsor or the person recruiting. The process of entry thus retains the features of an "enclosed type" of social unit. Technocracy is a structural adaptation which necessarily blends "modernity" with the existing norms and values of Fili-

pinos. While competence is the primary criterion for admission to the status of a technocrat, traditional norms of personalism and segmentation also come to the fore. Considerations for recruitment are access to and recognition by a person in power. Recruits are usually part of the networks of interpersonal ties of the sponsor or the person recruiting. These ties are developed from school, work, professional organization, friendship or kinship settings, in various periods of an individual's life.

What this study suggests is, first, the need for new paradigms to indicate the importance of culture in the complex of change and development and, more particularly, in the uses of knowledge, technology, and modern organizations. This paradigm should transcend the "ethnocentric" and "universalistic" bias¹⁷ assigned to culture in classical theories of development. The assumption implicit in these conventional theories is that change from the traditional to a modern form of social organization can be managed in the less-developed world by assuming as essential the values of Western developed nations which generally incorporate such orientations as universalism, impersonalism, and affective neutrality. Opposing value orientations are often seen as impending rather than facilitating developmental processes.

It can be argued, however, that

¹⁶Mary Hollnsteiner, "Philippine Bureaucracy: The Interplay of Two Legitimate Value Systems," Paper read at the Third Session of the Philippine Executive Academy in Baguio City on February 9, 1966, p. 4.

¹⁷Inayatullah, *The Transfer of Western Development Model to Asia and Its Impact* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Asian Centre for Development Administration, 1975).

there are value patterns labeled as traditional which can still be adapted to sustain the process of development or modernization. Thus, as some scholars who have studied other historical situations have pointed out, traditional culture is not necessarily dysfunctional but can be selectively combined with new elements that are being developed.¹⁸

Second, the concept of culture must include the aspect of creativity by which groups of persons forge new combinations of social, technological, economic, organizational and political patterns. Culture should be understood as not simply embodying the integrative norms that can be passed intact from one generation to the next. As a paradigm, it must incorporate on-going changes and innovations among its elements and thus must include the search for new cultures. We should shy away from the traditional notion of culture as static in the uses of knowledge, technology, and modern organizations. Culture is not simply a social heritage that provides "... ordinary members with ready-made answers to the commonplace questions which people are apt to ask themselves about their collective identity, about who they are as members of a particular human group, and about their relationship to out-

siders."¹⁹ Rather, the concept of a national society and its culture needs to be viewed in new ways to fit emerging as well as present definitions of the situation. What is occurring in our time is a merger or a convergence of both development and crisis in the political economy. This invites the search for new models of how men and institutions respond to conflict, to change, and to fresh opportunities for creativity.

Technocrats as Men-in-the-Middle

The concept of a "third culture" has recently been developed in the sociological literature to refer to the behavioral patterns of persons who serve to interconnect societies or social segments that are necessarily interdependent but disjointed.²⁰ It denotes the "selective modifications and adaptations" undertaken by persons linking institutions or groups of people with diverse traditions. It reveals the creative processes persons undertake in the task of coordinating groups of people, i.e. the "ways in which men-in-the-middle of intersecting societies or segments thereof perform their roles while engaged in the process of representing larger collectivities, the

¹⁹John Useem, "The Study of Cultures," *Sociological Focus*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Summer 1971), p. 5.

²⁰John Useem, Ruth Hill Useem and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," *Human Organization*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Fall 1963), pp. 169-179, and John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, "American Educated Indians and Americans in India: A Comparison of Two Modernizing Roles," *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (October 1968), pp. 143-158.

¹⁸Abueva, *op. cit.*; Inayatullah, *op. cit.*; Fred W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964); and Surajit Sinha, *Science, Technology and Culture* (New Delhi: Research Council for Cultural Studies, India International Center, 1970).

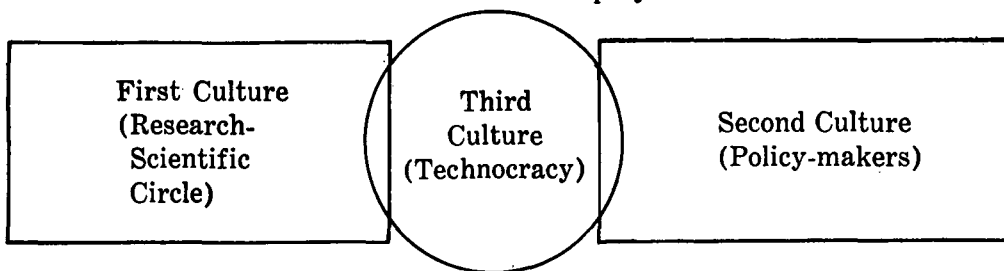
social systems in which these roles are embedded, the life styles and institutions which are found in the interstitial sectors between the connected societies or their segments and their total consequences for the values of the interdependent societies or their segments."²¹

What the accommodations and adaptations imply when technocrats serve as social brokers or "men-in-the-middle" is the possible emergence of a new type of cultural heritage and new social patterns among this group of people. The culture of technocracy as a third culture is generic to the networks of people who emerge between social units or segments with different cultures. It is a selective combination of the first and the second culture (as defined below) that results in a new set of norms, values and status system among persons in the intersections of social organizations or segments. Thus, the scientist-technocrats of the project under study who synthesize innovations of a technical type, mediate between the research-scientific circle (first culture)

and the policymakers (second culture). The role-related behavioral patterns emergent in the mediation process is one part of the third culture.²² (See the diagram below).

The brokerage function is an attempt of the constituents to articulate the culture of the scientific-technical community into a form comprehensible to policy-makers. A similar brokerage function is undertaken by administrator-technocrats between the policy-makers and selected participants in the implementation of the project.

In the Philippine context where the roles of technocrats are created to confront the pervading crises of state and society, a commonality of values permeates the emerging technocratic system. None of these values are unique to technocracy but by the way they occur together and are juxtaposed at the center of what is shared and held in common, they command a measure of acceptance among those who participate in its central activities. While technocrats of the particular project in focus come out of di-



²¹Useem, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and J. Useem, R. Useem and Donoghue, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

²²This study has only examined the character of the third culture of technocrats and has not dwelt into the character of the first and the second cultures. Recent studies however, have indicated the global network of the Philippine scientific community. See

Useem, *op. cit.* The first culture is a part of the world-wide culture of science, higher education, research centers, technical assistance programs, programs among scholars working on applied problems, etc. The second culture is embedded in the wider structures of the political economy. It, too, contains both national and global dimensions.

verse institutions, they are held together by these shared orientations. These orientations selectively combine elements of the scientific-technical culture and civic culture, such as objectivity, realism, change-orientation, time perspective in problem-solving and collective orientation.²³

Whether or not individual technocrats fulfill these values in their everyday behavior, they still represent the shared values of those who participate in technocracy and they are woven into the fabric of technocratic patterns of behavior. While this research has not attempted to elicit these orientations by evaluating the objectives and outcomes of technocratic schemes, it has examined some features of the emerging third culture of technocrats and their behavior. These features are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Technocrats do not operate in a self-contained manner. While they are held together by or presumed to hold a commonality of values, technocrats have to accommodate the cultural values of the larger society to perform the tasks of brokerage. Thus, in the process of articulating the existing structural base of the knowledge community with those of other groups or segments of society, socio-cultural situations have to be grappled with to facilitate the brokerage process. The technocrats in this study adapt the larger Philippine traditions in disseminating innovations to the groups they are trying to reach. Technocrats are highly sensitive, for

instance, to the importance of what studies of Philippine culture refer to as "smooth-interpersonal-relations" (SIR). These are interpersonal sets of local values which permeate the interaction among and between technocrats and between various groups of the society. The technocratic values are not absent in these transactions but they are typically melded with popular norms of conduct. In the Philippine setting, presentation of the self calls for well-formulated arguments, respect for the points of view of others, and reliance on informal discussion and oral commitments. In sum, technocrats must have the imagination and the knowledge of the social norms for interpersonal behavior in order to work among and between complex series of particular relationships.

There are instances, however, in which the individual behavior of the technocrats in this study varies in accordance with the person undertaking the brokerage process. In a setting where social status largely gives persons their identity, brokerage is readily accomplished by one who has a complex of characteristics signifying "high status," SIR-promoting behaviors notwithstanding. Chief among these characteristics are being male, having a high socio-economic origin, having an influential sponsor, having access to political power or authority, being highly educated, and being linked with prestigious organizations or institutions (e.g. private corporate business and academic-research institutions such as the

²³See *supra*, p. 126

University of the Philippines at Los Baños and the International Rice Research Institute). This combined identity enables the individual both to enter the role with confidence and support and to undertake the mediation process.

Since these attributes are not equally distributed among technocrats, other compensating attributes become more essential among those who do not have them. This means that one should be extra-sophisticated and careful about the norms for behavior and interpersonal relations. It means being especially sensitive to informal alignments, sponsorship relationships, and factional conflicts. In a culture that gives primary consideration to personalized relationship in transactions, whether in the public or the private sector, it is crucial to find out "who is closer to the person in power" or has control of a particular decision

and can legitimize what one is disseminating.

Coda

This is a case study of a small number of men working on a very large-scale and complex technological and administrative problem. This study has centered on one special kind of created culture which helped put together a whole combination of ideas, technology, professional competence, and power. It has to a major extent examined the internal dynamics of technocracy and the backgrounds of those constituting it. It has to a more limited extent examined the technocrat's tasks of intercession and accommodation within a complex cultural and social milieu. To a sociologist, this essay suggests the need for further comparative studies of the combinations of persons, roles, networks and culture of technocracy in a wide and diverse range of ventures in development and change.