When we talk about bureaucratic capacity, what are we talking about? A theoretical and empirical review of the concept

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ENG Abstract. This work aimed to analyse the concept of bureaucratic capacity based on some behaviours, attributes and relationships that define it in the international theoretical framework and, in the lines of research in Colombia that apply it in the search for understanding the functioning of the public bureaucracy. The tracing shows the reflections and challenges of the theories of bureaucracy in the face of the different scopes that have been attributed to said concept over time. The conclusions highlight the importance of evaluating the concept of bureaucratic capacity in terms of the diversity of local contexts in which local public administrations operate.
Keywords: bureaucracy; state capacity; bureaucratic capacity; political bureaucracy.

Summary: 1. Methodology. 2. Literature review. 2.2. New interpretations: beyond the shortcomings and difficulties of individuals. 2.3. individuals. 3. The concept of bureaucratic capacity and the research perspective in Colombia. 3.1. The professionalisation of the civil service and the processes of socialisation of civil servants. 3.2. Forms of access of professionals to the public administration. 3.3. Civil Service. 3.3. Difficulties of bureaucratic capacity in local socio-political contexts in Colombia. 4. Conclusions. 4.1. Classification and interpretation of the results found. Bibliographical references

It seems to be common in the popular slang of Spanish-speaking countries to use expressions that represent a pejorative conception of bureaucracy; it denotes waste of time, inefficiency, paperwork, negligence, among others. "Bureaucracy is a heavy burden, a disgrace to be suffered/suffered" they say in Guatemala (Colussi, 2013: 6). In Malaga there is an expression that says "[...] the bureaucracy seems to have been has been established to vex the public" (Loma, 2017: 3)

In the Colombian case, some intellectuals have put it in different ways. The prestigious political scientist and columnist Hernando Gómez Buendía in the 1990s argued that "Our state is not, nor has it ever been truly legitimate" Gómez quoted by (Posada, 2003: 1). Jorge Restrepo once asked, "what is the point of having a perfectly designed state, if it is hijacked by bipartisan roscas" (Posada, 2003: 5). Juan Lozano described the state administration as "...the spoils of merciless bandits, a refuge for heartless bureaucrats, a trench of resentment and a refuge for heartless bureaucrats, a trench of resentment and disaffection, instrument of individual struggles, toy of frivolities, laboratory of whims" (Carbó, 2003: 5-6). Víctor Paz Otero stated "It is not that the country is sick... It is that there is no state, or its spokespersons lack the necessary principles to carry out their duties. There isn't one now, and there wasn't one in the past: we are a stateless society. There has never been not even a simulacrum of a State... So, when we invoke their presence, we are always invoking an absence or a ghost" (Carbó, 2003: 11). And Rudolf Hommes once said, "the Colombian state, its administration, its political organisation, and its military, as parts of them, have failed or are failing irremediably and thunderously - it is necessary - to build a state that is good for something' (Hommes, 2002, quoted in Carbó, 2003: 11).

While the references cited above demonstrate the discomfort that the conduct of the public bureaucracy has for

public opinion, it is necessary to perceptions of public bureaucracy to an interpretative level. Bearing in mind that "public bureaucracy is not an ideal type of organisation that does or does not perform various tasks; a public bureaucracy is what it does. It is an outcome of policy and is determined by the nature and contents of the content of the public policies it implements" (Oszlak, 2006: 13) and by contextual determinants. So, the issue of state capacity in terms of bureaucratic capacity is important for several reasons. First, because the weakening of citizens' trust in institutions is (among many other things) due to the quality of public policies and governmental decision-making that are closely related to their exercise. Secondly, the capacities of bureaucracies are linked to the functioning of the organisational structures of the state that seek to respond to the needs of individuals, collectives and socio-political actors. Third, due to the low professionalisation of their local bureaucracy in the midst of a public employment ecosystem mediated by the primacy of the contractual modality of provisional employment and service provision contracts, and, in general, "because of the political and informal conditions of political precariousness and institutional informality" (Medellín, 2004: 9), make it a priority to ask about the capacities of public bureaucracies as a matter of study.

The document is structured in five parts. The first part describes the methodology, in addition to this introduction. The next section, a literature review, is devoted to tracing the aforementioned scope that has been attributed to the concept of political bureaucratic capacity from the theories that have studied its behaviours and behaviours, such as: determinants and stimuli; bureaucratic inefficiency and high-value behaviours, among others. The third section, "New interpretations: beyond the shortcomings and difficulties of individuals", presents a review of the literature in terms of approaches and a review of the literature in terms of approaches and theoretical elements of bureaucratic behaviour and their possible individual and aggregate or contextual capacities; and the fourth section, "The concept of bureaucratic capacity concept and research perspective in Colombia" is aimed at demonstrating the application of the concept of bureaucratic capacity in the results of research. The fifth part offers some conclusions. By bureaucratic capacity, then, we mean the competence of its staff to use rules to enable action and efficiency; that is, they can make possible the coordination between activities taking place simultaneously, to the extent of making them consistent with each other and reduce uncertainty. Rules enforce agreements and keep conflicts at bay (Olsen, 2005: 8).

1. Methodology

Let us begin with some distinctions in how studies on capabilities of public bureaucracy have been approached. Those in political positions or positions of trust such as those in a public administration have been studied at two levels of analysis: individual and aggregate. The first refers to the set of knowledge, competencies and experiences that a particular individual has while the second is concerned with the same knowledge and experience, but of a social group (the political class; a body of public or private civil servants in a national public or private officials of a national, departmental or local administration, among others), in a given socio-political context.

The review of the theoretical concept of public bureaucratic capacity in relation to its behaviours shows that there is little consensus on a generic definition. The term capacity is controversial insofar as it is the result of a "myriad" of approaches that have dealt with it.

The general aim of this article is to answer the question: what are we talking about when we talk about bureaucratic capacity? by means of a general exercise of comparison (differences and similarities) of the theoretical categories that have given an account of their patterns of behaviour in relation to their functioning as capacities are concerned. Similar variables for bureaucracy were defined as possessing a pattern of behaviour in relation to their job and the institutions; the fact that it fulfils a series of functions that develop or have an effect on the environment of society. The different variables were: bureaucracy as a creator of public value; bureaucracy with relative autonomy, and political professionalisation.

The technique used for the construction of the document was the bibliographic review or follow-up in terms of thematic identification in the literature published in high impact journals and research results publications. We set aside the philosophical and critical theory bibliographic production in terms of normative aspects.

The monitoring of conceptualisations of bureaucratic capacity is useful not only at the theoretical level, but also at the practical level, as it identifies, in them, the implementation of a series of behaviours, conducts and strategies in favour of behaviours, conducts and strategies for their reproduction or decision-making.

2. Literature review

2.1. Bureaucratic capacity from a theoretical scope, it has sought to define itself with and on the basis of conducts, behaviours and competencies which, in turn, account for the different debates in the social and administrative sciences. Some of these are extensive and profound, while others are narrow in scope; certain conclusions are supported by evidence as a result of research processes and others with argumentative and logical cogency, with rhetorical discourse or from particular experiences.

Comparisons between the behaviours and capacities of the bureaucracy identify as important similarities, a kind of utilitarianism -commodification of its actions, where it is highlighted that its behaviour is dominated by the determinants/stimuli from which it operates, following the behaviour is dominated by the determinants/stimuli on the basis of which it operates, following (Tullock, 1965: 178-347) it is argued that bureaucrats as individual and rational actors are largely motivated by self-interest; career advancement, and are in turn incapable of collective rationality (Mendieta & Murillo, 2019: 13).Their motivational types as differentiation, are mediated by conservative, climbers, fanatics, promoters and statists - and shows how the mix of these types shapes the growth and functioning of the public bureaucracy. They all agree that the rational behaviour of bureaucrats promotes

inefficiency, excessive growth, capture, poor accountability, and other similar problems that conspire against effective government (Moe, 2007: 52). Simon noted that there are other factors that interfere with an individual's behaviour, particularly factors that do not translated into costs and benefits, such as an individual's values and beliefs. From this he began to develop a series of analytical tools (surveys, experiments, etc.) to test the assumption that individuals act according to "bounded rationality". It was later developed in research on bureaucracy to understand the different behaviour of civil servants depending on the level of hierarchy they occupy. In some cases, civil servants do not have the career development prospects of their superiors and therefore their rational calculations are not comparable. In this sense, the concept of risk depends on whether there are (or are not) prospects for career growth in the organisation, or whether it is a question of keeping a job with the right material conditions. It appears that the causes or reasons for such behaviours are related to cognitive problems or limitations of the individuals/bureaucrats, considering them as disjointed to further cooperation with the disengaged from greater cooperation with public interests, insofar as a public administration should act in relation to the general interest.

Nevertheless, public bureaucracies differ from installed capacities in their general attitude towards their work or performance, as well as differences in economic incentives. However, it is often unclear whether such differences are attributable only to the public employment or civil service system. In a study on "untrustworthy bureaucracy" empirical evidence shows that in addition to the attitude towards work and the lack of skills/professionalisation and experience of a set of bureaucrats in the affairs of government offices negatively impact on citizens in terms of passing on to them the costs of learning (such as the time it takes to become informed and to understand how government programmes work and their benefits), psychological costs (including intrusive paperwork and social stigma), and compliance costs of administrative processes (rules and requirements) that citizens face (Peters & Trujillo, 2018: 14-15), thus moving away from conceiving of bureaucratic capacity as a cognitive barrier and as behaviours that affect citizens. In this way, the behaviour resulting from the absence of competences was considered in the studies on cognitive limitations in the bureaucracy. As a result of the two previous levels that have set the standard in research on the behaviour of the bureaucracy, (Mann, 2008: 355). for example, argues that bureaucracies create or do not create "public value" to the extent that they deviate from political mandates and are linked to contributing to the citizenry from organizations and public actions, which has led to several interpretations of institutional capacity, which tends, on the one hand, to take its action as limited in terms of its political participation and partisan support for the process of implementing public policies, for example, and on the other, the institutional capacity seen from linkage as politicization of the civil service.

2.2. New interpretations: beyond shortcomings and difficulties of individuals

New interpretations seek to broaden the discourse or approach of determinants/stimuli in which bureaucracies operate and show that, despite its possible uniformity, the particularities and dissent play an important role. The interests may be marked by particularities as regards bureaucratic/determinant relations context[12] that can be identified in a series of behaviours, attributes and relationships. Let's look at several examples. Between the nineties and two thousand to the bureaucracies were observed how able to generate economic value; politicized and/or captured by with low professionalization and, separated from the policy and more/less associated with the administration, let's see:

Empirical research on the capacities of bureaucracies as a source of development (economic value) is not common, and refers, according to political scientists O'Donnell (1993) and Ziblatt (2008) capacity that depends on the unequal scope of State in the territory and in its different ability to exercise control and/or monitoring, where the two fundamental elements that affect the capacity of local states are the tax resources and the degree of professional *expertise* institutionalized in the staff of the bureaucracy, that is, its capacity and quality to provide public goods. Bureaucratic capacity as a catalyst for development, is conceived as the result and interaction of actors, their repertoires of action and the policy networks which, with local governments and their public bureaucracies, generate when executing or implementing what has formally been called the activity(ies) state(s), interpreted as the constructor/articulator/ differentiating the relations of domination, integration, cooperation, among others. In this way, the capacities of the public bureaucracy are essential for the development of the economy, seen as social development (health, education, mobility, housing, recreation, etc.), while are presented as the most "dynamic" agents appropriate to convene all stakeholders key to the local economy [...] (UCLG, 2016: 7) and, as a result of [...] the powers of the civil servants, who are the ones who will enable state organizations to achieve of results for the development of the region and the quality of life of their citizens (CLAD, 2016: 3). There is also an intermediate position according to the relationship between institutional performance and the competences of public officials are reciprocal. This approach has been argued primarily by economists of the theory of public choice as (Niskanen, 1971) for whom the European bureaucracy is a budget maximized and equipped for the first time with a useful function simple enough to be modelled formally (Moe, 1988). Or in more specific terms, bureaucratic productivity can be defined as the ability of the bureaucracy to generate public value (Oszlak, 2006: 24).

This perspective of bureaucratic capacity as results of the articulation of actors, activities and interests that dynamize the materiality of the State towards social development, and, which could be located as a capacity that adds "public value," contrasts with the behaviour and powers of the political bureaucracy where it plays a paradoxical role between its relative autonomy and the capture by professional politicians.

In that sense the political bureaucracy refers to a complex and contradictory mutual, bidding relationship or

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[12] Rourke (as cited in Oszlak; 2006: 12). We associate the concept of contextual determinant not only as limits arising from external competitive pressures, but also from factors related to the way organizations operate and bureaucrats behave within their own habitat (competition among bureaucracies; internalized constraints, codes of ethics, internal procedures, performance evaluation and representativeness).

from capture of politicians to bureaucrats who limit, restrict and/or dynamize internally State capacities in relation to agendas public policy formulation and execution; thus, marking the historical operation -informal- and inefficient of the State (Henao, 2005: 103). Let's raise some particularities of these practices. As mutual relationship access to the positions of public officials constitutes a kind of relational and hybrid practices in which a professional is immersed. This behaves in a logic network structure (Salcedo, 2009) that are built from university education, career path and "militancy" in an organizational level of a political party (Daza, 2005) linked to a previous symbolic and intellectual capital (Bourdieu, 2000). Which means that the appointment of a public bureaucrat in the administrative structure is brokered by compliance criteria of loyalty to the political leader (local executive), and apparently to a series of knowledge, technical - administrative management of issues related to public affairs, office management, among others, established historically by the legislative system. The capture of bureaucracy is also presented by the pressure groups such as trade unions, as mentioned (Ramio, 2016: 111) the Public Administration is very vulnerable to corporate pressure and [...] we must reach a new pact between the civil servants and the Civil Service defend and protect the viability and sustainability of and abandon the selfish, individualistic and unsupportive logics associated with capture corporate and trade union.

Dissimilar and perhaps symbiotically, the bureaucracy captured by professional politicians is at the same time a determining and paradoxically dynamic factor in institutional performance. It is a determining factor in terms of access to public offices, since these are managed from political activity (Weber, 2012), and as a "key requirement" for the formation of "associations internal" that are essential for reproduction party interests and client networks within the state apparatus. And energizer, according to (Peters, 1999) when the relations that are given among officials within the offices of the public administration operate around the activity policy, which means that they "do politics" when they seek "the survival of the programs" by taking from the various inputs of the groups of the positions of the members of the political executive and public opinion to formulate and implement a public policy. At the other extreme, there are the political activities oriented towards the maintenance and growth of the organisation, two inseparable dimensions in the actual functioning of the administration, so that each contributes to achieving the goals of the other.

In this way, the bureaucracy has been perceived as a system of employment, resources in the hands of political power and corporate interests, far removed from the institutional features of the Weberian model. This behaviour is consistent with the pathologies of ponderousness and inefficiency, disproportionality of endowments and formalism and hyper-regulation of behaviour. of behaviour. Behind these dysfunctions is the mixture of discretion and capture that characterises a situation of formal over-bureaucratisation and real under-bureaucratisation (Echebarría, 2006, p. 1), which has prevented innovation in public administration, as pointed out by (Ramio, 2016: 113). The public administration has a Weberian model combined with a Fordist production system or the organisational type that (Mintzberg, 1988) calls machine bureaucracy. Three conceptual models that stand out for their rigidity and lack of contingent capacities.

Perhaps one variation in the aforementioned behaviours of the bureaucracy is its institutionalisation of the professionalisation of the civil service. One of the objectives of the modernisation of the state with regard to the allocation of positions in the executive branch is to regulate it according to merit, intending, on the one hand, the ideal of the separation of politics from administration and, on the other hand, denying that the allocation of posts, through behaviour, is associated with the direct pact of partisan interests on the bureaucracy (Peters, 1999); the dynamics of politics associated with the aims of a government agenda and, the power play of political elites in the appointment of the political class in the bureaucracy. The quality of decision-making in public institutions is closely related to their performance. On the one hand, a high level of experience and professional institutionalisation have an impact on the formality of the political regime.

This position [of professionalisation] is relatively aligned with positive public bureaucracy theory and public choice theory (Miller, 1983) cited by (Moe, 2007: 528) very influential in political science and public administration during the second half of the 20th century. According to the professionalizing, rather than a cause, the professionalisation of the civil servant is the effect of the rules of the game of governmental dynamics (Moe, 1988; Lagroye, 1993). In the words (Brooks-Terry, 1988: 532):

Weber (1947) long ago recognised that bureaucratic specialisation constitutes a profound dilemma for government. It is necessary for policies to be carried out efficiently, and it is the main reason why politicians delegate authority to bureaucrats. However, it is also a powerful weapon that bureaucrats can use against their superiors. What public administration scholars have been saying for decades, but in a different language, is that the asymmetric information inherent in bureaucracy produces a serious control problem for politicians, who must use their authority to remedy it.

According to professionalizing, professionalisation is a function or a response of strong political structures and/or institutions governed by formality (Medellín, 2004: 8), in which individuals act, and where experience and efficiency of the actors make the system dynamic. The argument is mainly based on the notion of competences (training), knowledge (professionalisation), skills (given by social characteristics): a good performance in the institutions (especially in terms of the existence of human capital and experience) empowers them and leads to the citizens recognise them as legitimate.

To recall one example, the case of the evaluation of administrative barriers in low trust bureaucracies in Mexico is illustrative: when these behaviours generate a certain mistrust of state institutions and their public bureaucrats, citizens also tend to find it more difficult to process and obtain an effective response to their demands. On the behaviour of the state bureaucracy in some Mexican federal entities, "administrative barriers are perceived as a trait of rational identification of the civil servant, concluding that simple negligence in the provision of public goods and services, the failures of public administrators in planning or perceiving the impact of their processes and regulations on citizens, are practices inherent to the Mexican bureaucratic system" (Moynihan and Herd, 2010: 664; Peeters, 2018: 16). On the other hand, trust in bureaucrats is determined by the quality of decision-making. This kind of qualified decision-making - argue those who advocate this perspective - leads to the state acting with a capacity to policy formulation and to alter reality in a mutually influential relationship with society. (Chudnovsky,

2015: 16). Oszlak (2002: 28) states: "the capacity of public officials increases organisational capacity, increases the provision of public goods in an effective and/or efficient manner or to act as a strategic state nucleus in the tasks of management, monitoring and evaluation of public officials', and which ultimately results in collective well-being.

3. The concept of bureaucratic capacity and the research perspective in Colombia

With regard to the application of the concept of civil servant capacity in research, and with a few exceptions (Duque, 2012), most of the studies are carried out in capital cities, on topics such as the level of professionalisation of governmental bodies (Rizzo, 2018); professionalisation of the public service (Guillen, 1990; Cortázar et al., 2014; André-Noël Roth, 2010), the professionalisation of politicians (Cabezas & Barragán, 2014; Jong and Rizvi, 2008; etc.). The few studies on public bureaucratic capacity in intermediate cities focus on fiscal performance and internal control (Gómez and Bolaños, 2019), and very little is said about the resources, financial resources and quality of human resources, etc. In addition, the lack of understanding of how local bureaucracies work limits the progress of a robust theoretical framework.

After briefly addressing the literature on the behavioural aspects of public bureaucracy, we will focus on an "empirical" follow-up of the research in Colombia that has highlighted the "state" of public bureaucracy, in terms of the issues that have been studied and which are fundamental to understanding the behaviours and practices of Colombia's public bureaucracies, such as their professionalisation and previous processes of socialisation of civil servants; and, the logics and forms of access to the public administration) and, likewise, a series of empirical references that allow the application of this concept to be evidenced, based on the review of three research proposals and/or applied studies on institutional capacity in public affairs in Colombian municipalities between 2014-2020.

3.1. Professionalisation of the civil service and its socialisation processes for civil servants

Thus, in the field of research in Colombia, the first approach to studies on bureaucratic capacities is evident in what we could define as the "professionalisation of the civil service" (Henao, 2005; André-Noël, 2010; Sanabria, 2010; Caicedo, 2011; Saavedra et al., 2012; Roth & Robayo, 2015; Guevara, 2018) at which argue that the capacity of the civil servant lies in the degree of professionalisation, which is translated or evidenced by the trajectories of the individuals acquired through work experience (in companies and the State); intellectual training (access to high levels of university education, continuous training) and which result in quality-based decision making and, from the perspective of identifying capacity in the framework of characterising the social and individual factors of the civil servant such as age, gender, geographical and ethnic origin, party affiliations, level of educational background, among others, given that "individuals are bearers of values acquired through a process of socialisation, which is expressed in a certain preference in their decisions which, in turn, conditions the functioning of a public administration (Roth & Robayo, 2015: 17). This line of work has been complemented by the research of (Guillén, 1990) or (Baum, 1985), (Bell, 1987); (Epstein, 2001) and (Guevara, 2018) in which they point out that it is necessary to conceive that in their socialisation processes - individuals - civil servants, are bearers of values which are then are bearers of values which are then assigned in decision making; thus questioning, the idea that public administration is limited to the sole and neutral execution of decisions and identifying that the policies of any governmental body are to a large extent influenced by the attitudes and perspectives of the people who act in them. According to this explanation, the socialised values of public officials towards the state determine their institutional success. The values, education and cultural accumulation acquired through public and private experiences are translated in this case into conceptions based on the quality of public service. This type of socialisation, argue those who advocate this reading, leads to (civil servants) to act responsibly. A couple of differentiating factors according to (Salerno, 2015: 30), is the one that it is not so much individual resources that determine institutional capacity, but rather the organisational levels of bureaucracy linked to the formation of technical elites and the development of socio-professional groups: economists, political scientists, businessmen, among others; and, the one posed by (Sanabria, 2010: 7), in which he concludes that professionalising capital is not so much a characteristic of the individual capacity of the public official in terms of qualification - and therefore it is not something external to institutional dynamics - but the result of at least two convergences: the design of mechanisms that eliminate the dysfunctions of the bureaucracy; the contexts and institutionality of a particular society. In the same vein, questions the professionalising argument, among other reasons, because it did not identify the influences on the individual in the formation of attitudes/ skills for public service, "by linking the professionalisation of the civil servant to models of meritocracy , they identified that in contemporary societies that this value is rooted in their worldviews and that it could be reflected -from academic work, which feeds on merit and continuous evaluations, ,even reality shows" (Souroujon, 2021: 61-62).

(Velasco, 2006) carried out a similar analysis in terms of the level of success of institutional reforms in the recruitment and professionalisation of the state bureaucracy, according to him, learning capabilities, intellectual capital formation, university education and training empower the civil servant to be more competent in his or her functions. Education is, in general, instruction received at a university or institution of higher education before entering public service. Training has a clear vocational sense, i.e. it is directly linked to specific tasks or positions that are already or will in the future be performed by the person; it is a function that affects the individual once he/she has been recruited by the service (Reichard, 1998).

3.2. Forms of access of professionals to the public administration

The state/institutional capacity of the civil servant is limited, in part, by the form of access to the civil servant

position which is dominated by the management sponsorship of public staff, as evidenced by research carried out in the city of Cali by (Saavedra, 2012: 41), which describes the way of management sponsorship of the staff. According to them:

> access to the position of civil servant is mediated by a stratified institutional development that responds to the logics of several personnel systems: a) a system of political patronage that dominates management through service contracts and interim jobs; b) a merit-based civil service system that occupies a subordinate position, and institutional arrangements that make it more flexible, which, coupled with the rules of political trust, do not allow it to move towards a dominant and transformative position in personnel administration, as envisaged by the 1991 Constitution; and c) a personnel modality based on the collective bargaining agreement regulating the contracting of official workers.

This interest built up around public officials or forms of relationship have in common the so-called political patronage factor (Spoil System) coexisting with other hybrid forms of recruitment between meritocracy, political patronage, and flexible arrangements of linkage to the public administration. This generates mistrust and loss of credibility in institutions and little citizen support for the public agendas of governments.

On the other hand, in a reading of the structures of social systems, Sáenz, 2005: 64 argues that those societies that have a greater incidence of modernisation, such as in the capital cities, there are other means by which professionals gain access to the category of civil servant. The formula for this alternative behaviour (which is controversial and multidimensional) operates as follows, according to him, for example, the business elite and the professionalisation of the political elite in Cali, transited from the interstices of the private world (business) and the world of public affairs (state affairs) to the interstices of the private world (business) and the world of the public (state affairs) to the construction of cadres of political domination in relation to the capacity and expertise to negotiation and professionalisation of agents in the public administration of the municipality. (Rodriguez, 2013: 45-46) advocates a similar approach for the formation of an administrative framework linked to two complementary dimensions of the functioning of the state and social policy in the region (Department of Valle del Cauca - Colombia) that is, "the way in which the Public Administration has been composed and transformed from the organisation of the state ; the organisation of public offices, etc., and the social networks of people and groups that have had the pretence of controlling public resources through a variety of mechanisms, all of them mechanisms, all leading to the formation of a bureaucratic cadre that materialises such pretensions". (Velazco, 2013: 94) does the same for the performance or application of two models of public management models in Cali.

3.3. Difficulties of bureaucratic capacity in local socio-political contexts in Colombia

It can be noted the contribution of (Benachi et al., 2020) that identify the dimension of the state capacity from the analysis of internal and external capacities of two municipalities in the south of Valle del Cauca (Col) for the implementation of the local development agenda in the framework of the Final Agreement for Peace. He clarifies that the two dimensions represent, one, municipal bureaucracy in local government (internal dimension) and, two, the coordination of the offices, their external capacities to build trust in order to reduce conflict (external dimension); arguing that they are energised by the visions, perspectives and considerations held by civil servants and bureaucrats and relations with the community actors that   shape the reality and the daily dynamics of institutions. It concludes that there is so much external pressure from actors, represented by legal actions (rights of petition, guardianship, enforcement actions, etc.) that the relationship with the actors is, let's say, conflictual, and bureaucratic capacity is limited or weakened because there is no synchronisation of processes and steps needed to implement programmes , coupled with the fact that there is a layer of non-expert professionals linked under the modality of service provision contracting modality, that respond to clientelist logics.

For his part, Juan Camilo Restrepo's proposal, which focuses his analysis on identifying twelve mayors' offices in capital cities and eleven departmental governors' offices, in relation to the administrative capacity of the local state to guarantee the rights and territorialisation of the national public policy guidelines on human rights for the LGTB population, to achieve this, it reviews three guiding categories of data collection, such as the inclusion in the Development Plans of municipal and departmental governments, administrative actions aimed at people with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities, and institutional performance. In these categories, inquire about administrative capacities to process and address public problems related to enjoyment rights, faced with discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity (Rave, 2020: 97). It concludes that

> municipalities have medium and low capacities in their territorial public administrations both in their administrative capacity (civil servants who are not well suited to implement public policy) and in the territorialization of public policy, and that it is the national institutional agendas and national institutional circuits that have institutionalization trajectory over the last sixteen governments, this through strategic litigation before the Constitutional Court (Rave, 2020: 30).

And in relation to the monitoring of the weaknesses of the institutional capacity of local municipalities, (Gómez and Bolaños, 2019) present a research that aims to analyse the institutional weaknesses, drawbacks, and potential of local governments based on three indicators (comprehensive performance, fiscal performance, open government index) to manage their resources and develop their function of service provision and promotion of equity in the period 2014-2018 and in the framework of the exercise of the functions assigned by the decentralisation process. This, with the aim of determining the trends and ranking of municipalities throughout the country and their different categories, establishing patterns of behaviour and areas of greater vulnerability in terms of management, it concludes that there are different factors that generate gaps between the different territorial entities, such as the armed conflict, corruption, the difficult geography of the regions and, the lack of qualification

of civil servants. A reading from homogeneous methodologies leads to guidelines, also homogeneous, given from the central level and above all without taking into account capacities differentially, there is no distinction between categories, size, income and population.

4. Conclusions

4.1. Classification and interpretation of the results found

Theories of bureaucratic capacity are categorised into 4 objects which have given various attributes to the concept. The classical approaches of bureaucracy theory and rational choice delimited the concept as a field of individual competence, where the bureaucrat only operates on the basis of selfish stimuli, which in turn renders them incapable of possessing public rationality or as factors favouring or hindering the formation of state capacities, since it depends, to some extent, on bureaucratic capacity. From the social and individual characteristics, he defined bureaucratic capacity as a result of socialisation processes that make bureaucrats the bearers of values which are then reflected in decision-making. Bureaucratic capacity in the value approach conceptualises it as a condition of power attitude against the negative interference of the professional politician. The professionalising approach specifies capacity as a condition that is the result of a series of accumulated capitals (intellectual, cultural and symbolic), which are dynamized in relation to the functioning of the institutions of the state apparatus.

Bureaucratic systems and their capacities differ in different latitudes. In the Colombian case, a symbiotic civil service system has been developed and, despite the adoption of the Ibero-American Reference Guide to Labour Competencies of 2014, which aims to modernise and strengthen the quality of the public administrations focused on the horizons of the twenty-first century, from the public management model or focus on results for society , the spoils system model that associates bureaucratic capacity with concepts mediated by the logic of political patronage, which dominates state organisations by means of a personnel system under the modality of service provision and provisional employment, among others, and "focuses on dynamizing bureaucratic capacity" at levels such as political bureaucracy and medium bureaucratic professionalism. The challenge for institutional reforms is to achieve the transition from the spoils system model to the model of institutionalisation of a highly professionalised bureaucracy with high professionalisation in order to focus bureaucratic capacity on dynamizing development, guaranteeing the purposes of the institutions.

However, the strength of the socio-political context of the territories in Colombia in which the bureaucracy is immersed is indicative of the difficulties it must face as the pressures from external actors who clearly make use of citizen participation mechanisms to obtain answers, and which in turn generate limitations to the institutional capacity to implement development plan programs. The difficulty of developing capacities is linked to the characteristics of public officials, given the low synchronisation of processes and low experience in public administration matters. In addition to the above, public bureaucracies in Colombia's territories also have to deal with the urgency of the post-conflict context, corruption, and geographic gaps.

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