DOCUMENT RESUME

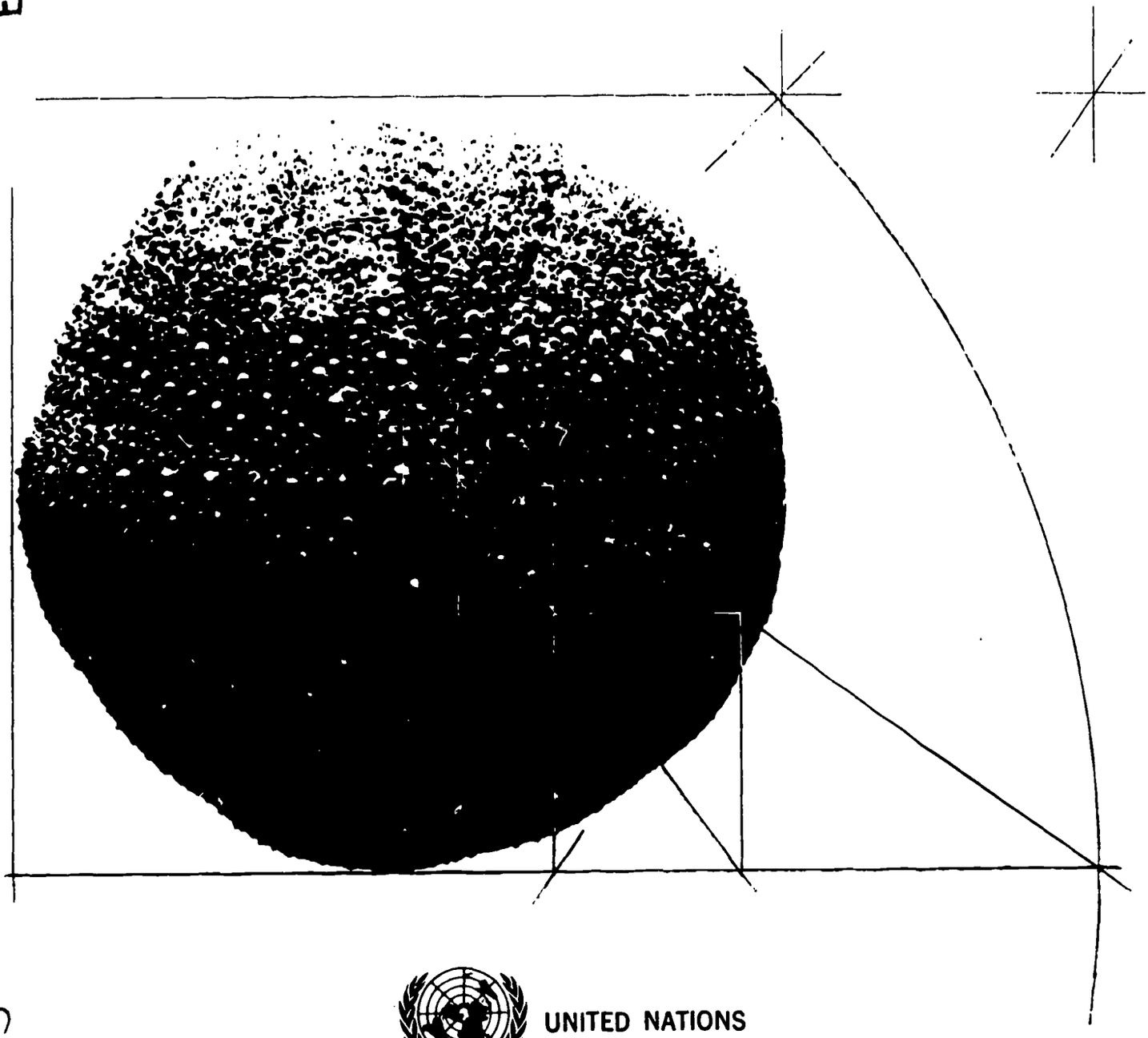
ED 066 638 AC 012 785

TITLE	Popular Participation in Development: Emerging Trends in Community Development.
INSTITUTION	United Nations, New York, N.Y. Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs.
PUB DATE	71
NOTE	277p.
AVAILABLE FROM	United Nations Sales Office, New York, N.Y. (Sales No. E.71.IV.2, ST/SOA/106; $4.00 U.S.)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	Agriculture; Citizen Participation; *Community Development; *Developed Nations; *Developing Nations; National Programs; Policy Formation; Research Reviews (Publications); *Rural Development; Social Change; *Trend Analysis; Urban Areas
IDENTIFIERS	Africa; Asia; Europe; Middle East; North America; South America; *United Nations

ABSTRACT

A first attempt is made to place in perspective the accumulated experience of nearly 20 years of community development activity in both developed and developing countries. The purpose of this study is to stimulate further inquiry into community development practice, process, and theory in order for it to become a more effective instrument in the development process. Chapters are devoted to the following topics: (1) policy issues in community development, (2) community development in North America, (3) community development trends in South America, (4) aspects of community development in the Caribbean, (5) community development in Western Europe, (6) institutions participating in rural community development in Poland and the agricultural circle role, (7) community development in Romania, (8) issues and trends related to rural and community development in selected Middle Eastern countries, (9) rural "animation" and popular participation in French-speaking black Africa, and (10) community development experiences in Asia. (JS)

Popular Participation in Development: Emerging Trends in Community Development



UNITED NATIONS

Department of Economic and Social Affairs

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT: EMERGING TRENDS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

UNITED NATIONS
New York, 1971

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

*
* *

ST/SOA/106

UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATION

Sales No.: E. 71.IV. 2

Price: $U.S. 4.00
(or equivalent in other currencies)

CONTENTS

		Page
	Introduction	1
I.	Policy issues in community development	6
II.	Community development in North America	45
III.	Community development trends in South America	136
IV.	Some aspects of community development in the Caribbean .	155
V.	Community development in western Europe	162
VI.	Institutions participating in rural community development in Poland and the role of the agricultural circle . . .	180
VII.	Community development in Romania	194
VIII.	Issues and trends related to rural and community development in selected countries of the Middle East . .	204
IX.	Rural "animation" and popular participation in French-speaking black Africa	233
X.	Experiences of community development in Asia	255

INTRODUCTION

After approximately twenty years as a United Nations-supported programme, community development (CD) has gained nearly universal recognition as a force for inducing social and economic change in developing nations. The extent of its acceptance cannot be gauged solely by the number of countries that have received international technical assistance to undertake community development programmes - which is substantial - but also by nations that have adopted development programmes bearing the stamp of its methods and philosophy, whether labelled as community development or not. Though popularly associated with the efforts of developing nations to modernize their society, the essential elements of community development, as a reading of the chapters on North America, western Europe, Poland and Romania suggests, are very much in evidence in local improvement efforts in many parts of the developed world. Important operational concepts of community development, including popular participation, self-help and the building of indigenous co-operative institutions, were prominent features of the populist reform movements that took hold in the rural areas in North America and in community organization practices that found widespread application in the slum areas of industrial cities in the United States, Canada and many western European countries. The considerable impact that these countries have had on the practice and theory of community development in the developing nations has been further reinforced by bilateral technical assistance programmes, notably in the 1950s.

Over the years, community development has been a rural-bound movement. In Asia, the Middle East and Africa, national CD programmes were undertaken as part of a strategy for rural development. Chief among the concerns of the latter has been the social and economic uplift of the village, which it seeks to realize by building a rural infrastructure, improving the supply of - and stimulating the demand for - social services, increasing agricultural productivity and developing human resources. Within this rural-agricultural matrix, community development programmes and techniques - allowing for regional, national and subnational variants - have evolved to their present stage.

That village uplift could not be independently realized was all too apparent, given the lack of resources and the resistance of traditional-minded local leadership to the requirements of modernization. Aid from the central government became a necessary condition for rural development. In countries where a tributary relationship existed between the village and central authorities, the implementation of CD programmes placed strains on this traditional relationship which effectively hampered rural development. Community development, with its emphasis on change, popular participation and leadership training, involved a dynamic interaction between the central government and the village. Though not everywhere successful in achieving this kind of relationship, community development has become an instrument for forging a more constructive role for government in development, helping to establish on the one hand, a better understanding between ruler and ruled within the village, and between central government and village authorities on the other.

The essential elements of this mutual relationship between government and people was succinctly stated by the United Nations Economic and Social Council nearly fifteen years ago:

> "The term community development has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.
>
> "This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements".

This much-cited working definition of community development remains valid today. To say this, however, is neither to imply that community development has not undergone change or to suggest that further change is not needed. The resilience of CD as an instrument for rural uplift lay in its ability to accommodate itself to changing trends in development. As a result, there have been adjustments in its goals and improvements in its methods that reflect twenty years of accumulated field experience and a better understanding of the nature of rural society. The ability of community development to adapt itself to changing conditions in village and community life is largely due to its pragmatic approach to problem-solving.

Under traditional CD practice, the village was the focal point of development, conceived of as a harmonious unit distinguished by the absence of basic class, caste or ethnic differences. Throughout the 1950s, the strategy of community development for the most part was to work through existing institutions and to build on self-help and co-operative traditions that were common in the rural areas of many developing countries. In practical terms, this meant allocating limited external resources through existing channels, working for the most part through established individual farmers and entrepreneurs and mobilizing local resources for village projects who had the necessary skills to employ such aid effectively. A considerable proportion of indigenous resources was made of voluntary labour for local improvement projects, including the construction of roads, parks, schools and clinics.

In pursuing this strategy, the external change agent, whether in the person of a multipurpose village worker - as in India - or a team of experts, enjoyed the support of established councils or acknowledged village leaders. The exception to this practice was found in the United States, where community action workers operating under the Federal Poverty Program were often at odds with elected municipal and country leaders over tactics and even ultimate goals. Whereas working through established institutions in developing countries earned the support of local leaders and, not uncommonly, a free labour supply for projects (the local form of counterpart funds), community development could not

avoid accepting the constraints implicit in such a strategy. Foremost among these was the rigidity of local institutions, inured to paternalistic traditions of governance and a law-and-order approach to administration. Acceptance of existing institutional arrangements foreclosed, moreover, any adoption of social reform in areas where structural and institutional change were long overdue.

Ironically, social reform was not universally recognized during the 1950s as an important goal of community development. In the field of agriculture, increased output, it was believed, would come about through the increased application of industrial inputs and not through land reform. The need for such reform was scarcely envisaged, owing to the widely-held view of the village as a natural entity for local development devoid of class differences. What tended to count most in agriculture was the total income generated by farm production - not how such income was distributed. Thus the gains of an individual resulting from preferred treatment under community development programmes were rationalized in terms of the over-all benefits accruing to the village.

The inadequacy or total absence of basic social reforms had the consequence of restricting the benefits of development to a relatively small number of the population. Bypassed in the development process, there was little incentive for the population at large to become involved in community programmes, a vicious circle that adversely affected local development. Within this context, villagers were less forthcoming in volunteering for community public works programmes, which were increasingly viewed as benefiting only a select few.

As it turned out, many of the gains achieved under the aegis of community development proved transitory and were considered inadequate in terms of even the minimum stated goals of the programmes. Projects undertaken in response to the "felt needs" of the village all too often reflected the needs of the more articulate and powerful interests of the community. However democratic the felt needs approach may have been in defining local needs, it was not conducive to planning, emphasizing as it does the ordering of priorities and a cost-benefit approach to programming. Community development programmes were, as a rule, seldom conceived as part of an integral local plan for development and mutatis mutandis were often undertaken without reference to regional or national development programmes.

Another significant constraint of community development practice was that it was premised on the notion that village uplift was its major goal. While this aim was in keeping with past practices of ameliorating the harsh social conditions of rural life, it was no longer compatible with the requirements of an integrated approach to rural development, which has as its purpose establishing linkages between agriculture and industry and between countryside and city. The built-in limitations of the village precluded it from becoming the fulcrum of rural development and in its place there had to be established a larger or regional configuration in which to mount CD projects. The establishment of a more viable spatial unit required the building of political, social and political institutions to supplement - or where necessary, to supplant - existing village institutions.

In retrospect, the convergence of a number of factors cast in doubt the validity of certain aspects of community development concepts and practices. Among these were: the disappointing results in a number of countries having

community development programmes; the proliferation of projects often unrelated to one another and whose benefits tended to be small in relationship to their cost; the inadequate participation of economically disadvantaged individuals in the gains of development; the insufficient viability of the village and its associated institutions as a basis for development; and a growing belief that community development, as it was practised, was not supportive enough of over-all plans for national development.

There has been, as a result, a gradual though uneven movement away from the particularistic approach that characterized community development during the 1950s and early 1960s.

As part of the action strategy, CD is becoming an instrument for basic - and at times radical - change. Over the long run, this may have a profound effect on its growth and acceptance. The evolutionary character of community development undoubtedly appealed to many Governments, a feature that served to undermine its effectiveness and caused it to fall out of favour with some of the economically disenfranchised elements of society. Should community development espouse a more radical approach - as has become increasingly evident in the United States - its future government support is problematic. On the other hand, it may be taken up to a greater extent than ever by the people.

Less preoccupied now with helping the individual entrepreneur, a greater effort is being made to revitalize existing organizations and establishing new ones such as co-operatives and village associations. In part, this is being done to achieve a more rational and efficient approach in agriculture, the wisdom of which is borne out by the experience with co-operatives in Romania and Poland, the kibbutz and moshav in Israel and the farmers' associations in China (Taiwan). A second purpose of such groups is their potential usefulness in gaining a broad base of popular support to promote needed social reforms. In many countries in the developing world, agricultural co-operatives were organized to aid poorer peasants and tenant farmers who had been often overlooked in the past. In parts of Latin America and Asia, peasant groups have been organized to work for the adoption of land reform programmes or the implementation of those previously enacted but never enforced. A similar philosophy of challenging established community power groups and involving greater segments of the local population is also in evidence in North America and western Europe. The Model Cities and Economic Opportunity legislation in the United States provide the legal basis for greater popular participation, affecting a wide range of government-supported community programmes. Under these programmes indigenous leadership elements take on a greater role in promoting social change.

As is evidenced by a reading of many of the chapters, the region is gaining favour as the basic geographical unit for rural development. This trend is increasingly in evidence in the developed countries, notably France, Italy and Japan, as well as the developing countries. Among the latter, those which have significant programmes of regional development are: Brazil, Israel, Syria, the United Arab Republic, Ceylon, India and Pakistan. Countries, moreover, are taking to the problems of rapid urban growth through a metropolitan approach.

Recently, there has been a growing interest in applying community development techniques to urban problems. Among the cities having such programmes are Addis Ababa, Cali, Dacca, Delhi, Guayaquil, Lusaka, Manila, Montevideo and Ryadh.

In North America, where there is a long tradition of urban community organization, many cities including New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Seattle, and Montreal and Quebec have programmes using traditional community development techniques of self-help and community action. In North America and in western Europe, community development has been employed mainly in depressed neighbourhoods and slum areas. Despite the extension of community development to over-all development, its application in terms of numbers of cities covered and of the total allocation of resources has been limited.

Apart from the recognizable substantive trends, there are others of a less obvious nature whose long-term implications for the future of community development may be no less decisive. Mention has already been made of the growing radicalization of community development processes. Despite the voluntarism that still characterizes much of the work of CD projects, there is an ebbing of the spirit. In good measure this may be attributed to the disparity in benefits accruing to different segments of the village population. It also owes something to the increased role of government, which has tempered somewhat the zeal for voluntarism.

The spirit for spontaneous action appears to diminish in intensity with the increased bureaucratization of society. Thus, as the role of government in society changes, it cannot avoid affecting basic community development processes of self-help, mutual aid and co-operation.

The foregoing are among the major trends that emerge from the following nine chapters. Though there have been numerous reports, seminars and individual country studies, this publication is the first attempt to place in perspective the accumulated experience of nearly two decades of community development activity in both developed and developing countries. The study, as is suggested by its title, encompasses a broad range of national community development programmes; it does not, however, pretend to be fully comprehensive. For different reasons, the experience of certain countries in some of the regions has been omitted. The chapter on Africa, first published in the International Labour Review, 1/ and one of the two contributions not specifically prepared for this publication, 2/ covers only the French-speaking countries of the continent. The rapid passage of events, moreover, has undoubtedly dated some of the facts. With the exception of two country studies covering Poland and Romania, the chapters were prepared on a region-by-region basis, the presentation beginning with North America and moving eastward. A lack of documented material and the relative novelty of some of the concepts and practices of community development made it impractical to prepare a chapter embracing all the socialist countries in the eastern European region. These two country chapters, however, represent something of a break-through for studying community development in a socialist society, and, it is to be hoped, will lead to similar studies of other socialist countries. It is hoped that the publication of this study will stimulate further inquiry into community development practice, process and theory to enable it to become a more effective instrument in the development process.

1/ International Labour Office, International Labour Review, "Rural 'animation' and popular participation in French-speaking black Africa", vol. 97, No. 6 (Geneva, June 1968).

2/ The other is chapter VI, "Institutions participating in rural community development in Poland and the role of the agricultural circle", in the Report on the Seminar on Rural Community Development, Madrid, Spain, 21-23 April 1968 (SOA/ESDP/1968/4), appendix I.

I. POLICY ISSUES IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT*

Almost fifteen years have passed since the United Nations family of organizations, after a careful examination of concepts and practice then prevailing, adopted its definition of community development. This definition has obtained wide acceptance among social scientists and practitioners throughout the world and has to some extent at least guided the course of community development activities in many countries. The main elements of this definition and its elaboration are:

> "1. The term 'community development' has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.
>
> "2. This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help to make these more effective...
>
> "3. These programmes are usually concerned with local communities, because of the fact that the people living in a locality have many and varied interests in common. Some of these interests are expressed through functional groups organized to further a more limited range of interests not primarily determined by locality.
>
> "...
>
> "6. If participation of the people is to make a significant contribution to social and economic development throughout a country or territory, it should be undertaken within the framework of a national plan covering a large number of the smaller communities...
>
> "...
>
> "13. In relation to the people, community development is essentially both an educational and organizational process.
>
> "14. It is educational because it is concerned with changing such attitudes and practices as are obstacles to social and economic improvements, engendering particular attitudes which are conducive to these improvements and, more generally, promoting a greater receptivity to change. This implies developing the capacity of the people to form judgements on the effects of activities to determine the goals to be arrived at, to adopt

---

* Prepared by the United Nations Secretariat.

technical changes and to adjust themselves to changes brought about by outside forces...

"15. It is organizational not only because people acting together are better able to pursue the interest which they have in common, but also because it requires the reorientation of existing institutions or the creation of new types of institutions to make self-help fully effective and to provide the necessary channels for governmental services.

"...

"17. If the full benefits of better education and improved organization are to be realized, two conditions are necessary. First, the felt needs of the people should be taken into consideration... The first duty of those responsible for community development programmes is to identify the felt needs of the people. They should also assist the people in making better judgements for themselves on what their needs are and how to satisfy them. Finally, they should be able to identify needs not yet perceived and make the people conscious of them and aware of the importance of satisfying them. It should be recognized, however, that it may be practicable to satisfy some local needs or that they may be inconsistent with government policy for the economic and social development of the nation...

"18. The very concept of community development elaborated above demands the use of the knowledge and skills of all the relevant national services in an integrated rather than an isolated or fragmentary way. To serve the ultimate objective of a fuller and better life for individuals within the family and the community, the technical services must be conceived in a manner which recognized the indivisibility of the welfare of the individual." 1/

During the last decade or so increasing use has been made of community development as a means of improving the conditions of rural communities of low-income countries, of dealing with some of the problems of urbanization and of promoting socio-economic growth in general. With varying scope and nomenclature it is to be found in most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The technical aid programmes of the United Nations family as well as bilateral programmes more often than not include a component directed towards community development.

On the basis of scattered evaluation it is possible to indicate certain aspects of community development that have had an impact in different countries. 2/ In some

---

1/ Twentieth Report of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination to the Economic and Social Council, E/2931, annex III, part two.

2/ Some of the significant efforts to evaluate those programmes made by the United Nations are found in the following reports: M.J. Coldwell, et al., "Report of a community development evaluation mission in India" (TAO/IND/31/Rev. 1); D. Gosh et al., "Report of a rural development evaluation mission in Ceylon" (TAO/CEY/12); and Caroline Ware et al., "Report of a community development evaluation mission in Venezuela" (TAO/VEN/15).

instances, it has awakened the national leaders, policy-makers and planners to the need and importance of rural development and local planning and has enhanced the contributions of rural communities to national development. It has also represented an attempt to achieve a balanced growth in the human and material resources of nations and in this it has, to some extent, helped to redress the bias towards largely urban and industrial-oriented development efforts. In some countries community development has fostered the process of institution building at the local level, which is likely to enhance the participative capability of local people in national life as well as to provide an organizational structure for effective implementation of local programmes. In some areas of the world, it is closely associated with broad programmes of social reform, (such as land reform) whose purpose is to promote social justice, to provide incentives for increased productive labour and thereby facilitate national development. Almost everywhere through community development, rural communities, traditionally powerless in the face of nature and the stronger sectors of the nation - have been made to feel that something could be done to improve their lot.

In different parts of the world community development activities, varying in form and approach, ranging from fully integrated programmes with their own administrative structure to individual local projects, reflect a trend towards a particular strategy of national development, incorporating a certain set of assumptions about rural communities and the most effective ways of bringing about change in them. Such a strategy is based on the desirability of giving priority to investment for increasing agricultural output, of improving amenities and social services in rural communities and strengthening rural institutions. This strategy, by itself, however, does not constitute community development. For example, schemes under which a group of farmers join together to introduce irrigation in agricultural improvement projects, or rural public works programmes such as building roads or schools - even if carried out with the help of the rural population - are not necessarily community development. Considerable damage has been done to the image of community development by identifying it unqualifiedly with "aided self-help" programmes. Schemes are to be considered community development only when they are implemented within a given framework, crucial elements of which are the concepts of felt needs, local involvement and popular participation, working with groups and communities rather than individuals and using an integrated approach to development. The concept of "felt needs" implies that the goals and needs of local communities should not be externally determined or centrally planned. Similarly, the concepts of self-help, local involvement and popular participation suggest that local initiative should not be supplanted by external stimuli, which thus engender dependence. The local communities should be so involved in the process of development plans that their own capacity to undertake programmes for their welfare is enhanced. The local development efforts should be integrated in nature, attacking a number of social and economic problems in a multisectoral and interdisciplinary manner and finally, community development proper implies the application of specially designed skills to further its objectives.

While the soundness of the strategy incorporated in community development has generally been accepted, certain of its concepts have been questioned. As most of the concepts and principles associated with community development were formulated - largely by "western" specialists - at a time when systematic knowledge about rural societies in developing countries and the process of development had not sufficiently advanced, some of them were rooted in slightly

unrealistic assumptions and incorporated a Utopian view of traditional rural communities. They were stated as if they had universal validity, regardless of the context in which they were applied. For instance, the organic concept of rural communities, implicit in efforts towards involvement of the whole community, or the establishment of local councils, had as its chief premise the compatibility of community interests, thereby ruling out dissensus or conflict among village groups. The concept of "felt needs" underestimated the determining effect of socio-economic conditions on the needs felt, and assumed that there was an identity between the felt needs of a traditional rural community and the needs of a society aspiring as a whole to enter the modern urban industrial era. Emphasis on the initiative and self-help of local communities assumed that self-help could lead to development without significant structural changes in the rural economy and the established power complex and without substantial external assistance to build an adequate rural infrastructure. Similarly, the reliance placed on local autonomy to rehabilitate the presumed dynamism of the rural society did not take into account the fact that stagnation of rural communities could be due as much to their dependence on a paternalistic government and on bureaucracy as to their apathy and isolation from the external world.

The above comments suggest that a further re-examination of the concepts and principles of community development - and of their relevance to the problems of development - may be necessary if community development is to play an effective role in development. Present conditions indicate that such a review would be timely and appropriate. During the last two decades the growth of the social sciences has produced new insights into the functioning of societies and groups, into the complexity of human behaviour and into the nature of processes of change. The formulation and implementation of national and international programmes of development in general and of community development in particular have generated a body of knowledge and experience - some of it systematically collected and ordered - in the light of which the original concepts of community development can now be re-examined. Also, as the understanding of the problems of developing countries deepens, political leaders and administrators are better able to relate community development programmes to development goals.

In this connexion it needs to be kept constantly in mind that community development has been considered in various ways, depending upon circumstances and the point of view of the person or persons concerned. The United Nations definition refers to it in the first place as a process, implying transition from one phase to another. It is also a method or approach that emphasizes popular participation and the direct involvement of a population in the process of development, and that has until now been largely concerned with rural development. When community development activity is formally organized with a separate administration and staff it can be considered a programme. Finally, to the extent that it represents a philosophy of development, sometimes with an almost religious fervour it can be called a movement. 3/

Those who view community development mainly as an approach or process conceive of it in terms of certain principles and concepts for reaching the rural community, creating a community spirit, encouraging attitudes receptive to change and helping

---

3/ I.T. Sanders, "Theories of community development", Rural Sociology, vol. 23, No. 1 (March 1958), pp. 1-12.

people to work together. Consistent with this interpretation, a separate community development administrative structure is not always necessary. What is needed, proponents of this view hold, is a series of training institutions that can impart community development principles and techniques to technical and administrative personnel at various levels.

Opposed to this view is another contending fact that community development as an approach cannot be imparted and practised without creating a programme. As a set of new attitudes, ideas, concepts and techniques that challenges the status quo, community development can succeed only if it develops an organization and a programme committed to the advancement of its ideology. In the absence of community development organization and programme, it is maintained, there is no mechanism available to co-ordinate the distribution of services and diffusion of technical knowledge at the village level and to integrate the development plans at local and regional levels. If development requires a co-ordinated and integrated approach, especially at the field level, there has to be an effective co-ordinating structure - which community development is well-suited to provide. Finally, it is thought that there is a serious communication gap between the national, political and administrative leadership and the rural population; plans are prepared at the national level that have no relationship to problems at the local level and people at the local level are not aware of national plans which can have little if any influence on their actions and attitudes. Community development programmes, it is considered, can help bridge this communication gap and in this way contribute to development efforts. In the absence of effective channels of communication between national leaders and the masses, community development programmes take on special importance.

I. GOALS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A. Basic issues

Community development generally views as its ultimate and central concern the development of man (as a member of the community) and development for man as its ultimate and central concern. This implies that realization of human potentialities and man's ability to control his environment are the measure of real development and that an increase in material progress without a corresponding increase in the development of human capacities and social institutions would be superficial and temporary. Thus the major goals of community development may be indicated as being: to induce social change for balanced human and material betterment; to strengthen the institutional structure in such a way as to facilitate social change and the process of growth; to ensure the fullest possible popular participation in the development process; and to promote social justice by permitting less privileged groups to give expression to their aspirations and to participate in development activities.

To explain the relevance of these goals it would seem appropriate to state briefly the conditions in which the need for community development has arisen. In this context, it should be appreciated that, in the past, rural communities of low-income countries - Asia, Latin America and Africa alike - had achieved a certain level of equilibrium within their static social and political environments. Their traditional social organizations, culture, and technology were adequate to ensure

their survival barring a major political cataclysm or natural catastrophe that upset this static equilibrium. Even where change occurred in such cases, that change was generally adaptive in nature - moving away from the area of catastrophe, rather than creative and innovative - that is, controlling the source of such a catastrophe. Even in the twentieth century, when changes in the environment of rural communities have disturbed the traditional equilibrium, there have been but few instances of a creative response from these communities in the form of any rural development movement sponsored and led by indigenous rural leadership.

The need for community development activities was intensified by the emergence of a new and larger community represented by the nation, with its own needs and imperatives for existence. In the dynamic and competitive international environment, the nascent nation had little choice but to bring about necessary changes in its internal institutions by introducing new technology, by importing new ideas and culture and by making new claims on the individual. Traditional rural communities, with their primitive technology, rigid social organization and parochial loyalties, could not make much contribution to the fulfilment of the needs of the nation. Instead, with the emergence of the nation state and the movement toward modernization, the static equilibirum that characterized much of rural society, has been undermined. In an effort to save rural communities from disintegration, to rescue them from the vicious cycle of stagnation, to enable them to meet the needs of the wider community, national governments in a number of low-income countries instituted community development programmes. Communities were to be developed and their economic, social and cultural conditions were to be improved to enable them to contribute fully to national progress and to be integrated into the national life.

B. The concepts of felt needs

A restatement in this context is required of the concept of felt needs and its applicability in determining the goals of community development. The felt needs of a community are the product of its culture. social and economic structure and environmental conditions. As the culture of a community and its environment changes, its felt needs tend to be different. In a closed, traditional community, the felt needs are likely to be consumption-oriented while in an open, progressive community, the felt needs will be development-oriented. Felt needs, therefore, may not be the best guides for the selection of goals for community development. The felt needs of a local community may not be the same as the needs of the nation. They may be mutually compatible, as when, for example, the productivity of a local community rises and this leads to an increase in national productivity. The needs of one community on the one hand, may by contrary to the interests of the larger community when, for example, the farmer's need of a larger share of water from a common source of irrigation leads to a decline in the productivity of other communities. Desirable policy for bringing about change in rural communities should give highest priority to those local needs whose realization leads to increased national benefits, thereby creating an awareness of the interrelationship between local and national needs.

Another dimension of the felt-needs concept is the strategic significance it may have for facilitating the development process. Needs differ with regard to their potentiality for producing secondary consequences conducive to development

or for drawing attention to hitherto dormant needs. Some needs, when fulfilled, will have no such consequences; indeed their fulfilment may even reduce the urge for change. On the other hand, there are needs which, once met, will change the level of aspiration and the capacity to fulfil these aspirations to such an extent that the community will never be the same again. This objective should be uppermost in mind in determining the priorities of community needs.

With this better understanding of the concept of felt needs, the tendency in community development is to attach high priority to giving communities and their leaders guidance and direction in the identification of needs. Community development workers have as one of their major tasks to educate the community in discovering "real" needs, that is, those which are strategic for development. This approach has to be handled with considerable care, since the imposition of plans from outside and the use of community development as a means of implementing action decided upon from above must be avoided if the very spirit of community development is to be maintained. The outside agent must be on very solid ground before condemning what, though it appears to be a "primitive" practice, may in reality be well suited to the particular environment (for example, certain farming practices in tropical areas). Also, there may be psychological advantages in initiating community development activities by supporting the community's desire for a project having purely local significance, merely to illustrate the practical possibilities of self-help. What appears to be called for is an approach that creates initial mutual confidence between the community and the practitioner and then gradually leads the community to think in terms of objectives likely to contribute to the development process. This educational process is likely to be time-consuming and may well slow down the pace of change. There, the benefits of slower but probably more lasting change have to be weighed against the returns of more accelerated change, which may be superficial and transitory.

C. Concept of community

Implicit in the theory that has been built up in relation to community development is an organic and physical concept of community - a group in face-to-face contact, bound by common values and objectives, with a basic harmony of interest and aspirations. The efforts of community development activities to build cohesiveness and harmony in communities where these have been impaired are also rooted in the concept of the community as an organic and harmonious entity. The latter is implicit, too, in the inclination to regard the community as the most appropriate unit for programme planning and administration. Doubtless, there is some validity in this view. In most rural communities lifelong, face-to-face contacts, a common tradition and culture, relative physical isolation from other communities and a relatively simple social structure have provided a certain community of interest. It may also, to some extent, be true that beyond this community there are no interests strong enough to stimulate activity among the people and no leadership or political institutions capable of mobilizing them. Therefore, efforts through community development to enhance community cohesion around common needs and interests and to strengthen the self-governing capacity of local communities - through local councils and other groups - would appear to be headed in the right direction.

However, there are certain hazards involved in this conception of community. It cannot be ignored that traditional communities - like all social groups, even

the family - do have a certain incompatibility of interests, reflected in the factionalism frequently observed therein. Usually, this conflict occurs among competing power groups, which do not view their factional interests as being served by the furtherance of what the community development worker considers the interests of the community. 4/ Such a conflict may appear irrational and unrealistic to an observer but it is a product of the culture and social structure of the communities in which it arises and it cannot be regulated simply by human relations techniques. Factionalism or community dissensus should not be viewed as an episodic feature of community life but as central to its political and social processes. Community development practitioners would do well neither to ignore nor deplore factionalism but to channel it towards constructive ends.

It is recognized that the solidarity of traditional communities is sustained by their social stratification and power structure (see also pp. 33-35 below), legitimized by tradition. Both these elements are likely to be weakened as the rural communities become more and more incorporated in the broader world. As new ideas about the nation, democracy and equality reach the village, the legitimacy of the power of the traditional leaders is questioned. As the children of underprivileged groups become educated, they are less inclined to follow traditional behaviour patterns. The belief that one's status and occupation are fixed is open to challenge. These processes may be initiated or strengthened through community development by bringing new knowledge and new ideals into rural communities, even by focusing on discontent. 5/ The goal of community development, to integrate these communities in the life of the nation, may be undermined unless new bases for such solidarity are substituted. Until that happens, conflict and dissensus, rather than cohesiveness, may be a truer and more realistic measure of the development of communities and similarly of the success of community development activities. Rural communities in their traditional form are simple social systems with only limited specialization of function. Any attempts to develop these communities and enhance their capacity for survival in a changing environment will necessarily involve more specialization of function. This means that new groups and organizations with new roles and new skills will have to emerge. These new groups and organizations are likely to become part of a wider network that is regional or national in scope. As this process continues to evolve, the organic character of the community will undergo a change. Too rigid notions, therefore, about the organic community and the values of solidarity can only obstruct this process.

The traditional small community is a viable socio-economic system and an appropriate unit for planning and development only within the framework of existing traditional technology and methods of production. With the introduction of

---

4/ For a detailed discussion of the conception of community in different community development programmes, see R. Bendix, Nation Building and Citizenship, (New York, John Wiley, 1964), and Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama. An Enquiry into the Poverty of Nations (New York, McGraw Hill, 1968) vol. II, pp. 867-883.

5/ See Murray G. Ross, Community Organization - Theory and Practice, (New York, Harper and Row, 1955).

improved technology and the realization that the problems of the nation and of the local community are interdependent, the traditional local community may be too small to generate economies of scale. It may be large enough for paving local streets or filling up local ponds, but not for tackling larger problems, the solution of which can ensure sustained growth in rural economies - such as control of floods, salinity and waterlogging, and pests and epidemics. Similarly, small communities are inadequate units for the provision of modern public services. 6/ A small community cannot hope to have a high school or a modern hospital, and if through external assistance it is able to get such facilities, to expect that it can maintain them would be unrealistic. It appears, therefore, that under certain conditions local communities will need to develop solidarity and interdependence with nearby communities facing similar problems. Indeed a further step is indicated: to link community development with regional development. A region may not necessarily coincide with an administrative division but may include areas in which natural wealth, geographic location, proximity to urban centres or particular socio-economic characteristics can facilitate the development process. A metropolitan or region-wide approach is being used in a growing number of countries reflecting the need to achieve greater geographic unity and functional co-ordination. 7/ This will not necessarily mean that the concept of community be totally abandoned. If an awareness of common interest among a number of communities has not emerged at earlier stages of development, its cultivation can constitute a major challenge for community development. It may be necessary for such a region to include an urban area so that community development activities may take full account of the interrelationship between urban and rural problems. This matter is taken up in the paragraphs that follow.

However, the extent to which the focus on the village or social group (the clan, for example) needs to be adjusted depends on the structure of each country. Where the village or group is obviously the basic socio-economic unit it should continue to serve as the basis for local action until an appropriate alternative has been found. Similarly, while recognizing that for certain actions a wider area may be more suitable, care should be taken to avoid losing the essential distinguishing features of community development. It would appear, therefore, that community development must have both local and wider dimensions and that the one or the other will need emphasis as society changes. In any case, it would be unwise to consider the larger region as a basis for community development work without making sure that the essential local characteristics of community development were to be maintained. How the communit development approach can be applied to a wider area is obviously a matter requiring further reflection and the results of further field experience.

D. Community development, industrialization and urbanization

The above discussion leads to a consideration of the relationship of traditional rural communities to the process of urbanization and over-all development. Most low-income countries realize that in the long run they can

---

6/ See Decentralization for National and Local Development (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.II.H.2): also Myrdal, op. cit., p. 876.

7/ Annmarie Hawk Walsh, The Urban Challenge to Government: An International Comparison of Thirteen Cities (New York, Praeger, 1968).

ensure higher levels of income for their populations only through industrialization. Industrialization, is not simply an economic process but also brings about changes of a social nature. It entails the movement of people from villages to cities, pointing up the close relationship between urbanization and industrialization. (Within this context it may be asked whether attempts at preserving rural communities, many of which may fall victim to the twin forces of industrialization and urbanization, constitute a waste of resources.) 8/

First, while it is true that urbanization increases with industrialization, it by no means follows that urbanization results in industrialization. Generally, the flow of people from countryside to city is a product of a stagnant rural economy and lack of the social amenities and opportunities afforded by the city. It has been stated that urbanization in low-income countries does not represent "man's mastery over nature", but "transfer of under-employment and poverty from an overpopulated rural countryside to an urban setting". 9/ This type of urbanization does not create conditions favourable for industrialization, but may in fact become an impediment to this process. One way of trying to avoid this is to check the flow of city-bound migrants at the source. It could be argued that if the rural economy offered more of the opportunities and facilities that lure people to the cities, if the collapsing rural community could be reintegrated around new values, if potential rural migrants could be given a more realistic picture of city life and its problems, rapid and haphazard urbanization might, to some extent, be slowed down. The achievement of this objective constitutes a major challenge for community development. 10/

The beginning of industrialization must be accompanied by continuing efforts to increase agricultural production. General development in those countries where the economic base is predominantly agricultural requires a high level of agricultural production, to support the growing non-farm population and to provide raw materials for industry. The withdrawal of resources from agriculture or a disproportionately greater investment in industry may lead to a shortage of food for the population in general and the urban population in particular, a reduction in the flow of raw materials and a slackening demand for industrial goods as rural incomes decline. A combination of these factors would adversely affect industrial development. To forestall such a possibility, it is generally necessary to modernize agriculture and industry. Since an increase in agricultural productivity is not purely a technical matter but depends upon such factors as changes in land

---

8/ One United Nations report puts the problem in this way: "If the evolutionary nature of community development is accepted, there will be occasions when villages may in fact disappear so that the people may find a new sense of community in larger territorial groupings". Community Development and National Development (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.IV.2), p. 6.

9/ Philip M. Hauser, "The social, economic and technological problems of rapid urbanization" in Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore, (eds.) Industrialization and Society (UNESCO, 1963), p. 201. See also Report on the World Social Situation (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 57.IV.3), p. 112.

10/ Some experts, in commenting on this paper, have indicated that this is wishful thinking, that rural-urban migration is a natural process of development that cannot be checked.

tenure, attitudes and culture, as well as in the social structure of rural communities - changes that community development attempts to facilitate - there is in fact a complementary relationship between industrialization and community development rather than any inherent incompatibility.

The processes of industrialization and urbanization and rural development are extremely complex and not enough is known about them and the effect that each has on the other. There is a growing recognition among competent students that the development process could be accelerated by strengthening the links between the rural and urban sectors. Progress in industrial development, it has been observed, is contingent upon modernizing the agricultural and rural economy. A strategy taking into account the rural-urban continuum could provide a viable basis for balanced agricultural-industrial development.

Thus, a growing number of students of the development process favour an approach that stresses the close interdependence of the rural and urban sectors and activities that strengthen their interrelationship. The idea is being promoted - especially in connexion with concepts of regional development - of establishing in rural areas "poles of development", which might be larger rural towns, where there would be located the various administrative and service facilities for the surrounding rural areas, as well as processing industries and other industries having a largely rural base. Such a concentration would tend to lead to the greater efficiency of rural industries by permitting some economies of scale, while avoiding the concentration of too many industries in the larger metropolitan centres. Agriculture in the surrounding area would be encouraged to expand the production of both raw materials for industry and food for the growing population of these large rural towns, additional employment opportunities would be created in rural areas and a general impetus to development would be provided. A number of ancillary effects are likely: improvements in communication and in marketing would tend to ease the isolation of rural communities, the rural towns are likely to be able to afford to maintain improved educational health and other social services which would be within reach of the surrounding communities, and in general the closer relations between urban groups and rural people would be mutually beneficial. Community development obviously has a potentially large role to play in facilitating development of this nature, in both rural and urban communities, by fostering popular participation and involvement and the growth of adequate institutions.

E. Urban community development

Despite the strong rural-agriculture character of most developing countries, many have experienced a pronounced growth in urban population. In considerable measure this is due to the continuing migration from the rural areas, especially of young people. In much of Asia, urban population growth stands at twice the national figure and is higher in cities of 100,000 population and over. In parts of Latin America, where urban and metropolitan primates such as Rio de Janeiro and Lima dominate the urbanization process, the image of a developing country as a predominantly rural society is fast changing. Much of this urban growth has been haphazard, and unaccompanied by corresponding industrialization, housing, educational and other social facilities. This imbalance between the supply of employment opportunities, housing and social services and effective demand has resulted in economic deprivation for many urban residents, particularly for the

more recent arrivals, who generally lack the skills to adapt readily to city conditions.

The rapid growth of cities in developing countries has led to the extension of community development techniques and programmes in urban areas. Among the cities with such programmes are Addis Ababa, Cali, Dacca, Delhi, Guayaquil, Lusaka, Manila, Montevideo and Ryadh. 11/

Despite the extension of community development, its application in terms of the number of cities covered and the total allocation of resources has been limited. By and large, community development has remained a rural-bound movement. Within this rural agricultural matrix, community development programmes and techniques - allowing for regional and national variants - have evolved to their present stage.

Given these factors, it is necessary to adopt traditional community development methods to urban conditions. The impersonal nature of urban life, the bureaucratization of public services, and the absence of an economic base (comparable to agriculture in the rural areas) around which community development could provide employment and training programmes, open to question the premises upon which traditional community development techniques and programmes are based. Moreover, the organized distribution of social services through established channels and the complex nature of urban life limit the scope of self-help and mutual aid programmes - the significant characteristics of rural community development.

There is, therefore, a compelling need to examine community development methods and programmes for the purpose of determining their suitability within an urban environment.

Generally, community development strategists have tended to stress an ameliorative approach to urban problems, stressing social objectives and improving environmental conditions. Following are some of the main elements of this strategy:

(a) To establish representative neighbourhood councils to achieve maximum popular participation and support;

(b) To organize adult education programmes;

(c) To promote vocational training courses and job placement programmes;

(d) To organize neighbourhood and community health centres;

(e) To promote the formation of youth clubs, women's associations and civic improvement groups;

(f) To improve the immediate physical environment by eliminating unsanitary conditions;

11/ Urban Community Development (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 61.IV.6).

(g) To form organizations of a co-operative type including consumer-producer and marketing co-operatives and savings and loan associations.

In a number of cities, such as Ryadh, Singapore and Guayaquil, community centres have been built to serve as the focal point of community activities. There is some evidence that the centre has not always attracted the number and type of persons that the proponents of this facility had hoped for.

A potentially important area for community development is in self-help or modified self-help housing. Here community development could help ease the critical urban housing shortage. Self-help housing is a logical extension of the concept of community improvement, where residents of a neighbourhood assist in maintaining a clean and attractive environment. Self-help housing projects have been successfully undertaken in Trinidad, Chile, Guatemala and Ghana. In the latter country, the core housing approach has been used. Under this approach, a family moves into the core, usually one room, and expands it as time and funds allow. Self-help housing can be successful when community groups are committed to the purpose of the programme and when enough of their members possess the requisite skills and capacity for leadership. Another necessary condition for the programme's success is assuring residents of title to the land.

For self-help housing to be successful, the municipal government has to work in close co-operation with community development workers. The government can designate suitable sites for construction, resolve tenure problems, conclude agreements with the community on the division of responsibility for the installation and maintenance of public services and utilities, and provide credit and technical assistance. The commitment of the government to act in urban community development was explicitly recognized in Pakistan's first Five-Year Plan.

The need for government support to provide a more solid basis for citizen initiatives invites consideration of a somewhat different strategy for urban community development. Attention should be given to mobilizing community groups to seek greater aid from the government. Where the municipal government has not been sufficiently responsive to community and neighbourhood needs, community action programmes could be undertaken to bring pressure to bear on government agencies and elected officials to allocate greater resources for community improvements. Where, for example, unfavourable tenurial conditions discourage self-help housing projects, a community action strategy would seek to eliminate this condition through petitioning government officials or through other measures consistent with local processes. This strategy would supplement the more widespread practice of realizing particular social objectives.

F. Community development and economic development 12/

It is a sure sign of human development when people abandon a fatalistic acceptance of their lot and begin to take an active hand in improving their social

12/ For an early assessment of the contribution of community development to economic development in Asia, see Community Development and Economic Development (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 60.II.F.6).

and/or physical environment; when new and improved skills of association, of organization, of communication, of controlling the physical aspects of environment are acquired; when new capacities for making rational decisions, for taking initiative and building up self-reliance and independence are developed; when new institutions are built which cultivate and develop rather than suppress these qualities. In the light of these considerations the community development approach has preferred the use of persuasive and educational methods rather than coercive tactics of bringing about social change; it has encouraged popular participation in programmes of local development, and has argued for greater external aid to communities as a way to encourage local initiative and self-reliance. In the process community development had relegated economic development to a position of secondary importance with not a few practitioners arguing that tangible economic results should not be the main measure of their efforts. Those who subscribe to this view do agree, however, that once attitudinal and cultural changes (which they consider are the essence of development) have been brought about, there will be greater motivation for economic development.

A re-examination of the emphasis of community development programmes on the social and human components of development has been called for by a growing number of practitioners and government officials. Some governments in developing countries, faced with the problems of rapid population growth, which is outpacing agricultural and industrial production, find community development slow in producing results. Administrators of community development activities, in competition with other programmes for scarce resources, and under pressure from political leadership to show tangible results, increasingly feel that the survival of their programmes is linked to their ability to solve pressing economic problems. Consistent with this view, it is being increasingly advocated that community development pay more attention to economic development of rural communities. Proponents of this view hold that the community development approach of building institutions and imparting new values and skills does not make a sufficiently direct impact on economic productivity, which they contend is the most crucial factor in promoting other desired changes in the communities.

While community development has frequently included economic activities in fields such as agriculture and cottage industry, these have generally not been major foci of attention. Indeed some community development practitioners consider that this is not the role of community development per se but rather of the technical services concerned. It is of course true that community development generalists (those responsible for enlisting popular participation, for institution-building and for promoting the integrated approach) should not be called upon, for example, to promote agricultural development. 13/ At the same time, it should be the essence of the integrated approach that the appropriate technical services intensify their activities if current programmes are not sufficient to meet the country's needs. The community development worker is in a good position to generate pressure for the provision of such services but, unless he is assured of positive backstopping by supervisory personnel of technical services, he is reluctant to engage in technical activities himself. The case is different where local technicians (for example, agricultural extension or public health workers) have in addition a general community development function.

Balanced socio-economic development requires that due attention be given to the economic elements in the development process. It is considered by some that

13/ See below, section II.D, first paragraph.

this need cannot be met merely by integrating administrative services and improving co-ordinative mechanisms, but requires strengthening the capacity of man as a productive agent, investor, innovator and developer, increasing his capacity to participate effectively in economic activity and in this way to contribute to social development. According to this view, a major task of the community development planner is to spell out, in as specific terms as possible, the kinds of economic goals and considerations to be included in community development. This should include the ways in which community development can assist in improving the quality and utilization of the labour force and the help it can give in creating conditions at the local level favourable to sustained growth.

In view of its commitment to promote long-range social and cultural changes as steps towards promoting over-all development and sustained growth, and its potential contribution to developing a strategy of balanced human and material development, it can be argued that there is no reason for community development to abandon its original emphasis. The validity of the assumption that beliefs, ideas, attitudes, organizations and institutions exert great influence on the economic progress of a society still remains unchallenged. If the results of the approach based on this assumption, have so far been little in evidence it is because changes in ideas, attitudes, and institutions take time. Between the alternatives of producing quick results that may be soon lost and of creating a cultural and institutional framework capable of generating and sustaining higher levels of development, community development's choice of the latter can hardly be considered unwise. Nevertheless, community development should distinguish between the factors closely linked to the economic and other developmental processes and those only remotely concerned with it, and give emphasis to the former. Similarly, it has to be recognized that not all community organizations are equally effective in promoting the development process. Also, community development should keep in view the evolutionary nature of its goals and adjust its emphasis accordingly. In societies that lack the basic cultural and institutional framework necessary for development, community development should first address itself to the task of creating one. Once the basic framework is established, there is no reason why community development could not undertake activities more directly related to the economic process structures and goals.

G. Social mobility and community development

Social stratification in traditional communities is usually rigid; the different groups living in the community are isolated from one another by social barriers supported by custom and tradition. In a subsistence economy characterized by a feudalistic structure, this form of social stratification had at one time a stabilizing force. Its persistence in modern times, however, poses a serious obstacle to development. It limits the assignment of roles on the basis of competence, thereby depriving society of the benefits of division of labour based on ability; by denying lower class groups access to social and political power, it promotes political instability which is a deterrent to development. At times, community development activities have had the unintended consequence of widening rather than narrowing the social and economic gap between classes because of the ability of the middle and upper income groups to use to better advantage such programmes. This has made the class structure more rigid. If community development is to be more effective in the future, it should look for ways and means of promoting the process of social mobility. Among the methods which have been employed are better ways of ensuring the representation of less privileged groups

in community councils and other organizations, greater attention to programmes benefiting such groups, and encouragement of educational programmes emphasizing basic human rights and the equality of man.

Community development has to take an active role in the training and utilization of human resources for economic development. In a traditional society occupational roles simply reflect the needs of a primitive and large undifferentiated agricultural economy. The skill requirements for this work are minimal and acquired on the farm or at home. As rural societies in developing nations undergo change, new and more complex occupational roles emerge in response to the modernization process. Herein lies a challenge to community development. By mounting educational and vocational programmes, CD can facilitate economic development by assuring a continuing flow of trained workers for new industries; it can further contribute to economic growth by training leaders who can help the community adapt to the changing requirements of development. Vocational training would prove useful to would-be-city-bound migrants.

While there are valid arguments against dealing in this paper with special age, occupational or interest groups or the special role of women in development, since community development implies an integrated approach covering all groups in the population, there is some justification for relating youth and women to community development. In many developing countries, CD activities reserve an important place for the problems of youth. This gives recognition to the predominance of this age grouping in the population of virtually all developing countries. Attempts to induce social change are likely to yield more effective and lasting results by involving youth who are more receptive to innovation. As a group, young people have special needs and problems and are even more vulnerable to the effects of modernization.

The problem of finding an appropriate occupational or professional role in a changing society weighs especially heavy on young people who approach the responsibilities of adulthood. There is a widespread shortage of educational and training schools; students continue to drop out of school in substantial numbers largely because of economic pressures in the home, inadequate educational curricula and a lack of teachers and school facilities; the rate of unemployment among youth tends to run high not only among school leavers but even among those who have completed their vocational or professional training; in many countries there is a rising incidence of delinquent and anti-social behaviour among youth, a phenomenon not restricted to developing countries alone. With the continuing rise in rural-urban migration, there are growing signs of social disintegration growing out of the weakening of traditional family and group ties. This makes youth particularly vulnerable to many of the social consequences of urbanization including unemployment, malnutrition, delinquency and the like.

Community development activities in many countries reserve an important place for the problems of youth and work closely with youth. There have been very few instances of a national community development effort having been directed specifically towards youth or of a request for international assistance for this purpose. Indeed, it may be questioned whether that would be a sound policy. Community development, to repeat, represents an integrated, a multipurpose approach, and in this context, it would appear to be more desirable to stress the maintenance or strengthening of cohesion among all groups of the population and to help young people find their proper role in the process of development.

As regards rural areas, it has frequently proved effective as a preliminary to a community development project or as one of its earlier phases to encourage and organize youth associations and clubs of various kinds. However, the organization of youth activities may at times encounter serious opposition, for instance in communities with very strong traditions and where the elders have undisputed authority. Apart from such specialized activities as the promotion of better farming through young farmers' clubs, etc., high priority should be given in youth programmes to the general aim of improving the amenities of rural life in general, so that villages may provide to some degree the facilities youth think can only be found in the cities - a major reason for the rural exodus of the young. Equally important is the revolutionization of rural occupations, and particularly farming, so that young people can have reason to want to engage in rural pursuits and be proud to be so occupied. At the same time, it should be recognized that a number of young people will go to the city, and community developments should help to ensure that they are adequately prepared for this change, not only vocationally, but also socially and culturally.

In urban areas particular attention needs to be given to the recent arrivals from rural areas (to help them to adjust to their new economic and social surroundings) and in general to all young people who have been unable to obtain satisfactory employment. Activities will need to focus on programmes to combat crime and delinquency.

A special place will need to be found for activities related to girls, both in rural and urban areas, with emphasis on their future role as women in a world where their role is rapidly changing. Not only do girls require preparation and training as future homemakers and mothers but also for employment outside the home. And, in societies where women still play a subordinate role in public life, programmes need to be formulated which will help girls contribute to the future improvement of the status of women.

While these problems are national in scope and have to be dealt with through existing public and private agencies, community development can be useful in mobilizing youth for the tasks of development through the formation of groups. These values need to be imparted systematically through school curricula as well as through practical experience. Experience has shown how youth can become genuinely interested in community activities and thus make a contribution to community development, while at the same time being diverted from anti-social activities. Young people are an important source of CD personnel, both at the national and international levels, in the capacity of associate experts, auxiliary workers and volunteers. University students are frequently prepared to help in development projects either as part of their training or in their vacations and spare time. Future leaders for community activities are frequently found among the cadres of youth organizations: the latter often lead to adult associations and thus perform an important function in institution building. Voluntary work projects are attracting youth from all over the world and some of them have been located in community development areas. In many countries special youth organizations are being established (youth brigades, service corps, etc.) which have among their functions work related to the provision of welfare services or the building of facilities directly related to community development activities.

H. Community development and women

In most traditional societies the lot of women is harsh and there are few opportunities open to them for social, occupational and professional advancement. Through prescription, she is restricted to child-rearing, household chores and, not uncommonly, manual labour in the field. It is widely recognized that the practice of barring women from undertaking meaningful social, political and economic activities deprives the nation of a major human resource and thereby impedes the development process. In a number of countries, community development has attempted to improve the lot of women. It has done this by organizing leadership and work training programmes which, it is expected, will enable them both to participate in economically productive fields and be better homemakers. In working to improve women's lot, the role that community development can play is limited, as the main impulse for reform in this area has to originate with the government, political organizations, and private agencies and groups. What community development can offer are some resources and useful methods to facilitate the movement toward reform.

I. Institution building

The strengthening of the institutional structure in such a way as to facilitate the process of growth involves not only the promotion of organizations through which the population may effectively participate in development, such as the local councils and other machinery of local government and co-operatives, farmers' associations and the like; it also includes the strengthening wherever necessary of the national administrative machinery and of national technical services, and an improvement in the manner in which all these services, groups and bodies work together in co-ordinated manner to help communities in their development efforts.

Since on the one hand the institution-building aspect of community development is well recognized and accepted and on the other hand institutional development is also a method of community development (and will therefore be examined as such in a subsequent section of the paper), and since, finally, questions relating to the national administration and governmental services and policies are also discussed elsewhere, the subject will not be elaborated in this section (see sections II and III of this chapter). It is, however, necessary to emphasize that community development cannot be considered as having succeeded or met its objectives unless it has helped build up the institutions necessary to permit the community to engage in developmental activities and unless the national administration and technical services have become convinced of the advantages of the integrated approach and have set in motion arrangements to ensure that action is carried out in a co-ordinated manner.

II. METHODS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT[14/]

As an agent for inducing change, community development has to give close attention to the strategy and tactics it considers using and the time needed to realize its goals. A strategy for village reform, for example, has to consider whether it would be more effective to bring community development workers from the outside or to use indigenous workers; in allocating resources, community development planners have to decide whether to deal with a wide range of community problems simultaneously (the comprehensive approach) or to adapt a selective approach by tackling one or a few problems at a time. In gaining access to decision-making authorities, community development practitioners have to consider working with local interest groups, public and private agencies and, to the extent they exist, the communication media. In developing programmes for local development, community development practitioners would do well to organize a systematic body of data on which to base informed judgements. In this regard, consideration should be given to promoting surveys and other information-gathering techniques.

A. Preliminary survey and programming

The methods to be used depend on the characteristics of the community concerned. Given the relative newness of rural development in many developing countries there is frequently only a rudimentary understanding of local traditions and customs of village structure and a limited knowledge of the requirements for local development. Not uncommonly, community development activities have been initiated without the benefit of a preliminary fact-finding investigation and as a result, there are mistakes in the planning and implementation of programmes. This is not to say that implementation of action programmes should be contingent upon local surveys; this is obviously not feasible, and in any case there is usually, but not always, enough general information available in the documents of the planning authority, national surveys, etc. from which the most important data could be assembled to support some action programmes. But a gathering of facts is only the first requirement of local action and this should be done with the full participation of the local people; properly handled, this task may be left to them, within the framework established by community development workers. The information collected should be used for a diagnosis covering as many aspects of community life as possible. On the basis of this, together with the projection of existing trends, it is possible to formulate alternative action proposals.

B. Village level workers and village leaders

Considerable reliance has been placed on village-level workers (VLWs) as vehicles for change in rural communities. There is a continuing need to question, challenge and where necessary to alter the status quo. A paid government worker appointed to work with the villagers over a period of time working with them in

---

14/ For a fuller discussion of practical methods of promoting change, see the 1965 Report on the World Social Situation (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 66.IV.7); also Methods to Induce Change at the Local Level, (Report No. 2), (Geneva, UNIRS, November 1965).

face-to-face situations may provide a far stronger stimulus for change than occasional visits by outside technical proposal. A multipurpose worker, by remaining in touch with villagers, helping them to accept new values and attitudes, can help create conditions for the acceptance and diffusion of technical assistance to be provided by the competent specialized government department. Local leaders, on the other hand, may be ineffective in inducing change; their ability to act decisively may be limited by ignorance of modern methods of farming or by an unwillingness to alter existing social institutions and power relationships.

Recently, there has been increasing criticism of the village-worker approach. 15/ It is argued that a village worker born and educated in a city or town, as is frequently the case, is usually interested in the urban way of life and looks on his stay in the village as temporary. Moreover, his interest in village development may be largely "bureaucratic", in that he cannot have as much stake in village improvement as a trained and enlightened local leader and/or prestige. He has no place in the local power structure and therefore is not in a strategic position to mobilize the villagers. If he is insufficiently trained he is neither far enough ahead of the villagers to earn their respect nor well enough equipped for the multifarious tasks he has to undertake; and unless he can combine advice with service, the advice is rarely followed up. If he has received a long and thorough training there may be too wide a cultural (and social) gap between him and the villagers. Since many of its workers are likely to be young and unmarried, they would find it difficult to make an impact in rural areas where the cultural pattern is such as to render their acceptance doubtful. A village level worker coming from the area would be less vulnerable to criticism on these counts. This, in turn, raises problems regarding status and acceptance by the village of the authority or advice given by one of their younger members who has been under external influence. Presumably, problems relating to status and acceptance would be more severe for women village workers, for in addition to their youth, they would have to cope with the prejudices of traditional society toward women. In countries where there is a community development department or some other government service specifically charged with community development, the local worker is, as a rule, required to spend a considerable amount of his time doing paper work, filling in forms, making reports etc. In some instances he is expected to co-ordinate the work of technical services, a task which often exceeds his abilities or the scope of his training, and one that might better be entrusted to a more qualified official. While there is fairly wide agreement that general-purpose workers are needed at the early stages of development, before technical personnel are available in the necessary numbers, there remains the question whether they should be retained or better-trained personnel be recruited. It would appear that as the community develops a stage is reached when this type of multi-purpose, front-line worker might be replaced by one with better training, background and specialization in selected aspects of community development and who could serve a number of villages. (See section F below.)

15/ Public Administration Aspects of Community Development (United Nations Publication, Sales No.:59.II.H.2), pp. 33-34; Government of the United States, Community Development Programmes in India, Iran, Egypt and the Gold Coast (Washington, D.C., 1955), p. 27. Rural Development in East Pakistan: Speeches of Akhtar Hameed Khan, East Lansing, Michigan, Asian Studies Center, n.d.), pp. 40-43.

A continuing task for community development is to select and train qualified local leaders. Should one rely on those who already perform leadership functions in their traditional society, or should one recruit and train new leaders? Should one look for functional leaders or general leaders? The first question cannot be answered in categorical terms. There may be communities in which the hold of tradition is so great that young leaders capable of assuming new roles are not available or are too much under the influence of their elders. In such a situation, there is no choice but to work with the traditional leaders. However, one has the choice of selecting from among them those whose orientation is more akin to the modern role they are expected to perform. In communities where the hold of tradition is weakening it may be more effective to work with the new leaders and develop their capacity to enhance their influence. With regard to the alternatives of relying on general community leaders, people whose authority is recognized in many aspects of life - or functional leaders - who influence the community on specific issues, the answer may be that both are required and the more comprehensive the activities are, the greater will be the need to use both general and functional leaders. Where specific facets of an activity are stressed it may be more advantageous to call on a leader with specialized knowledge or skill. In any case, the use of local leaders needs to be seen in the light of the specialization of function and the new roles that change creates, as already indicated earlier (section I.C.).

C. Community consensus and factionalism

The essence of the community development approach is to enhance the ability of communities and groups to promote development rather than focus on the development of individuals. Since the burden of development has to be borne by the community, it is important that a broad spectrum of the community participate in the development process. An emphasis on general community interest may lead to the establishment of community consensus; individuals and groups which present a threat to this consensus are generally viewed as selfish or disruptive who place self-interest over community needs. This approach, while at times correct, is not always valid in all places or at all times. Consensus should not be viewed as a positive quality regardless of the goals around which it is formed, nor should conflict be necessarily viewed as undesirable. 16/ For instance, a consensus built around traditional goals and secured through traditional means may have greater development-impeding rather than development-promoting consequences. An over-emphasis on consensus may hinder innovation; it may also serve as a pretext for the dominant groups in the community to control individuals and groups challenging consensually-determined goals and means. A more effective strategy than that of community consensus could take the form of identifying creatively deviant individuals, helping them to cultivate leadership qualities, and creating new groups and organizations around them. Such a strategy could weaken the established consensus; however, when the process of development is sufficiently advanced a new consensus may emerge around individuals or groups whose values are more oriented towards development.

16/ Lewis Coser, Social Functions of Conflict, (New York, Free Press, 1963).

D. Ad Hoc Group and institutions building

The process of development may be considered to consist of two stages - mobilization and institutionalization. In the first stage the problem is to weaken the hold of traditional groups and institutions on the individual, in circumstances in which they are not conducive to motivation, so that the individual may be inclined to invest his energy in new goals, associate with new groups and perform new roles. This process is facilitated to the extent that the social equilibrium of the community is upset either because traditional goals are no longer considered worth striving for or because the means have become so scarce and inadequate that the cost of realizing the traditional goals is too high. In such a situation, individuals and groups find that though traditional goals are no longer worthwhile pursuing with the same zeal, they lack the energy to pursue new goals which have not yet become part of their personalities. Appeals from charismatic leaders are often an effective method to help mobilize the public to strive for developmental goals. To some extent, community development has encouraged this sort of approach to generate enthusiasm and spontaneous action for achieving its objectives. In some instances ad hoc groups and voluntary associations are formed as "propagandists" for mobilizing resources for a specific project.

The role of ad hoc groups assembled through personal appeals, however, is effective only at the mobilization stage; after a while the strength of even the most powerful of such appeals begins to wane, and they therefore lose their effectiveness to rally the population. In order to sustain the level of activity generated by emotional appeals and ad hoc groups, it is essential that the right to command and receive obedience be transferred from the person of the leader to his office. When this is achieved, the stage of institutionalization is reached. The successful insitutionalization of new groups is a difficult process and there is always the danger of breakdown of the institution. The transfer of the authority of a charismatic leader from his person to the office often creates a difficult situation. The claims of the primary groups, such as family and tribe on the individual are usually sufficiently strong to weaken the fragile structure of new institutions, exposing them to corruption and nepotism. The emergence of new institutions and groups demands new skills, new attitudes, and new role behaviour from the members for which their former experience has not prepared them. Consequently, even if the new groups or institutions maintain a formal autonomous existence, their performance may fall far below expectation. To avoid the danger of breakdown in the institutionalization of groups necessary for community development, the following steps may be required: efforts should be made to broaden the base of these institutions (and especially local government organs - see below), to incorporate all interests in the local communities so that they do not become the instrument of special interest groups; at the initial stages new institutions should be provided with adequate external, financial, technical and political support to enable them to strike roots in the local community structure (this help should be reduced progressively to avoid dependence on outside power groups); to sustain dynamism and development orientation in the new institutions, they should be continuously exposed to new knowledge and scientific advances relevant to their needs; training programmes for the members should be systematic and spread over long periods of time; they should become autonomous as soon as possible.

The above discussion has focused primarily on building new groups and institutions. They may be of various kinds: those concerned with over-all motivation and planning for development; those representing special groups such as farmers in general or special groups of farmers, tenants, artisans, workers; women; youth; religious groups; co-operatives, multipurpose or special purpose. Normally, attention should first be given to strengthening existing groups and getting their full participation in community development activities. Among the various groups to be found in the rural community, co-operatives are of particular importance even to the identity of interests between co-operative development and community development. In most community development projects co-operatives play an active role: they contribute to the work of community development, while CD activities in many instances give impetus to co-operative development. Up until now, there has been little effort to associate rural trade unions with community development, an area of mutual concern that merits further attention. A strong case can be made for involving trade unions and business groups in urban community development, and perhaps much could be obtained from getting industrial and commercial trade unions to become interested in and support rural community development activities.

E. Communication in community development

The role of communications as a two-way process in development and change of attitude cannot be underestimated. 17/ The isolation of traditional local communities and their dependence on word-of-mouth communication are an important contributing reason for rural stagnation. To integrate rural communities into national life, to impart new dynamism, and to create new institutions possessed of vigour and vitality, rural communities have to be put in touch with the wider world. This can be facilitated in several ways. New institutions and groups in the village can be linked to outside sources from which continuous and persistent stimuli are injected into the local communities. For example, local peasant and youth organizations may become part of national or regional organizations; local power groups may become part of national political parties, local co-operatives can federate into larger associations, etc. An effort should be made to relate the programmes and content of mass media to the needs and problems of rural communities. Films, radio and television can produce attitudinal changes more effectively when local groups are organized to benefit from specially prepared programmes. A link between local communities and schools, universities and training institutions should be promoted. School and college curricula should place greater emphasis on rural problems and their solutions. Universities should be encouraged to conduct research in rural problems. Training institutions for CD personnel should include practical course work in the villages in order to make the training more realistic.

Another aspect of communication is the establishment of a dialogue between the communities and government officials, which is frequently lacking. Local institutions have an important role to play in this respect, since they can help narrow the gulf between what the population in general thinks and what the rural élite and higher government officials think is beneficial for the people.

17/ See section II.C., below, second paragraph.

F. Training

As the concepts of community development evolve, and as there is a shift of emphasis in the orientation of its activities, it becomes necessary to introduce appropriate changes in the content of training for community development workers at all levels. The need to adapt community development to changing conditions, a major theme of this paper, is nowhere more pressing than in the area of training. Without attempting an exhaustive review of the subject, following are some observations that provide some idea on current trends in training as they apply to community development.

With regard to front-line workers, 18/ some references to training have been made on page 25 above. Most countries with established community development programmes have organized training programmes. Their content and orientation vary, but as a general rule, the curriculum is built around the main local point of the community development, whether this be agriculture, education or social welfare, with some basic training in other fields and community development principles added. In several instances training has been on the order of a "crash programme" to meet an urgent need, the duration seldom extending as long as a year.

It is accepted that, as CD programmes evolve and as more technical staff becomes available to serve local communities, the functions of the multipurpose worker is likely to undergo change in the direction of greater specialization in certain skills peculiar to community development itself, such as how to enlist popular participation, how to organize group activity and build up other local institutions so as to involve people more effectively. One can indeed conceive of the multipurpose village worker being replaced, as already suggested on page 50 of draft by specialist community development technicians serving a group of villages. Obviously, such a development would have major repercussions on training programmes, with respect both to content and to duration.

This approach should seek to improve the conditions of the community through local participation and persuasive methods. The technical agency staff should be trained in methods of stimulating self-help to ensure that their technical skills are most effectively employed. Training should concentrate on the processes of social change and the role of popular participation in these processes, on human relations and on social work processes. Consideration should be given to training in team work, preferably by organizing training on a team basis to facilitate the adoption of the interdisciplinary approach.

There is an increasing realization of the need for a systematic training of top-level officials and administrators, through periodic short-term seminars and conferences, to keep these officials abreast of innovations and changes in CD methods and principles. Broadly, the aim of such courses in to achieve maximum results from community development programmes by economical means, to improve the co-ordination between these programmes and those of the technical departments and, to the greatest extent possible, to relate local development to regional and national development. Given the increasing importance of planning at the local level, the training curriculum should reflect this trend in development.

18/ For a more detailed discussion see "The social training of front-line rural development workers" (ST/SOA/46).

In the various community development activities the training of instructors occupies a key position. As far as community development per se is concerned, instructors will need, in addition to general orientation in community development and the principles of local government, interdisciplinary training in the various social sciences and above all practical work in teaching methods. In the training of instructors, the universities are assuming an important role, as may be seen in the growing number offering special courses leading to a degree in community development; many are also equipped to organize refresher courses for higher-level staff. In addition to national training institutions, regional centres serving the needs of countries having similar characteristics and problems can play an important role, as is shown by the experience of the Centres for Education in Community Development in the Arab States (ASFEC) and in Latin America (CREFAL). At present, the United Nations is putting emphasis on the establishment of regional and subregional training centres in community development.

The growth of urban community development has given rise to new training needs. To correct the bias towards ordinary social work training and to enable the urban CD worker to carry out his functions more effectively there should be more courses on the techniques of social and physical planning and economics, on administrative procedures and practices, and on local government and urban sociology.

G. Evaluation

Few countries have undertaken a careful evaluation of their community development programmes. Many of the issues referred to in this chapter could be more clearly stated or refined if there were adequate evaluations made in a larger number of countries. Admittedly, evaluation of the "intangibles" with which community development is concerned is extremely difficult. It poses difficult methodological problems, and as a result, the assessment of community development results is all too often based on the impressions of practitioners and experts rather than on empirical data.

The international agencies have contributed to the evaluation effort, first through short-term evaluations carried out under the aegis of the United Nations, the reports of which have invariably stressed the necessity for Governments themselves to establish appropriate evaluation machinery in their national programmes. In addition, the United Nations has carried out or sponsored more intensive evaluations, such as the case studies made in connexion with the 1960 ECAFE study, 19/ the case studies of the relationship between community development and land reform, 20/ community development and land settlement, 21/ and the ILO

19/ Community Development and Economic Development, A Case Study of the Ghosi Community Development Block, Uttar Pradesh, India (United Nations publication, Sales No.:60.II.F.6, Part 2A).

20/ These reference documents are no longer available.

21/ The Community Development Approach to Land Settlement (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 66.IV.5).

study on the employment implications of community development in the Philippines 22/ But these can be no substitute for full-fledged national evaluation procedures.

Evaluation may be defined as "a systematic attempt to provide data as the basis for programme planning and to assess, by organized procedures, progress towards previously established objectives. 23/ It is "an essential tool for the day-to-day guidance of operations ... and for the final assessment of its achievements and impact...". It should be "a continuous process, initiated at the planning stage with the establishment of a baseline situation, which through continued feedback of information and data contributes to periodic reviews of plans and procedures. Evaluation is meaningful only if clearly defined objectives have been established in the early planning stage and if criteria and indicators have been selected against which change can be estimated or measured." 24/ Properly used, evaluation is a valuable tool in programme planning for determining the effectiveness of alternative programmes. The results of programme evaluation should be useful in adapting training courses to changing conditions, thereby making them more relevant to the needs of practitioners.

Evaluation is the responsibility of the governments, in which the departments concerned or separate machinery should have the major role, but there would be advantages in having social scientists from universities and research institutes - and possibly international agencies, when appropriate - brought in for advice and assistance. In any case, evaluation should be made with the fullest possible involvement of the local communities in which activities are being carried out under community development. The primary objective of this built-in evaluation would be to appraise performance and adjust the programmes for better results or to meet new objectives and priorities.

There is also a need for the development of more refined evaluative techniques to measure such intangibles as attitudinal changes among the population and the responsiveness of public institutions to popular needs. Progress along these lines could provide a clearer picture of a programme's specific or general effectiveness and thus itself become instrumental in development. This type of research may be more suited to universities and research institutes, possibly with the assistance of foreign institutions, when appropriate. The United Nations Institute for Research in Social Development has already undertaken several research studies of this kind. 25/

From what has been said above it is clear that evaluation of community development should not be concerned only with the material impact but should emphasize equally, if not primarily, the amount and quality of participation by the people, the emergence of leadership and of local institutions and organizations etc. It is these and other social factors affecting the development of human resources and the modernization of rural institutions which - though difficult to evaluate - create a favourable climate for economic development. Evaluation should also attempt to measure the practical effects of these social and cultural changes on the agricultural and rural economy and on village society as a whole; similarly, it should try to show the contribution CD has made to regional and

22/ International Labour Organisation, Employment Problems and Policies in the Philippines (1969).

23/ Based on the conclusions of the Joint FAO/WHO Technical Meeting on Methods of Planning and Evaluation in Applied Nutrition Programmes, January 1965.

24/ Ibid.

25/ United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Research Notes: A Review of Recent and Current Studies Conducted at the Institute, No. 2 (Geneva, July 1969).

national economic development and what economic, social and technical organizational factors have hindered the achievement of balanced social and economic development, which is the ultimate aim of community development.

Concerted international assistance should help developing countries to work out, in the context of their national and regional development plans and programmes, the appropriate criteria and machinery for planning, implementing and evaluating community development programmes and projects. Such assistance should be based on an interdisciplinary approach, with specialists contributing in their particular fields, in order to arrive at an over-all evaluation of the various aspects of community development.

III. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNMENT

In this section, a number of issues will be reviewed dealing with the relationship between community development and government, at the national and local levels. It also includes a section on the manner in which community development and broad policies of social institutional reform are interrelated, using land reform as a case in point. The nature of these relationships varies with the type of community development activity undertaken and the extent to which community development is a programme with its own administrative structure.

A. Community development in relation to national planning

As CD has gained acceptance and its techniques have increasingly contributed to development through popular participation, it has been given a more important role in connexion with national planning. Where nation-wide community development programmes have emerged, possessing an administrative structure of their own, there has been an increasing trend towards a fusion of community development and national planning. This has been evident in a number of countries, notably in Latin America as well as in India, where the national planning authorities give an important place to community development. This implicit recognition of the advantages of planning from below and full popular participation in the development process is particularly welcomed by proponents of community development who favour a workable alternative to planning from above. As has been shown in earlier sections of this paper, community development provides a practical method for grass-roots planning, which ensures that programmes are in keeping with the norms of the indigenous society and guarantees the involvement and participation of the people. Local planning is also likely to lead to a better balance between economic and human resources development. On the other side of the picture, community development practitioners are now more fully aware than before of the necessity to place their activities in the broader framework of the national plan so that local action can have national significance and contribute to building up the national society, instead of concerning itself only with matters of purely local interest. There is, therefore, general agreement that a closer relationship between community development and national planning is of mutual interest and advantage.

However, the fusion between the two is by no means complete, even in countries where the process has gone furthest. In addition to finding a satisfactory practical method for ensuring that the goals of local planning find their way into the over-all national plan, there is a need to correct certain misconceptions that may prejudice the future development of community development.

One aspect concerns the contribution of labour to community development activities supporting public works or the social infrastructure. There is a tendency on the part of planning authorities to consider community development merely as a cheap way of getting public works undertaken in rural areas, and they are more inclined, therefore, to give high priority to such activities. Given this predilection, the question may be put whether the rural communities are being asked to bear an unfair burden. Granted the need for rural public works and the community's interest in having a school house, a road, an improved water supply, and given the fact that there is generally a certain amount of under-utilized labour that can be put to work on such projects, should rural communities be expected to contribute to the costs of such projects while city-dwellers obtain these benefits entirely from public funds? It is, of course, necessary to be familiar with the workings of the tax structure works to know whether the rural population's labour contribution might be thought of as a contribution in lieu of taxes. Assuming, however, that the tax burden is equitably distributed between rural and urban populations, there appears to be a need for closer scrutiny of projects which rely heavily on voluntary labour to prevent this from becoming a disguised form of exploitation of the rural population, or at least unfavourable treatment as compared with that accorded to urban dwellers. Community development programmes also need to convince the less privileged rural groups that community projects are not being promoted at their expense for the benefit of the privileged. Under normal conditions a policy of wage payment for public works may be more appropriate, especially where outside resources are being used to give impetus to development. Similarly, the practice of making food aid available to CD projects, as is being done increasingly under the World Food Programme, can be a successful device for initiating work projects of a community nature.

Another risk is that national planners may only pay lip service to the principles of community development as regards popular participation in planning, and may look on community development as a handy and ready-made mechanism for the implementation of national plans imposed from above. This point hardly requires elaboration. What is at stake is not only increasing the effectiveness of national planning operations but the preservation of the integrity of community development as a specific approach to development.

B. Community development and political and civic development

The lack of political development is as much an obstacle to development as is the lack of resources, technology or entrepreneurship. When government or over-all government policies change frequently, development policies can neither be formulated nor implemented in a competent manner. When the administrative machinery of a government is not rationally organized, or does not follow the directives of the political leadership, institutions prove incapable of responding in an effective and compassionate manner to the legitimate demands of the people, and the latter, in frustration, may feel compelled to resort to violence. When citizens perceive that governmental institutions are exploitive and when they feel no personal involvement in political affairs and are not willing or able to meet their civic obligations, efforts to mobilize their energies and resources for national development are not likely to succeed. Increasingly, there is a growing awareness of the need to strengthen a nation's political infrastructure as a necessary condition for economic development.

Community development can make a useful contribution to the political and civil development of a country - a contribution that has not always been adequately appreciated. Local political processes can be powerfully stimulated by emphasizing greater popular involvement in community affairs 26/ and the building of indigenous institutions that could give practical expression to a larger and more effective participatory role of the people in managing their affairs. In many countries, community development programmes have been engaged in the pursuit of these objectives. It has helped in the organization of local councils, farmers' associations, co-operatives, trade unions, women's groups and youth clubs. In this regard, it has been active in identifying and training local leaders for leadership in community affairs. Such groups can help in articulating community needs, assist in the planning and implementation of local programmes and serve as a channel between community authorities and the various interest groups and sub-publics that make up the community. Through regular political processes, these groups could bring about a greater sense of awareness and participation in community life; where such processes are stagnant or imperative, community development should give consideration to promoting training in civic education. By strengthening established political processes and developing new ones where necessary, community development could create confidence in government institutions, thereby avoiding the polarization of public opinion and a possible recourse to violence to achieve legitimate political aims.

C. Administrative reform and local government

To the extent that community development programmes are part of the bureaucratic apparatus of any government, they share its weakness and its strength: these programmes can be no stronger than the administrative system of which they are a part. In order to enhance the effectiveness of community development programmes, reform of the administrative system may be necessary. Frequently, there is a need to bring about administrative reform by changing the relationship between government officialdom and the rural community. In many developing countries rural communities have commonly viewed government officials as either exploitive or indifferent to their needs. Alternatively, civil servants have traditionally viewed public administration as an exercise in collecting revenue and maintaining law and order; as a result, there has been a tendency on the part of the civil servant to adopt a paternalistic if not authoritarian attitude toward the people. When the purpose of government preserve was traditional society and to maintain the status quo, this relationship between rulers and ruled may have served its purpose. However, given the commitment of developing nations to modernization, such an approach is more likely to deter than encourage popular participation: the development-minded public bureaucracy has to be willing to share some of its power, tolerate dissent and encourage innovation. This desired change cannot come about simply by administrative degree or fiat: it requires strong political leadership, committed to the goals of administrative reform and willing to undertake training programmes to orient its bureaucratic cadre towards developing goals.

Steps are also required to strengthen the technical services in rural areas. In many developing countries, the technical agencies are not adequately equipped to service rural communities even at minimal levels, a problem that is further compounded by the processes of development, which generate demands for more extensive and more complex services. To meet this challenge, not only should the

26/ An exception is Lucian W. Pye, "The social and political implications of community development", Community Development Review, vol. 5, No. 4 (5 December 1960), pp. 11-21.

technical agencies be provided with enough personnel to reach down to the rural communities but their administration should be streamlined. However, few countries have resources enough to extend even a modest range of technical services to all villages, nor do they have the technical personnel to man these agencies. A well-administered bureaucracy, demonstrating a concern for the problems confronting the people, can through its limited resources provide leadership in helping them cope with these problems.

As the process of development advances, government services become more complex and differentiated. New agencies are formed and existing ones expand in the process of taking on new roles. This process creates problems which have to be solved in order to promote a maximum administrative efficiency consistent with the norms and mores of society. As government agencies grow in size and complexity, they place a greater claim on available resources, require new forms of technical knowledge and, in doing so, generate tensions and rivalries with other administrative agencies. If these claims can be accommodated by the existing administrative structure, bureaucratic change can be effected with a maximum of disruption. Where this cannot readily be done, overlapping, lack of co-ordination, mutual rivalries and destructive competition may be more characteristic of the behaviour of the various administrative agencies. 27/ Such administrative problems pose difficulties for community development which, in order to stimulate the people and win their confidence, advocates a more democratic relationship between government administration and communities. Community development generalist workers may, as a result, inadvertently find themselves arrayed against the technical and regulatory agencies which are generally committed to a more authoritarian relationship. This applies particularly when community development has an administration and staff of its own at various levels. What is needed is effective teamwork between community development workers and technicians from other government services, so that each can contribute his specialized skills to resolving common problems. In this way not only would the best use be made of available manpower, but the community would have before it a practical example of how joint efforts can lead to the common good.

The task of creating new administrative bodies and reforming those already in existence cannot be accomplished overnight; their transformation should be promoted in stages in keeping with custom and the level of development of each individual country. Changes in administrative structure, like changes in other spheres, are not likely to go unopposed by groups and individuals having vested interests in this status quo. When local authorities rooted in tradition and dominated by the rural élite are replaced by modern local government deriving power from law based on representation, such a change will distrub the traditional power equilibrium in rural communities. It may on the one hand place limitations on the arbitrary use of power so far enjoyed by those who have exercised it and, on the other hand, increase the participation of rural middle classes (where they in fact exist) in the local political process. 28/

27/ Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries (Boston, Haughton Mifflin, 1964).

28/ Inayatullah, Basic Democracy, District Administration and Development (Peshawar, Pakistan Academy on Rural Development, 1964).

This, in turn, may encourage the emergence of a new power structure at the local level, in which the primary goal of community development - promoting participation - can be realized. Community development should guide emerging bodies in such a way as to enable them ultimately to perform the various functions of government that can be best handled at the local level.

In this connexion, it would appear that further consideration needs to be given to the matter of local taxation for development purposes. While obviously the subject of taxation cannot be examined in any depth in this publication, it is an accepted form of popular participation and involvement in development in more advanced countries. The earlier discussion on voluntary labour of public works (pages 65-66) may lead to a consideration of the role of taxation. In some countries, the contribution of labour is thought of as an alternative to the imposition of taxes, which the poor cannot pay, or the labour contribution is considered to be in lieu of taxes. But here it needs to be asked whether the labour contribution might not conceivably represent a greater effort than the contribution by the more prosperous in the form of cash, materials or taxes. In a broader perspective, the introduction of a progressive system of taxation can generate funds for development purposes, lead to a more equitable distribution of income and a better use of capital. It is likely to result in an increase in the purchasing power of the masses, thereby creating a demand for the products of domestic industries. As community development concerns itself more and more with regional and urban development and with rural-urban relationships, greater attention should be given to promoting a progressive tax system and more equitable ways of collecting revenue.

D. Community development and broad social reforms - the case of land reform

The relationship between community development and national development will be strengthened to the extent that community development can be associated with - and contribute to - broad social reforms which the national government is promoting, such as health improvement, literacy programmes, income distribution etc. A topical illustration of this process may be observed in connexion with land reform.

There is a growing awareness of the close relationship between the system of land tenure and the effectiveness of community development activities. Several studies have made clear that where land tenure conditions were not regressive community development programmes were more successful. 29/ Some discussion of the ways in which the land tenure system influences community development would appear to be called for. First, where the land is not owned by the cultivator, the tenant has neither the incentive nor the access to credit required for improved methods of farming. Secondly, as contacts between tenants and any government representative are usually made through the landlords, community development seldom reached the tenant effectively. Thirdly, many lower government officials

---

29/ Progress in Land Reform, Third Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 63.IV.2), chap. VI.; also "The relationship between community development and land reform", background papers prepared for the World Land Reform Conference, Rome, 1966.

prefer to work through the landlords rather than against them, in the hope that their political power will provide access to higher government officials. To the tenants this only means that the all-powerful landlord is himself the government or in league with the government, and that for better or worse they should look to him rather than the government for counsel. Such an attitude which is obviously not conducive to the development of such qualities as initiative and self-reliance, serves to undermine confidence in public institutions. Moreover, landlordism is identified with - and encourages such values and attitudes as - conspicuous consumption, idleness, disdain for manual labour and paternalism. These are the cherished goals of the land-owning group, while fatalism, submissiveness and a feeling of impotence characterize the landless classes. These are the very antithesis of what community development tries to promote. There would appear to be little doubt that in areas where the agrarian structure is defective, agrarian reform can lead to the creation of conditions under which CD activities can function more effectively.

Community development can be expected to contribute to land reforms in many ways. Through increased popular participation villagers - tenants and landlords alike - can take part in the planning of the reforms. In this way, change could reflect the desires of the population which is expected to benefit from it. Once land reform has passed the legislative stage, there is considerable scope for local organizations and institutions, representing both owner and tenants, to take a very active part in its implementation.

The success of land reform in such countries as Japan and China (Taiwan), for example, is generally attributed to the important role played by local committees and organizations in implementing land distribution programmes and tenant-protective measures. In regard to land settlement schemes, 30/ including those intended for settling refugees and land redistribution programmes for developing new communities, community development techniques have proved useful in promoting their growth and development.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The spread of community development to a growing number of countries has made it appropriate and has provided the experience for a re-examination of some of the basic concepts of the process of community development and of the programmes and projects which have been set in motion since the United Nations family of organizations developed its concepts some fifteen years ago. In this chapter such concepts as felt needs, the community, community development and urbanization and economic development have been examined. The principal methods of community development have been reviewed and certain aspects of the relationship of community development to national development planning, to local government and to broad programmes of social reform have been mentioned.

30/ See Community Development Approach to Land Settlement (United Nations publication, Sales, No.: 66.IV.5).

What elements of the earlier formulation of community development need to be reaffirmed? Which elements should be modified and reformulated and which should be abandoned?

In the light of the above review, it can be said that community development should reassert more forcefully its emphasis on the development of man and development for man as its primary objective. It should reaffirm its faith in the capacity of man to learn and change through voluntary methods, free of coercion. In light of this, community development should seek to promote the voluntary participation of individuals and groups in the developmental process and should build institutions that support this objective. It should not disproportionately emphasize the economic aspects of development, but rather maintain its original commitment to a balanced socio-economic development. Finally, it should reaffirm that participation of individuals and groups in development programmes should not have as its sole purpose the increase of over-all national production without regard to the distribution of goods and services; it should develop programmes for the equitable distribution of national production.

For community development to achieve maximum results, it must be recognized that grass-roots planning and voluntary participation are not viable concepts in the framework of a traditional socio-economic and political order. The intervention of the government to change the inegalitarian social and economic order is necessary if the conditions for popular participation are to be realized. The government has to enact legislation covering land reform, income distribution, the extension of social services and protection of youth, women and other groups in the population who, for reasons of age, sex or occupation, are vulnerable to exploitive practices.

Secondly, community development programmes should work for the development of the local community, mindful of the obstacles posed by the traditional ways of village life. The cohesion of a traditional community may obstruct innovative approaches to agriculture and parochial loyalties may hinder the movement toward the establishment of larger co-operative bonds with geographical configurations such as the zone or region. To utilize fully the geographic and other benefits of a larger area consisting of a number of rural communities and urban centres, it may be necessary to make the region a unit of planning and implementation rather than the small rural community.

Finally, it should be recognized that felt needs are by no means the best guide for determining the priorities of village development. Attention should be given to establishing priority for local development that takes into account the felt needs of the people but which can contribute more fully to the development process.

It would seem first that in the future community development will need to get away from the limitations of the village as the local point of development. As local communities become more outward-looking and as their contacts with the outside are broadened, it becomes necessary to adapt community development principles and methods to a wider area, embracing regions, thereby broadening its contribution to the over-all economic and social development of the nation. Moreover, in an increasingly industrial and urban world, there is need for greater understanding of how to foster the relationships between the rural and urban and

agricultural and industrial sectors, so that development activities can be organized on a truly integrated basis. Similarly the narrow concept of felt needs requires modification. Community development workers should gear their efforts to educating and guiding the community to identify needs and satisfy those whose impact will reach beyond the village itself. With such broader and more realistic concepts the relationship between community development and national development can be considerably strengthened.

To attain the primary objective of community development, namely, to promote popular participation and involvement in the development process, little will be accomplished without the adaptation of existing institutions - both government and non-governmental, to meet changing conditions and the creation of new ones to provide a permanent structure within which popular participation can be sustained. Therefore, regardless of what direction community development takes, and whether it is a question of an approach or a programme, strengthening and building indigenous institutions is an integral part of its activities.

In proposing that community development adopt a broader regional framework there is the risk that it will be given an impossible task, one that would defy accomplishment by a single government service or individual officials and workers. This is not the intention; it is not proposed that community development lead to the establishment of a super-agency with unlimited responsibilities for doing an infinite number of jobs; rather that the forms and the process of community development, in its various facets, should facilitate the tasks of all those involved in the work of development. To accomplish this and to promote comprehensive planning and an integrated approach to development, the selection of priorities, the allocation of local resources and services, the building of institutions, and the mobilization of local support for development activities, special skills are required. It is in meeting these specialized skills, which may well become the subject-matter of a new discipline, that community development should find its role. Training and retraining programmes for community development personnel at the various levels need to be adjusted to take account of the above considerations.

The administrative arrangements governing community development programmes should be determined by local administrative and other conditions in each country. The important thing is that the job has to be done and that community development as a process and/or an approach, become a recognized resource in the development process. The tasks of community development may well be accomplished by an existing technical department, such as the ministry of social affairs, or by a more specialized service, such as a ministry of agriculture, health or education. In other circumstances, it may be more advisable to entrust this work to the ministry of the interior or of local government; in still other cases, it may be assigned to a planning authority or some service directly connected with the office of the executive branch of government, or a separate service may be created for it. The essential point is that there should be a mechanism somewhere in the government structure to help communities in the development process by making the best use of government services and facilities, by mobilizing their group efforts to contribute understandingly to development programmes and by building the necessary institutions. Such machinery may take any form most suited to the requirements and conditions of the country concerned.

Experience has shown that there are risks in immediately attempting to introduce community development on a nation-wide scale. A more prudent approach would seem to be a phased programme, especially when new directions are given to

community development activities, and the build-up of solid activities in selected areas to evaluate achievements carefully before embarking on more extensive coverage. Indeed in countries initiating community development, much may be said in favour of establishing pilot projects to test different approaches and methods before launching a more comprehensive programme.

While it has been mentioned that there is now more research on rural problems, social structure, social change and urbanization in developing countries, there is a need for more study and understanding of these matters. Of special concern is the need to understand those conditions that promote greater popular participation and institution building. There is a need, moreover, to establish adequate evaluation machinery within each country to determine the effectiveness of ongoing programmes and, where necessary, to adapt programmes to changing conditions.

At the international level, the United Nations family of organizations has on essential role to play in making widely available the knowledge gained from existing programmes through improved techniques of information dissemination. In the future, these might focus less on general principles of community development and more on the relationship between community development and such subjects as national planning, regional development, land reform, local government, co-operatives and other programmes of social and economic reform. Interagency co-operation with governments in the testing of new approaches and methods should also be encouraged by setting up training institutions at different levels as well as appropriate evaluation machinery. And every opportunity should be taken to ensure that community development projects at the operational level benefit from and contribute to related projects, such as those in research and training in regional development, functional literacy, nutrition, agricultural and home economics extension, co-operative development, public administration, housing and urban development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

(Among the documents listed below there are some studies, bacground papers and working papers that are no longer available.)

I. GENERAL WORKS

Batten, T.R.	Training for Community Development, London, Oxford University Press, 1962.
-	Communities and their Development: An Introductory Study, London, Oxford University Press, 1957.
-	Education and Community Development: Institute of Rural Life, London, 1959.
Dunham, Arthur	Community Welfare Organization, Principles and Practices, New York, Thomas and Cowell, 1958.
-	"The outlook for community development" International Review of Community Development, No. 5, 1960.
Foster, George	Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change, New York, Harper and Row, 1962.
Halpern, Joel, M.	The Changing Village Community, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1967.
Miniclier, L.M.	"Community development in the world today", Community Development Review, vol. 7: 1.
Myrdal, Gunnar	Asian Drama: An Enquiry into the Poverty of Nations, New York, McGraw Hill, 1968.
Ross, Murray G.	Community Organization, Theory and Practice New York, Harper, 1955.
Sanders Irwin	Community Development Programmes in Sociological Perspective, Boston University Press
-	Community Development and National Change, Washington, International Cooperation Administration.
Taylor, Carl, C.	India's Roots of Democracy, New York, Praeger, 1965.
United Kingdom Colonial Office	Community Development: A Handbook, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1958.

II. GENERAL BACKGROUND STUDIES (United Nations documents and publications)

Community Development and National Development, Sales No.: 64.IV.2.

Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes. Sales No.: 59.II.H.2.

Report on the World Social Situation.

Decentralization for National and Local Government. Sales No.: 62.II.H.2.

Social Progress through Community Development, Sales No.: 55.IV.18.

Community Development in Urban Areas, Sales No.: 61.IV.6.

"The social training of front-line rural development workers", ST/SOA/46.

The Community Development Approach to Land Settlement, Sales No.: 66.IV.5.

Community Development and Related Services. Reprint from Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes.

International Social Service Review, No. 6, "Social service in community development", Sales No.: 60.IV.3.

"Evaluation of United Nations technical assistance activities in the field of rural community development", E/CN.5/373.

Local Participation in Government Planning, Sales No.: E.68.IV.2.

III. DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST (ECAFE)

Community Development and Economic Development: Part I. A Study of the Contribution of Rural Community Development Programmes to National Economic Development in Asia and the Far East (E/CN.11/540), Sales No.: 60.II.F.6.

Community Development and Economic Development: Part II A. A Case Study of the Ghosi Community Development Block. Uttar Pradesh. India (E/CN.11/541), Sales No.: 60.II.F.6 (Part II A).

Community Development and Economic Development: Part II B. A Study of Farmers' Associations in Taiwan (E/CN.11/542), Sales No.: 60.II.F.6 (Part II B).

Report of the Workshop on the Role of Local Leadership in Community Development, Bangkok, 21-31 August 1963, ECAFE/101.

Report of the Asian Seminar on Planning and Administration of National Community Development Programmes, ST/TAO/SER.C/54.

"Report of the Asian Conference on Community Development, Bangkok, 4-6 September to 31 October 1961", E/CN.11/569.

"Report of the Seminar on the Organization and Administration of Community Development Programmes in the Arab States, Cairo, 22 May-2 June 1962."

"Report of a rural development evaluation mission in Ceylon", D. Ghosh, C. Sower and C.F. Ware, TAO/CEY/12.

"Report of the Asian Seminar on Urban Community Development", Singapore, 10-20 December 1962-16 January 1962", ECAFE/87.

"Strategies for social change in the rural areas of the ECAFE region", prepared by the Social Development Division for Regional Seminar on Methods of Inducing Social Change for Over-all Development, 25 July-3 August 1967.

IV. DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA (ECA)

"Report on the Workshop on Community Development",Addis Ababa, 14-25 September 1959, E/CN.14/24, annexes I-III.

"Community Development in Africa". Report of a United Nations Study Tour in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika and United Arab Republic, 15 October-3 December 1960", E/CN.14/80, annexes I and II.

"Report on the Training Course in Community Development held at Dakar, November 1961", E/CN.14/SWCD/5.

"Report on the Training Course in Community Development for East Africa, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika", 6 November-6 December 1965. E/CN.14/SWCD/26.

V. DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)

"Rural settlement patterns and social change in Latin America: notes for a strategy of rural development", Economic Bulletin, vol. X, No. 1 (March 1965), Sales No.:65.II.G.6.

"The relationship between community development and land reform: Venezuela"; "The relationship between community development and land reform: Ecuador". Reference documents prepared by Paul S. Taylor, submitted to the Latin American Regional Seminar on the Role of Community Development in the Acceleration of Economic and Social Development, Santiago, Chile, 22 June-1 July 1964. Spanish only.

"Popular participation and principles of community development in relation to the acceleration of economic and social development". Economic Bulletin, vol. X, No. 2 (November 1964), Sales No. 65.II.G.3.

"Certain aspects of the contribution of planning to community development programme", ST/ECLA/CONF. 18/L.2. Spanish only.

"Foundation, means and objectives of community development", ST/ECLA/CONF.18/L.3. Spanish only.

II. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH AMERICA*

In this description and analysis of current and recent trends in community development in North America, 1/ the primary emphasis will be on North America as a region, thus avoiding a country-by-country approach to studying community development trends in the two countries. In practice this presents some difficulties - first, because there are only two countries - in contrast with the much larger number of countries that could be studied in writing on another region, and secondly, because in Latin America the literature is chiefly in terms of one or the other of these two countries rather than of North America as a whole. Moreover, as will be suggested below, the two countries are similar in certain respects, but quite dissimilar in others.

This chapter is based almost entirely on the examination of documents; neither time nor funds were available for field studies. Published documents have been supplemented by correspondence with various agencies, organizations and individuals. As has been suggested above, the chapter is essentially descriptive and analytical, and not evaluative. No attempt has been made to evaluate or appraise specific programmes or projects; such an appraisal was not appropriate, and in any case it was impracticable in the absence of first-hand field studies.

In terms of the time period studied, primary emphasis has been placed upon the 1960s, particularly on the past five years and on current trends and developments.

I. BACKGROUNDS AND FOREGROUNDS

A. Community development - a new acquaintance

The existence of community development as a contemporary international phenomenon has become familiar to a substantial number of people in North America during the last ten years. Sources of information have included: the activities and publications of governmental and voluntary agencies; the course content of some graduate and undergraduate courses, including professional courses in social work and adult education; discussion of the subject in professional, civic and other conferences and meetings; and some popular or semi-popular literature, articles in current periodicals, and news stories and feature articles in newspapers.

Probably the general tendency of most North Americans who are acquainted with the idea of community development is to think of it as something that is needed and found primarily in newly developing countries. However, the North Americans who know their own countries best recognize that Canada and the United States of America

---

* Arthur Dunham, Professor Emeritus of Community Organization, School of Social Work of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, United States of America.

1/ For purposes of this study, North America is defined as Canada and the United States of America.

have their own under-developed communities; and at least a limited number of professionals and laymen have come to realize that community development can be and is being applied to certain types of community situations in these two countries of North America.

Thus, a social process has come full circle: western nations first thought of community development as a way in which they would help to bring about advances in newly-developing countries, by making available technical assistance to these countries. A closer and longer acquaintance has now led the western nations to realize, to some extent, that community development or at least a number of its basic concepts may be useful to the western nations themselves in dealing with some of their own current community problems.

Community development, then, is a fact in North America today.

B. Historical backgrounds

So far as the writer has been able to determine, almost nothing has been written on the over-all history of community development in North America. 2/

The term "community development" is not new. As far back as 1915, a book dealing primarily with the economic aspect of the community was published under the title Community Development: Making the Small Town a Better Place to Live and a Better Place in Which to do Business. 3/ The term "community development" (though not of course in its contemporary technical sense) is found also in Jessee F. Steiner's 1928 volume of case studies, The American Community in Action, 4/ in a chapter with the strikingly modern title "Social change and community development".

An American historian once observed that when one starts on the search for the sources of some great movement, he is likely to wind up in absurdity in the Garden of Eden.

Certainly the ancestors of community development on this continent are many and diverse. If one keeps in mind the major criteria of community improvement, self-help and participation, and realizes that they are not always found together, it seems probable that at least the historical developments listed below have had some

---

2/ Brief references are found in Paul G. Philipps, Trends in Community Development in the United States (Washington, International Cooperative Administration, 1958), pp. 2-3; Arthur F. Raper, "The Role of Pilot and Demonstration Projects in Community Work", Community Development Bulletin (later Community Development Review), No. 2, September 1956, p. 30; and "Community Development in Canada", Journal International Society for Community Development, vol. 1, No. 2, July 1966, especially the Introduction. Of course, a number of articles relating to specific aspects of community development in Canada and the United States contain some historical material.

3/ Frank Farrington, Community Development: Making the Small Town a Better Place to Live and a Better Place in Which to do Business (New York, Ronald Press, 1915), 257 pp.

4/ New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1928.

bearing upon the emergence of community development in North America or in one or the other of the two countries included in this study. The nature and length of this study precludes more than a mention of these developments; but it may be suggested that a fascinating chapter in the social history of the western world remains to be written about the origins and emergence of the phenomenon of community on the North American continent.

These, then, are the historical developments suggested:

1. The nature of the frontier communities - isolated, largely autonomous, and dependent mainly upon self-help for survival - and frontier mutual practices; 5/

2. The growth of local government - with its successive responses to widely felt needs - in the development of various governmental services, including the New England town meeting as an attempt at direct democracy in local government;

3. The historic co-operative, Utopian, or "intentional" communities, including Brook Farm, New Harmony, and religious communities of the Latter Day Saints, Mennonites, Hutterites and other groups;

4. Contemporary "new towns", including Canadian experiences in creating northern communities and some carefully planned new suburban residential communities in the United States;

5. Governmental relationships with Indians, Eskimos, and the Canadian Métis - particularly where these relationships have tended to move from domination or paternalism to self-determination and self-help;

6. Some governmental and voluntary programmes on behalf of other minority groups - Negroes, Mexican-Americans, migrants, sharecroppers and isolated and impoverished mountaineers;

7. The adult education movement and university extension services, particularly as they have focused on community problems and the building of citizen awareness and capacity for bringing about community change;

8. The programme of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, with its emphasis upon self-determination, self-help, co-operatives, and adult education;

9. Agricultural extension programmes;

10. Community councils in smaller communities and some of the district or neighbourhood councils and "block programmes" in low-income urban areas;

11. Village improvement associations, where these are widely representative;

12. Co-operatives, credit unions, agrarian organizations of various types and labour unions;

5/ Raper, loc. cit., p. 30.

13. Self-help organizations, representing groups of persons with particular problems, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Recovery (former mental patients) and parents of retarded children; 6/

14. Social settlements and neighbourhood centres, where these have emphasized self-help and local participation in planning and carrying out programmes;

15. The Cincinnati Social Unit experiment of 1917-1919; 7/

16. Those social welfare programmes, under religious auspices or otherwise, which have stressed community-building, self-help and resident participation;

17. The development of community organization as a specialized aspect of social work and social welfare;

18. Federal, state/provincial, local and university/college services for the improvement of community life;

19. The United States Economic Opportunity Program ("war on poverty") particularly the Community Action Programs;

20. Research in rural and urban sociology, in group dynamics and in other aspects of the behavioural sciences;

21. Community surveys and sociological studies that have tended to see the community and its problems as a whole;

22. City and town planning and urban redevelopment, particularly where citizen participation has been enlisted;

23. Regional planning, including especially the early years of the Tennessee Valley Authority;

24. The redevelopment of the concept of social planning, and attempts to apply social planning in particular communities in both countries.

C. What is community development?

In North America, and perhaps especially in the United States, the term "community development" is used today, loosely, ambiguously and with a variety of meanings, some of them directly conflicting. A political leader, campaigning for

---

6/ Alfred H. Katz, "Self-help groups", Encyclopedia of Social Work (New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1965), pp. 680-683. See also Promoting Social Welfare through Self Help and Cooperative Action in the United States, U.S. Committee Report to Seventh International Conference of Social Work, Toronto, 1954 (New York, American Association of Social Workers, 1954) (processed).

7/ Jessee F. Steiner, Community Organization - a Study of its Theory and Current Practice (New York, Century Co., revised edition, 1930), chap. XVIII.

a county office in one state, stressed "community development". Asked what she meant, she replied, "Why, we need better county buildings". A militant direct-actionist, responding to a comment in a conference on community development, maintained that his intensely hostile conflict-and-confrontation approach was the best if not the only "real" type of community development. The term has acquired a certain bandwagon status, and it is likely to be used for anything from a chamber of commerce effort to bring in new industry to a realtor's dream of a development of $35,000-ranch houses.

The first two paragraphs of the definition of community development adopted by the United Nations 8/ and quoted in the introduction to chapter I of this book are generally applicable to North America, if two qualifications are noted. First, technical assistance may be provided by voluntary (that is non-governmental) organizations as well as by governmental agencies. Second, in some cases the people of the community themselves may initiate and carry on a community development programme or activities without significant outside technical assistance. 9/

Anthony John Lloyd has a happy phrasing of "the four basic elements" of community development, in terms that are applicable to North America:

(1) Planning for the needs of the total community;

(2) Self-help as a basis for action;

(3) Technical assistance when required;

(4) Integration of specialist services. 10/

The major objectives of community development have been thus described:

> "... to induce social change for balanced human and material betterment; to strengthen the institutional structure in such a way as to facilitate social change and the process of growth; to ensure the fullest possible participation in the development process; and to promote social justice by permitting less privileged groups to give expression to their aspirations and to participate in development activities." 11/

Thus broadly stated, these goals are applicable to North America; and these objectives are reflected, in varying degrees and in varying ways, in the programme referred to later in this report.

8/ United Nations, E/2931: Twentieth Report of the ACC to the Economic and Social Council, annex III.

9/ For examples see: Elmore M. McKee, The People Act: Stories of how Americans are Coming Together to Deal with their Community Problems (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1955); and Margaret Mead and Muriel Brown, The Wagon and the Star: a Study of American Community Initiative (Chicago, Rand McNally and Co., 1966).

10/ Anthony John Lloyd, Community Development in Canada (Ottawa, Saint Paul University, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1967), p. 54. The italics are supplied.

11/ See above, chap. I.

D. North American characteristics

In 1961, Miss Julia Henderson of the United Nations Secretariat, in a statement on the implications of community development for North America, suggested four important differences between the North American countries and the newly-developing countries: the high degree of industrialization and urbanization of North American society, the free enterprise economy, the highly developed and specialized social services, and the tradition of strong local self-government. 12/

Miss Henderson went on to suggest these implications for North America:

(a) The importance of urban community: she noted that "We are more concerned with the organization of existing facilities and services in a meaningful way than in developing new services where they do not exist";

(b) The application of the community development approach to our rural areas also;

(c) Mobilizing citizen enthusiasm for improving our society;

(d) Strengthening and improving local government: bringing about fuller popular participation in it and developing the role of the community in reflecting the needs and wishes of the population to the Federal Government.

(e) Making sure that the development of our social services is such that it "strengthens the bonds of mutual aid and encourages self-help", 13/

These comments are as pertinent now as they were in 1961.

E. Canada and the United States of America

Since only two countries are involved in this inquiry, it is pertinent to consider some of the ways in which they are alike and in which they differ.

Canada and the United States are of course similar in many respects. They are both part of the "New World" of the sixteenth century; their history goes back less than 500 years, and their present national governmental structures are less than 200 years old; their areas are roughly comparable; their Governments are democracies, and their economies based primarily upon individual incentive; both are rich in natural resources; in both the Anglo-Saxon heritage is dominant, although a third of Canada's population is of French descent and the United States has traditionally been a "melting pot" for numerous nationalities, races and ethnic groups. Both nations are highly developed, technologically, but both have their under-developed communities; and they have many other similar political, economic and social characteristics.

On the other hand, the two countries are quite different in certain respects that may be important for community development. First of all, Canada has a population of about 20 million in an area of 3,851,000 square miles, but some

---

12/ Julia Henderson, "Community development from an international perspective - implications for North America". Address at McGill University, School of Social Work, 20 October 1961 (typed).

13/ Ibid.

90 per cent of the population is clustered along the southern border; the United States has 200,000,000 people in 3,615,000 square miles. More than three fifths of the population is urban in both countries; in the United States the urban figures is 73 per cent. and there is much more concentration in large cities. There are twenty-nine metropolitan areas of more than 1 million population in the United States and two (Montreal and Toronto) in Canada. Canada has infinitely more "frontier" territory than the United States. Wealth varies, as well as population: Canada's gross national product was $57,800 million Canadian dollars in 1966 as against 743,200 million US dollars for the United States in the same year. Per capita incomes are about $2,940 for the United States and $1,625 for Canada.

The United States is in the midst of what has frequently been called the "black revolution". The nation faces the necessity of overcoming the past history of slavery, civil war, reconstruction, suppression, inequality, segregation and poverty, and of working out patterns of racial justice that will enable blacks and whites to share equitably in the resources and amenities of a generally affluent society. The past few years in the United States have been characterized by acute and sometimes violent conflicts concerned with civil rights for blacks, the continuance of the war in Viet-Nam, student and youth revolts, and militant action by groups of the poor, by New Left and Black Nationalist groups opposed to the Establishment and the prevailing social and economic order. Some of these conflicts have resulted in major riots in several large cities. Canada, too, has had its share of the problems - though in a far less acute form. There remains the challenge of establishing a more viable relationship between the English and French-speaking communities with their separate cultural and religious characteristics. The tiny black population, inspired by the civil rights movement south of the border, has become more militant in demanding a redress of civil rights grievances and greater economic opportunity. To varying degrees, both nations confront the problems growing out of urbanism, race and ethnic relations, and social conflict - and all of them affect the setting for community development.

F. North American Community Development - general characteristics

Three characteristics of community development in North America appear from even a brief examination of the subjects, and these are basic to the remainder of this study.

First, there is no one over-all national programme of community development, nor indeed, an over-all "national development programme" in either of the countries of North America. These concepts are more characteristic of newly developing societies. It can be argued that such programmes would be desirable even for highly developed countries but in practice, long-time, comprehensive, governmental planning has been largely suspect in Canada and the United States. In addition, the federal systems and the traditions of decentralization in both countries, and the nature of the United States Federal Government as a government of delegated (and therefore limited) powers, would militate against the adoption of a broad national development programme.

Second, it is true, however, that community development is embedded in public policy and governmental programme in the two countries, at various points.

Charles E. Hendry says that:

> "Community development in Canada... has become a basic component of public policy, reflecting conviction and confident that it represents a strategic approach to development planning, particularly in undeveloped and underdeveloped areas...
>
> "In Canada such disadvantaged areas include remote and isolated areas, inhabited for the most part by Indians and Eskimos, areas that might be categorized as rural slums, and areas of transition in our cities especially our larger cities, where physical deterioration and social disintegration combine to produce chronic distress and disorganization." 14/

A former Prime Minister of Canada observes also that:

> "As a philosophy and a method, community development offers a way of involving people more fully in the life of their communities. It generates scope and initiatives which enable people to participate creatively in the economic, social and cultural life of a nation. It provides, above all, a basis for a more profound understanding and more effective use of democratic processes. These are the essential elements of Canada's social policy. These principles underlie our current and social programs which, in essence, are designed to make it possible for people to overcome low income, poor education, geographic isolation, bad housing, and other limitations in their environments." 15/

In the United States, the term community development is found in several different federal settings. There is a co-ordinating unit, the Rural Community Development Service, in the Department of Agriculture; an Office of Community Development in the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and there is a position of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. 16/

There is also a passage in the inaugural address of President Richard M. Nixon, in January 1969, which strongly suggests community development philosophy, if not community development itself:

14/ "Community Development in Canada" Introduction, International Society for Community Development, Journal, vol. 1, No. 2 (July 1966).

15/ Ibid., Introductory letter from L.B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada.

16/ This position was not funded or filled during the fiscal years 1968 and 1969, but it is apparently regarded as a permanent position. Letter to the author from John G. Veneman, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare 28 July, 1969; for a further reference to this position, see section 18 of this report.

"But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do. Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, and to enlist the legions of the concerned and committed.

"What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything." 17/

Third, community development, like planning, is pluralistic in North America. It may be carried out locally with technical assistance or aid from either governmental (public) or voluntary (private) agencies or organizations and sometimes without technical assistance. Organizations concerned with the promotion of or training for community development may be found on national, state and local levels.

II. TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

In the opinion of the author, community development is always or nearly always found in small communities or in limited neighbourhoods, where face-to-face contacts are possible among most of the population, and where practically everyone in the community may participate in the programme if he chooses to do so. In larger communities, delegate bodies and representative devices tend to replace direct participation for most people; and the programme becomes something different from community development.

It appears that the North American programmes that may properly be designated as community development are to be found chiefly in four types of communities: (1) deprived village communities; (2) new, planned communities; (3) deprived urban neighbourhoods or districts, slums and areas of deterioration; and (4) more or less average, reasonably comfortable small communities. 18/

17/ Inaugural Address of Richard Milhous Nixon, President of the United States, January 20, 1969 (91st Congress, 1st session, Document No. 91-3), (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 3.

18/ This discussion is expanded from a brief presentation in this author's The New Community Organization (New York, Cromwell, 1970). It would be possible to use these categories in a comparative descriptive analysis of a number of community development programmes, entering the data either on a chart covering several communities, or a community analysis sheet for each community. Information compiled might include such items as the following: name of community; type of community; geographic setting; population size; predominant ethnic group(s); auspices of community development programme - local, other; type and quantity of technical assistance and consultation given during past year; emphasis in programme during past year; major results during past year. Other items might be added. This sort of analysis would be only a beginning, but it might lead in the direction of some clues as to the types of community development programmes most appropriate for particular types of communities.

A. The deprived village

The deprived village community is essentially an "under-developed community" - an island of deprivation - in the midst of a highly developed nation. Probably all countries of any considerable size have such communities; certainly they are present in Canada and the United States.

Such a village may be inhabited wholly or largely by members of an ethnic minority group. In Canada these groups are usually Indians, Métis, Eskimos and - less commonly - blacks. In the United States, such groups may include blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians (on reservations or not), Eskimos or Aleuts, and there may be also primarily Caucasian villages of southern mountaineers or sharecroppers, for example. 19/

The deprived village is usually physically, socially and psychologically isolated from the mainstream of the society of which it is a part. A high degree of alienation from that society is likely to exist. Sometimes the village is literally a frontier community, as in Alaska or northern Canada.

Such a village is almost always poverty-stricken, and a low educational level is likely to exist. In addition, it may have other problems which are not unlike those in the villages in newly developing countries - lack of water supply, adequate sanitation, housing, educational facilities, literacy etc. There is this difference, however: in North America there are usually more potential resources from specialized federal, state, provincial or county agencies. Sometimes services that are legally available may be largely unused because the people of the community do not know how to use them or how to get in touch with the appropriate agencies; sometimes there may be understaffing or neglect on the part of some of the agencies.

A village of this sort is not likely to have the initiative or the indigenous leadership to start a community development programme on its own. Technical assistance is usually required from some outside agency, governmental or voluntary. Probably, the staff member will not reside in the village but will serve several villages, making periodic visits to each of them. The agencies and the backgrounds of the staff members will vary.

When a community development programme is started, the emphasis is likely to be on specific concrete projects, particularly in the beginning.

In general, then, the programme for the deprived village in North America may resemble one of the "models" for rural community development in a newly developing country, except that the North American village should have more potential allies in the way of specialized services.

The following illustration relates to the service of VISTA volunteers in the region of the United States known as Appalachia:

19/ Métis are persons of mixed Indian and white, especially French, parentage. Aleuts are an Eskimoid people who moved to the Aleutian Islands from Alaska.

Back in the hollows where the mines were long ago played out or shut down, and where joblessness is the long-established norm, the Volunteers have taught adults to read, explained the mystery of applying for surplus commodities under the Food Stamp Plan, figured out Social Security benefits, built schools, roads and bridges, promoted sewage facilities, helped to establish small business loan centres, and even opened a girls' vocational school. Hanging Rock is a community of eighty persons in a remote Appalachian hollow, isolated by distance, rugged terrain and the absence of a passable road. It has been that way since its founding more than a century ago, and might have continued its slide towards oblivion had not a group of VISTA volunteers inspired the formation of a community council. As its first official act, the council petitioned the county for an all-weather road. Thirty-five truckloads of gravel have turned a mud track into a negotiable roadway and cash farming now bolsters the income of the people who call Hanging Rock home.

Hundreds of other volunteers are assigned to rural areas throughout the South, where poverty has trapped the present generation and threatens the next. The VISTA volunteers are found as far south as the Virgin Islands, as far north as Alaska, where they have fanned out of Anchorage by bush plane to serve the impoverished residents of the nation's most isolated and remote communities. 20/

B. New planned communities

The essential features of this type of community are expressed in the designation: it is a "new" community and it is "planned" in advance - at least in its general outlines. Typically, it is small and comes into being as the result of strong conviction that a new community of a particular type is needed.

There are several types of such communities. One type is called, variously, a co-operative, Utopian, or "intentional" community.

Henrik F. Infield, in a book published in 1955, distinguished "three basically different types of co-operative communities: (1) the religious; (2) the social-reformistic; and (3) those predominantly motivated by economic considerations". Infield says "130 'utopian' community enterprises, representing 236 community units... are known to have existed in the United States of America and in Canada". Most of these communities had a short life-span: the Amana Community (Iowa), the Doukhobors, and the Hutterites are among the oldest colonies still in existence. The Hutterites, the largest group, have colonies in the Canadian Provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario, and in the states of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana. 21/

Infield speaks also of the Brudenhof colonies, Penncraft (Pennsylvania), Celo (North Carolina), and of the co-operative farms in Saskatchewan. He observes that "the modern co-operative community - in its main types synonymous

---

20/ Office of Economic Opportunity, VISTA: Volunteers in Service to America (leaflet: no date).

21/ Henrik F. Infield, Utopia and Experiment: Essays in the Sociology of Cooperation (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1955), pp. 25-27.

with the co-operative farm - has developed into a new socio-economic kind of organization, used by governmental or semi-governmental agencies as an instrument of rural rehabilitation." 22/

If they are considered from the standpoint of community development, these co-operative communities as a whole are probably characterized by a high degree of independence, self-help and community participation (although the decision-making structure may sometimes be quite rigid), and by relatively little dependence on outside technical assistance.

Another type of new community is described by Walter Rudnicki: communities created by the Government in the Canadian north, to meet the needs of a population shifting from a fur economy to settled communities.

> "Inuvik, a town of two thousand people, situated 150 miles north of the Arctic Circle illustrated the need for joint social and physical planning. The physical planning itself faced the enormous problems of constructing heavy buildings and installations on perma-frost one thousand feet deep. A new system had to be devised for supplying water, heat, electrical services and waste disposal." 23/

Rudnicki adds that:

> "Some effort was made to enlist the interest and participation of local people, on whom Inuvik would have the greatest impact. A local consensus, however, on the new community's future form, location and services, proved to be extraordinarily difficult to get. Part of the problem, of course, was that some of the most notable individualists in the country seem to congregate in the north. There was also the fact, however, that a more complete preparation of local people for change might have reduced some of the subsequent resistance to change." 24/

In the United States today, there are some proposals for - and attempts at - establishing new black communities.

22/ Ibid., p. 27. Information regarding some contemporary intentional communities in North America and elsewhere is available in "An intentional community handbook" (The Community Fellowship, c/o Community Service, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1969), (mimeographed) and "The intentional communities: 1959 Yearbook of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities" (special issue of the "Fellowship of intentional communities newsletter", 1 August 1959) (mimeographed).

23/ Walter Rudnicki, "Creating northern communities: problems and possibilities," in Community Organization, Community Planning, and Community Development: some common and distinctive elements (New York, Council on Social Work Education, 1961), p. 30.

24/ Ibid., p. 31.

Miracle Village, thirty miles east of Rochester, New York, is designed to house twenty-five to thirty families, parishioners of a Pentecostal Church, whose pastor is the leader of the undertaking. The ghetto Negroes who will move there are building - with their own hands and mostly their own money - homes, community buildings, apartments, a nursery and a chapel.

Miracle Village vaguely resembles a far more ambitious project, dubbed "Soul City", in north-central North Carolina near Warrenton. There, on 1,810 acres, McKissick's Enterprises, an investment corporation, plans to establish a city of some 18,000 people, mostly Negroes, within ten years. The idea of Soul City is to build black economic power and stem the flow of Negroes from the rural South to urban areas. 25/

There appears to be a growing interest in the United States in new urban communities.

The National Committee on Urban Growth Policies has urged the creation of 110 new cities of 100,000 or more people, to absorb the 100 million new Americans of the next thirty years. The Committee's report urged a three-pronged approach-creation of new cities within existing cities, accelerated growth centres within existing small communities, and creation of entirely new communities. 26/

It is not known at present how far the policy advocated by the National Committee on Urban Growth Policies may involve a community development approach as distinct from one characterized primarily by an emphasis on professional planning.

Variations of this theme of "new communities" include: the creation of a totally new community; the removal of a community (a fishing village, for example) from one location to another; 27/ the sudden expansion of a village to meet the requirements of an influx of workers attracted to a new industrial development; and the development of new planned urban or suburban communities. (The suburban type is more likely to represent expert physical planning rather than popular participation.) 28/

25/ Mike Power, "Some Blacks see 'Miracle Village' as a way out of a northern ghetto", National Observer, 21 April 1969. See also: John Morton "Soul City, N.C.: how a new town is to be created", National Observer, 20 January 1969.

26/ News from NACD, vol. III, 30 May 1969. See also the reference to a study "Criteria for New Towns", (University of Colorado), appendix, section 48.

27/ "The Annanaks", a vivid film portrayal of community development with an Indian village in Canada, tells the story of the people's decision to move their village to a better fishing site (National Film Board of Canada: available for purchase or rental from Contemporary Films, New York and Evanston, Illinois).

28/ Robert C. Weaver, Dilemmas of Urban America (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1965) chap. 2, "New communities".

Aside from the problems of physical planning, two major hurdles may be found in the planners' lack of interest in activity involving the public and, when such participation is desired, the practical difficulties of obtaining it - particularly if there is pressure of time - from a group of people who are not well acquainted with each other or are unused to more or less formal processes of group decision-making. One agency worker, referring despairingly to the first of these problems, alluded to planners who "needed only topographic maps and helicopters - they could lay out the plan for the whole village without ever seeing any of the people who were to live there!"

C. The deprived urban community

The city slum or area of deterioration is unfortunately too familiar to require much description. As Marshall B. Clinard says:

> "Slums constitute the most important and persistent problem of urban life; they are the chief sources of crime and delinquency, of illness and death from disease... Although the slum is generally characterized by inadequate housing, deficient facilities, overcrowding, and congestion, it involves much more than these elements. Sociologically, it is a way of life, a sub-culture with a set of norms and values, which is reflected in poor sanitation and health practices, deviant behaviour and characteristic attributes of apathy and social isolation. People who live in slum areas are isolated from the general power structures and are regarded as inferior, and slum dwellers, in turn, harbor suspicions of the outside world." 29/

In short, the type of area that we are discussing is an urban neighbourhood or district with a high concentration of economic and social problems. In many cases, the area is a so-called "ghetto", most of whose residents are members of an ethnic minority group. There is usually less close acquaintance with fellow residents and less cohesiveness than would probably be found in a deprived village. Usually there are many specialized agencies and services available in the municipality but, (as in the deprived village) the residents of the deprived urban area may be ignorant of the existence of some of the services or how to make use of them, and some of the specialized agencies (such as those concerned with housing or garbage collection) may not give the area service in proportion to its needs.

The city dwellers may be less able than the villagers to deal with some of their major problems on a local basis. The villagers may be able to increase production on their land, dig wells, or construct better homes; the urban residents alone can hardly make major changes in their economic conditions, unemployment, water supply, sewage disposal and so on. Many of their local problems must be dealt with on a city-wide or an even broader basis. To some extent, this is true of the village, but it is even more true of the urban area.

It may be more difficult in the city than in the village for the observer to identify what are essentially community development programmes and to

---

29/ Marshall B. Clinard, Slums and Community Development: Experiments in Self-Help (New York, Free Press, 1966), p. 3.

distinguish them from other more specialized programmes. Presumably, an urban community development programme is concerned with the total life of the community and it places a high emphasis on self-help and citizen-participation. It may emphasize co-operation between the local residents and the agencies of the city government.

Urban community development programmes may be developed under various auspices: a municipal agency, a quasi-public city community development agency (the Agency for Boston Community Development), a neighbourhood centre, an anti-poverty agency etc. Workers with various professional and subprofessional backgrounds may be employed, and use may be made also of non-professional front-line workers from the local community itself.

An example of urban community development is found in Michel Blondin's discussion of "social animation" in Montreal, from which the following account is summarized. 30/

> The French terms animation social and animateurs sociaux are found fairly frequently in the Canadian literature of community development.
>
> A team of nine social animators (five employed by the Council and four attached to special projects) work in a disadvantaged area with a population of 254,000. This territory is divided into five zones of operation.
>
> Participation is the central objective in efforts to bring about community development. "By participation they mean that the decisions which affect people either immediately or remotely should be shaped by them... The process of animation gives rise to a process of self-education, the essence of which is a heightening of the capacity for self-determination".
>
> "Social animation concentrates its efforts on a group of persons who want to work for the improvement of living conditions in their environment". Citizens committees are formed, "answerable to no one but themselves".

Major improvements have resulted in these districts, as a result of pressure of these committees, in such areas as construction of new schools, improvement of school services, urban renewal, better rehousing, increases in compensation to tenants, creation of parks and playgrounds, improvement of safety measures and better maintenance of streets and parks. "But the most important results... stem from the creation of local leadership, which is trying to gradually spread its influence through the district and transform it". 30/ A training programme has been developed for members of the citizens committees.

30/ Michel Blondin, Social Animation as Developed and Practiced by le CONSEIL des OEUVRES de MONTREAL, Paper prepared at the request of the Canadian Welfare Council, in connexion with the tour of ten major Canadian cities (Montreal, Conseil des Oeuvres, 1968).

Social animation creates certain tensions within the council. However, the author observes, even if the presence of the animators is "a thorn in the flesh, it neverthless facilitates the necessary questioning process... that gives promise of change and vitality". 30/

D. The "average" small community

The fourth type of community is quite different from the other three. The more or less "average", fairly comfortable type of community may have a population of less than 25,000 - often less than 10,000. It may be a semi-rural community, a suburb, or part of a sprawling metropolitan area. The community may have serious social-economic problems, such as decline of industry or loss of population; but this type of community is well above the level of the "deprived village community". 31/

A community development programme in such a community may be stimulated by a community development or extension service of a state university or college, or perhaps by a state agency. Technical assistance or consultation is likely to be given by a consultant who visits the community from time to time, rather than by a resident worker.

The major emphasis in such a programme will probably be on the community development process, citizenship education, and leadership training, rather than on specific, concrete community projects. The programme will probably be highly oriented toward adult education and many of the "community consultants" from the state university or agency are likely to be skilled primarily in adult education methods. 32/

The educational level in this community is higher than in the deprived village. The community development programme in the small town may be more "sophisticated" or intellectualized; it has less of the life-and-death (or at least "life and well-being") quality or the immediate urgency of the programme in the deprived village. The higher educational level and greater experience in certain types of organizational behaviour may, in some cases, lead to a self-initiated and conducted community development programme without technical assistance or consultation from outside the community.

The town may be too large for direct participation in the community development by any large proportion of the population; so that active participation may be chiefly by a "core" group, as in the Biddles' model of the community development "nucleus". 33/

30/ Ibid.

31/ Dunham, op.cit.

32/ Ibid.

33/ William W. Biddle and Loureide J. Biddle, The Community Development Process: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative (New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1965), p. 88 and chap. 6 in general.

The book, Our Community, by Dorothy and Curtis Mial, 34/ is an example of this approach. This volume is a "series of study-discussion programmes" for lay groups - it is essentially "a course in community citizenship". Among the topics considered are: what is our community; how did our community get the way it is; what kind of a community do we want; what kind of a community do we have; participation and leadership; resources; conflict and co-operation; how does our community relate to other communities; reassessment of our community; where do we go from here? A number of devices drawn from the study of group dynamics are used; and there are a community "scoreboard", a "comparator" (a measuring device for sizing up strengths and weaknesses); and an "opinion finder", or questionnaire seeking opinions on the basis of observation and experience.

Community self-surveys, institutes, courses, community calendars, educational and cultural projects, community improvements of various kinds, and continuing community councils (seeking to represent the various organizations and groups in the community) are often associated with community development programmes in these communities.

The University of Calgary (Alberta) reports carrying on "two courses for Family Life Educators, one course in Leadership Development; and, in addition, involved in discussions and active participation in Urban Development, Renewal Issues; continuing education in Health, Recreation, and Social Welfare, Public Lectures. 35/

Conclusion

Community development programmes may be found in some communities that do not fit into any of the foregoing types; but it is believed that the great majority of such programmes in North America will fall into one or the other of these categories.

34/ New York, New York University Press, 1960.

35/ Donald Snowden and Edna Bair, Summary of Community Development Training Activities Undertaken by Extension Services of Some Canadian Universities (St. John's Newfoundland, Extension Service, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1967) p. 3.

IV. SOME ILLUSTRATIVE PROGRAMMES AND AGENCIES

A surprising amount of material relevant to community development in North America is available in books, monographs, public documents, papers, and articles, to say nothing of memoranda and other informal and unpublished sources. Many of these materials are fragmentary and many are not up-to-date. In a field characterized by rapid movement and change, there are few up-to-date summaries of even parts of the field.

In the time available for this study, it has been possible to collect or examine only a limited portion of these materials; but even the materials readily available or generously supplied by correspondence is too great in volume to be fully summarized or reflected in this report.

Actually, the most baffling aspect of this study has been to try to give some over-all impression of the kinds of organizations and programmes concerned with community development, without producing either a mere list of names, a directory, or an indigestible mass of detailed information about specific agencies.

The organizations concerned with community development or closely related activities in North America might conceivably be classified in several ways: for example, by auspices (governmental; voluntary or non-governmental; mixed); by the geographic levels on which they operate (national, regional, state/provincial, local); by their field of interest (rural or urban, special ethnic groups, or special aspects of community life, such as health, housing, education); or by the types of communities suggested in the preceding section.

Actually, none of these schemes of classification is entirely satisfactory. The available material does not lend itself to any completely tidy plan of classification. For purposes of this study, organizations are divided into three general classes: operating agencies, concerned primarily with carrying on service programmes; educational agencies, concerned primarily with education, training and research; and organizations for community development personnel. Operating agencies, which is what most of these organizations are, are further subdivided, as concerned primarily with urban or rural areas, and include a third group of "other" agencies, chiefly those concerned with two or more types of operating programmes. Those programmes which relate primarily to Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, or Métis are included as a special group under rural programmes, since most (though not all) of the members of these ethnic groups live in villages or on reservations.

Section A below is devoted mainly to identifying organizations and programmes in these various categories; more detailed descriptive material on specific agencies and programmes is contained in the annex to this chapter. Numbers in parentheses in this section refer to numbered topics in the annex. Foot-notes have been minimized in this section; more detailed references are included in the annex.

This inventory of agencies and programmes, both in section A and in the annex, is illustrative rather than comprehensive. All of these organizations together do not add up to a complete or comprehensive picture: to assemble such a picture would go far beyond the limits of this study. Probably some readers will be dissatisfied with the inclusion, **omission**, classification, description or comments in connexion with specific programmes. 36/ What is presented here represents what was possible, given the limits of this study; it is a compilation of information regarding some sixty organizations and programmes. It is hoped that such a compilation may be useful not only for current reference but as a foundation for future research.

A. Operating programmes

1. Rural areas and small communities

Rural community development programmes are, as might be expected, primarily under governmental auspices.

The Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act of 1961 (ARDA) (1) is basic to Canada's approach to rural development. The Act, administered by the Department of Forestry and Rural Development, establishes a federal-provincial programme with provincially initiated projects and federal funds, consultation, technical assistance, and research. While resource development has probably received more emphasis than community development process, current objectives include providing qualified Rural Development Officers, encouraging local leadership, and involving local participation.

The Canadian Council on Rural Development (2) made up of individual members and representatives of voluntary organizations, emphasizes a regional approach to development. It advocates the establishment of a Canadian Development Institute where politicians, government officials, "academics", and leaders of voluntary organizations may study problems of mutual concern.

Several provincial programmes (3) for rural development exist in Canada. The oldest, in Manitoba (4), dates back to 1959. In Quebec (5) a programme called BAEQ (Bureau de L'Aménagement de l' Est de Québec) has led to a far-flung federal-provincial joint programme.

In the United States, the federal-state-county Cooperative Extension Service (8) has for over fifty years been the central governmental agency serving rural populations. The current emphasis on "community resource development" comes close to community development: it "aims at improving group decisions to attain a better community life".

The Rural Community Development Service (7) in the United States Department of Agriculture is essentially a liaison agency with other federal agencies serving rural areas.

36/ Some organizations were omitted because no response was received to requests for information.

12/ Julia Henderson, "Community development from an international perspective - implications for North America". Address at McGill University, School of Social Work, 20 October 1961 (typed).

13/ Ibid.

Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts and Métis

There are approximately 552,000 Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts in the United States or about .025 per cent of the population; in Canada there are some 231,000 Indians, Eskimos, and Métis , or about 1 per cent of the total population. It appears that, as Canada as a whole is closer to the "frontier" than the United States, so there is more general awareness in Canada of the problems of these ethnic groups. In the United States, the problems of these groups are likely to be lost sight of in the widespread preoccupation with the situation of the blacks, who constitute approximately 10 per cent of the population.

In both countries, there has apparently been widespread antagonism on the part of many Indians against the federal agencies and what has been regarded as paternalistic and bureaucratic tradition. In an attempt to break with this approach, the Government of Canada, in a major policy statement, proposed far-reaching reforms leading to the integration of the Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life. Under this plan, Indians would be enabled to gain control of and title to Indian lands; the provinces would have the same responsibility for Indians as they have for other citizens in their jurisdiction; and federal funds would be made available for Indian economic development.

Both the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (9) and the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs (11) seem to accept the validity of a community development approach, judging from current documentary sources.

Among the native groups, there are indications of new militancy and a new emphasis on self-determination. Some voluntary organizations concerned with the welfare of Indians have been oriented largely toward social action, but the community development approach is stressed by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada (10) and the Association on American Indian Affairs (12) in the United States. The latter asserts that its community development programme is "the first successful and total approach to the rehabilitation of entire Indian tribes". The Indian-Eskimo Association has published a study of Community Development Services for Canadian Indian and Métis Communities, which advocates the establishment of a native Canadian development institute with a major focus on "facilitating the growth of the people". The Association says flatly that it "will be dissolved when native communities and people have opportunities equal to those afforded other Canadians". There are some evidences of the acceptance of a community development approach by the National Congress of American Indians (13) and the Indian Rights Association (14), both in the United States.

B. Programmes in urban communities

Community development, urban as well as rural, is concerned with bringing about social change. As Roland L. Warren has said:

> "... here is an approach which does not assume the status quo. It is not a system-maintenance approach; it is a system-disturbing approach. On this sense, it is revolutionary. It doesn't assume the current status of power relationships among which people live, but sets about deliberately to use a

particular kind of process to reorganize those power relationships and decision-making loci." 37/

At least the following five approaches may be distinguished all of which are found in North America: 38/

(a) Education and promotion constitute an approach that often not only seeks to stimulate people to think for themselves, but it is concerned also to impart particular information and to influence attitudes and behaviour in particular directions. Family planning programmes and most agricultural extension programmes illustrate this approach;

(b) Planning and programme development may include governmental planning, as in urban renewal or planning by a voluntary organization that establishes a day nursery or a neighbourhood centre. In practice, these programmes may or may not involve the consumers or residents of the district affected; in the past there has usually not been significant consumer involvement in most such programmes. In some cases, as in Medicare, the planning may take place on a higher level of Government, without any direct involvement of local officials. Under the Model Cities legislation, the neighbourhood population is directly involved in programme planning; 39/

(c) Community development, in the traditional sense, has a strong emphasis on "felt needs", citizen participation, self-help and consensus;

(d) Political or "procedural" social action recognizes the reality and importance of conflict; the social activities enter into a contest and seek to achieve their goals through legislation or other official action. The term "political" here is not limited to partisan politics but refers rather to the use of political, parliamentary or procedural methods as distinguished from "direct action";

(e) Direct action is action through other than established procedural methods. Direct action emphasizes conflict and confrontation: it is avowedly militant in attitude and it may be carried on with a high degree of hostility to opposed groups, institutions, and individuals; in some cases it involves civil disobedience. Among the methods of direct action are demonstrations, picketing, boycotts and sit-ins.

The question may be raised as to why fact-finding, which is obviously of major importance, is omitted from the foregoing list. The answer is that fact-finding alone does not produce community change; to do this fact-finding must be united with community development, education, planning, or social action.

It is obvious that community change may be, and frequently has been, brought about by violence as well as by the approach listed above. Violence, however, is

---

37/ Roland L. Warren, Community Development and Social Work Practice (New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1962).

38/ These are discussed in some detail in Dunham, op.cit.

39/ See below, p. 68.

not a generally accepted method of producing change: on the contrary, it is rejected by the vast majority of people of North America as irrational and destructive of material possessions and facilities, social relationships, human well-being and sometimes of human life itself. 40/ It is a well recognized fact of contemporary life, however, that the use of violence on the part of certain groups has greatly increased in the United States and to a lesser extent in Canada. There are indications, indeed, that there are some groups which have a nihilist commitment to violent revolution and the destruction of the present social order, with only vague ideas as to what they would like to see in its place.

In practice, the various "generally accepted" approaches to bringing about social change are frequently intermingled. Thus community development is often not found in its supposedly "pure" or traditional form. However, if one is to discuss community development it is necessary, for practical purposes, to draw some sort of boundaries. In this study then, the programmes considered are those that seem to express primarily or at least significantly the "community development approach". In the main this approach emphasizes community-wide improvements, broad participation, self-help, and a strong emphasis on consensus and co-operation. Thus, programmes with a primary commitment to a deliberate strategy of conflict confrontation have not been considered to be community development programmes. However justifiable or desirable such programmes may be in particular circumstances, they seem to represent a philosophical, ideological and methodological approach to the problem of community change that is basically different from that of community development. 41/

In the United States the Economic Opportunity programme (17) and the Model Cities Programme are the largest and most striking urban programmes with at least partial orientations to community development.

The Economic Opportunity programme was preceded during the early 1960s by certain experimental urban "Gray Area" programmes (15), supported largely by the Ford Foundation, and by several other programmes which, although they were ostensibly "youth" or anti-delinquency programmes, were really regarded by their sponsors as programmes in urban community development.

Of these latter programmes, the most widely-known is Mobilization for Youth (MFY)(16), a highly innovative and experimental programme operating in New York City's East Side. MFY viewed "delinquency as the result of a lack of congruence between aspirations and opportunities", and it was concerned with

---

40/ There is of course no rational way of reconciling the attitudes of the millions of persons who condemn domestic violence but condone the unlimited violence of war. It is true that there is a widespread growth of anti-war sentiment in most countries, though it is uncertain how far this is due to gains in collective rationality or moral sense or how far it is based upon the instinct of self-preservation and the recognition that any nuclear war may be the equivalent of the suicide of civilization.

41/ For some discussion of the relation of conflict to community development, see chapter I, section II C "Community consensus and factionalism".

"the need for broad social, economic and institutional reform" as a major aspect of its programme. It has been said that, "In 1964 the community-action section of the Economic Opportunity Act, which launched the War on Poverty, was in the main modeled after the MFY experience".

The Economic Opportunity programme intended as an "unconditional war" against poverty, was launched by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Actually the programme is country-wide and is rural as well as urban. It is included here under urban programmes because nearly three fourths of the population of the country is urban and the programme's most crucial problems and tests have, for the most part, been encountered in cities.

A central feature of the Economic Opportunity programme has been the development of community action programmes (CAP). These programmes have varied widely in nature, but they are all intended to mobilize community resources to combat poverty and its causes.

The Economic Opportunity Act provides that a community action programme shall be developed and administered with the "maximum feasible participation of the areas and members of the groups served". This provision plus the broad approach to a variety of urban problems, gives CAP something of a community development approach.

In relation to the Economic Opportunity programme as a whole, it seems clear that: (a) a great variety of services have been made available and large numbers of people have unquestionably profited from them; (b) some of the programmes have been innovative and imaginative; (c) the programme has come nowhere near abolishing poverty, and the appropriations of about $1.5 thousand million a year have been clearly inadequate to the needs of an estimated 34.5 million poor people; (d) the programme as a whole has been spotty: some programmes have been well administered, others have been incompetently administered and have become embroiled in politics; (e) there have been more involvement and participation of consumers in this programme than in any previous broad social welfare programme in the United States.

An evaluation of the Economic Opportunity Program, published in 1969, concludes in the words of a reviewer, "that OEO's pluses exceed its minuses", that the funds made available have done little more than "scratch the surface of need for... self-help activities, much less get into major income-support programmes"; that (in the evaluator's words), "CAP must certainly be judged as an innovative agency which gave the poor their first political and social role". The evaluator recommends that the functions of planning, co-ordination, and evaluation should be transferred to a presidential agency, and that the Office of Economic Opportunity should "be basically an experimental and demonstrative agency using CAP as a tool for innovation". 42/

42/ Review by Howard W. Hallman of Sar A. Levitan, The Great Society's Poor Law: A New Approach to Poverty (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), published in Community Development (NACD) vol. 4, (June 1969). Levitan's book was not available to the author of this report at the time of this writing (June 1969) President Nixon in his address to the nation on 8 August, calling for an overhaul of the welfare system, favoured giving OEO an experimental and innovative role in the war on poverty.

The future of the Economic Opportunity programme, under a new national administration, is at present, uncertain.

The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (19) was established in 1965. It includes the Office of Community Development concerned with "the definition, understanding and implementation of social goals for Departmental Programmes".

The Model Cities Program (19), administered by HUD, is actually an attempt to renew blighted urban areas. It is really concerned with "model neighbourhoods" rather than model cities. It seeks to combine physical and social planning for the selected "target areas", and to co-ordinate the efforts of federal agencies "which have a major impact on community development". A model city programme must "involve widespread citizen participation" and "create maximum opportunities for training and employment of area residents" in the programme.

It was reported in March 1969 that 150 cities were involved in the programme; seventy-five were in the advanced planning stages, and the others in earlier planning phases.

Potentially, at least, the Model Cities Program has much in common with a community development approach to urban problems. An extremely interesting comment on the programme by Floyd Hyde, Assistant Secretary of HUD, even emphasizes the "process" aspect of community development. He says: "I am more interested in the process than the product".

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (18) has an unfilled post of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development and a Center for Community Planning, through which the resources of the Department would be focused on urban problems and problems of the poor. It represents the Department in interdepartmental programmes like the Model Cities Program. Neighbourhood service centres (an attempt to tie together local urban services for low-income populations) and parent and child centres are demonstration or experimental programmes sponsored by the Center for Community Planning. 43/

In 1965 Canada set up a Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council (21) to give greater effectiveness to government programmes which would benefit the poor. Under a recent departmental reorganization this Secretariat was discontinued as a separate unit, and its services were integrated with other agencies.

The approach of social animation (22) in urban community development has already been mentioned on page 59 above. Michael Blondin writes: "Social animation... becomes a basic weapon in the war on poverty by placing in the hands of the poor some instruments for securing their advancement as a group." 44/

43/ The total programme of HEW of course relates to the entire population, rural as well as urban. It is listed here under urban-focused agencies because the programmes noted seem to have a major emphasis on urban communities.

44/ Blondin, op. cit.

The integration of physical and social planning (23) was discussed in two seminars under the auspices of the Canadian Welfare Council in 1967 and 1968.

The Lower Town Project (24) was an interdisciplinary research project of a portion of Ottawa's Lower Town, an old area about to undergo urban renewal. The study was made under the auspices of the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology of St. Paul University. James Lotz, Director of the Study, emphasizes the application of social science research to promote evolutionary change and community development.

Among other urban-focused organizations (25) is the National Urban League (26), which serves the black population and emphasizes a current thrust for "ghetto power for urban change by mobilizing the black community". The general approach is along the lines of community organization rather than the use of conflict as a primary strategy.

In both Canada and the United States settlements and neighbourhood centres (27) are concerned with "building better neighbourhoods". In some cases neighbourhood centres have been pioneers in enlisting consumer involvement and participation. In one case, in Columbus, Ohio, a church-sponsored neighbourhood centre was turned over to the people of the area; a "neighbourhood corporation" was established and received federal grants, one for a self-directed youth programme. Such community corporations may provide a significant form of consumer-directed agency. 45/

Citizens self-help organizations (CSHO) (28) exist in various forms in urban communities in the United States. They may follow strategies of consensus, negotiations, or conflict, or combinations of these. They are likely to need technical assistance and consultation. A student of the CSHO observes that, in a period of rapid social change, they offer "a promise of solution through a strategy of benign revolution".

3. Other operating agencies

Some agencies have programmes that include both urban and rural areas. Canada's Department of National Health and Welfare (29) administers the Canada Assistance Plan and the National Welfare Grants Programme for service and demonstration programmes, which include community development projects. Since community development is an area of effort where satisfactory evaluation is usually lacking, it is valuable to have the thoughtful comments of an official of the department who has had the opportunity to observe these programmes. Some of his observations are thus summarized:

45/ At the annual forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare, in May 1969, a session was held on "Community corporations: problems and prospects" (National Conference on Social Welfare, An Action Platform for Human Welfare-Phase II: Programme for the Annual Forum. 1969. p. 69.

(a) Experience has not always justified the initial optimism and enthusiasm for such projects;

(b) Evaluation has proved difficult;

(c) Short-term projects have little effect;

(d) The most encouraging results have been seen in projects that grew more spontaneously, with the staff acting merely as a catalyst, and where major activities were carried out by community members;

(e) Even though, so far, projects have not necessarily produced the result expected for community development approaches, they should not be abandoned. The community development approach is still basically sound, although it is not a panacea for all situations; it should be used selectively.

(f) When community development projects prove successful, then more rather than less conflict between the larger community and its poverty-stricken and depressed or isolated groups will occur. 46/

The Community Development Foundation (Norwalk, Connecticut) (30) is a private operating agency. Among its activities, there is a major emphasis on international programmes, but it also encourages self-help projects in Appalachia and on American Indian reservations. The Foundation has produced training courses and other publications and it has developed computer-aided reporting of community development activities. 47/

The National Association for Community Development (NACD) (31) was established in 1965 and has headquarters in Washington, D.C. It seeks to stimulate and assist "the national effort to provide all citizens with opportunities to realize their full potential..." Its programme includes news bulletins, a technical reference service, conferences and meetings, consultant services and special publications. Much of the interest of NACD is focused on the Economic Opportunity Programme, and much of its leadership comes from agencies and individuals involved in that programme.

46/ Memorandum by F.L. Heineman, "Review of selected community development projects and general comments on community development process" (27 November 1968)(mimeographed), 9 pp.

47/ The Foundation has invented a "thirteen-step" method of teaching trainees. Thirteen Steps (Refugee Welfare Field Manual) A step-by-step method of teaching trainees how to develop self-help projects with refugees in emergency, interim, and resettlement situations. (Community Development Foundation, Qui-Nhon, South Viet-Nam,1967, processed, 56 pp.) It has a contract from the Office of Economic Opportunity to train 1,000 community-action workers in three States.

Aside from William Biddle's observation[48] regarding programmes under religious auspices (32), information gathered for this study concerning such programmes is fragmentary. Catholic programmes (33) involving community development are found in both Canada and the United States. Prominent among such programmes is that of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (34). Some of the Canadian programmes are concerned with Indians and Métis. One aspect of Catholic programmes in the United States is "providing seed money for local community organization and development", including help in establishing co-operatives, especially in the rural South.

The United Presbyterian Church Institute of Strategic Studies (New York) (35) established a unit concerned with community development, having a highly qualified consultant, as early as 1964. The Office of Church and Community Cooperation has published a pamphlet, Churches Can Be Better Neighbors, expressive of a community development philosophy.

The American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia) (36) has conducted community development programmes on Indian reservations and with migrants and farm workers. These have included pioneer "self-help housing" programmes.

The North Carolina Fund (37) is a unique state-wide organization, established in 1963, for a five-year period, to experiment with and demonstrate new approaches to the problem of poverty. As an extension of one project, the State Board of Public Welfare, with the aid of a federal grant, employed twenty-five "community service consultants" to seek to co-ordinate efforts of governmental and voluntary agencies in attacking poverty.

In evaluating this programme in 1967, Richard W. Poston said:

> "The experience of the community services consultant programme strongly suggests that neighbourhood organization... at all levels of the community, and minimizing conflict techniques are the most effective ways to 'combat the causes of poverty'." 49/

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) (38) was established by the Economic Opportunity Act. Some 3,500 volunteers, chiefly young people, are working on about 400 projects in varied types of communities in the United States. Many of the projects are concerned essentially with community development.

Sar A. Levitan, in an evaluation of the Poverty Program, expresses the opinion that isolated rural areas with a dearth of services and skills,

---

48/ See Biddle and Biddle, op. cit., p. 290.

49/ Richard W. Poston, Experiment in North Carolina (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, School of Social Work, 1967), p. 158. This point of view is of course at variance with the opinion of those who advocate conflict and confrontation as a primary strategy for bringing about social change.

"would seem to provide the most fertile ground for VISTA efforts". Some efforts of volunteers to organize the poor for self-help have engendered opposition from some local middle-class residents.

The Company of Young Canadians (CYC) (39) is a "crown corporation" an organization of about 190 volunteers, established in 1966. CYC has a definite philosophy of participatory democracy and self-help; many of the projects are concerned with community development. Some of the members are strongly activist, and the organization has been involved in various controversies. Its annual report observes: "We cannot achieve equality and freedom in this country without controversy and heated discussion".

The Junior Chamber International (Jaycees) (40) represented in both Canada and the United States, encourage their local organizations to engage in community development or improvement projects.

Community Welfare Councils (41), which are primarily non-governmental planning agencies, sometimes sponsor projects of a community development type. United Community Funds and Councils of America (42) is the national agency representing such councils and also the united funds.

The Canadian Welfare Council (43), with headquarters in Ottawa, is a national association of people and organizations concerned with the provision of adequate, effective and soundly administered social welfare services. It furnishes technical advice and field service and promotes joint planning, public education, and study and action on needs and problems. One of its major divisions is concerned with public welfare. The Council has published a number of documents relating to community development and to poverty.

Other organizations concerned with community development in one way or another would include: regional planning agencies; foundations; the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which publishes the "Community development series" of pamphlets and a number of case studies and "success stories"; Urban America; the Urban Coalition; certain State agencies concerned with economic or social development; certain business corporations, both national and regional; co-operatives and credit unions; certain private consultant firms; some organizations concerned with racial justice and community welfare; and a variety of civic and social service organizations. 50/

D. Educational programmes

A substantial number of universities and colleges in North America have programmes that relate in one way or another to community development. A directory, published in 1969 at the University of Missouri, reports that five North American institutions give a Master's degree in Community Development: the University of Missouri, Southern Illinois University, the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, and the University of Alberta. (The only

---

50/ Compare Biddle and Biddle, op. cit., appendix I.

institution outside North America that is reported as granting such a degree is the University of the Philippines.)

The directory referred to above lists fourteen United States educational institutions with seventeen separate curricula (44). Aside from the Master's degree programme in community development, other curricula are: (a) a diploma and/or certificate in community development; (b) a graduate degree in other fields, with "major or emphasis" in community development (nine of the seventeen are of this variety); (c) a diploma and/or certificate in other fields with "major or emphasis" in community development; (d) an undergraduate degree with major in community development.

The United States institutions listed in the directory are: Antioch College, University of Arizona, Cornell University, Goddard College, Martin Luther King Jr. School of Social Change, University of Michigan, Michigan State University, University of Missouri, North Carolina State University at Raleigh, University of Oklahoma, University of Pittsburgh, Shaw University, Southern Illinois University and the University of Utah. The directory does not include community development activities other than academic courses. The University of Colorado (49) and University of Georgia (48) are among the universities that have such programmes.

In addition to regular academic curricula, educational institutions may conduct special training programmes; extension courses, institutes or workshops and they may offer various types of consultation or assistance to communities.

As an example of one of the more highly developed programmes, the University of Missouri at Columbia (46) has a Department of Regional and Community Affairs, formerly called the Department of Community Development. Its total programme includes: the Master's degree programme mentioned above; a nine-month Diploma curriculum, designed for international students; a three-week summer programme; a correspondence course in the theory and principles of community development; induction and in service training and consultation for area community development agents in the university's extension service; liaison between the University, communities and organizations and research and publication.

A Canadian study of 1967 identifies nine educational institutions in that country (50) which were carrying on or planning some programmes as activities relating to community development. The institutions are: the Universities of Alberta, British Colombia, Calgary, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Laurentian University, McDonald College and McGill University, St. Francis Xavier University, and Memorial University of Newfoundland.

St. Francis Xavier University (51) at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, has long been outstanding for its programme of adult education and co-operatives among the neighbouring fishing villages. Most of the work of the extension department is concerned with community development programmes of various types.

Among recent extension activities (some of them carried on in co-operation with other agencies) were: courses in municipal government for municipal officials and citizens; a successful campaign for new housing, a film and a

handbook on co-operative housing; a municipal government study in industrial Cape Breton; an organization and educational programme for woodlot owners; an interdenominational conference on parish structure and social change; work with Indians; a student volunteer project involving tutoring and youth clubs; "a teach-in concerning the Canadian Indian"; promotion of co-operatives and credit unions in the fishing villages of the Maritime Provinces; a "spruce-up" campaign covering the island of Cape Breton, which caught the imagination and enthusiasm of community leaders, news media and the general public; a trade union summer school, and consultation to government agencies. 51/

The Coady International Institute offers an eight-month diploma course in social leadership and a seven-weeks summer course - both for international students.

The Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology (52) is a part of St. Paul University, Ottawa. It uses a social science approach "particularly with reference to the Canadian North Indians and urban poverty...". Among the Centre's publications is Anthony John Lloyd's basic monograph, community development in Canada.

The Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies (53) is a research, consultation, and training service of the Department of Applied Social Science at Sir George Williams University, Montreal.

In 1966, the Centre for Community Studies (54), which had existed at the University of Saskatchewan since 1957, became the Canadian Centre for Community Studies, with offices at Ottawa and Saskatoon. Because of an accumulation of circumstances, the Centre became inactive in 1968. During its eleven years of existence it published a variety of research reports and brief guides on several aspects of community development.

The National University Extension Association of the United States (55) has an active division on community development which dates back to 1955. The proceedings of its annual programme meetings are published. The Adult Education Association of United States of America (56) has a community development section; the Canadian Association for Adult Education (57), together with ARDA, has sponsored two national "consultations" on community development.

Workshops including representative Canadian leaders in community development (58) were held under the auspices of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in 1968 and 1969. Some years earlier, four somewhat similar workshops were sponsored by the School of Social Work of the University of Toronto.

Community development has become of interest to a number of schools of social work (59) and to many social workers, particularly those concerned with

---

51/ Summarized from Review of the work of the Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, May 1967-June 1968.

community organization. 52/ Some schools have special courses on community development; some include more or less community development material in courses on community organization.

Interest in community development is reflected in the current literature of social work, as the bibliography of this study will attest.

There is considerable lack of clarity as to the distinctions between community development and community organization, particularly on the urban scene.

The National Film Board of Canada (60) has developed a programme of educational films entitled "Challenge for Change", which are concerned with community development and other aspects of social change. The Board has pioneered also with a unique Fogo Island (Newfoundland) Film and Community Development Project. Twenty hours of film were shot on Fogo Island, with local people voicing concerns and discussing their problems. The films were shown in communities on the island; the edited films were viewed by the provincial cabinet; replies from a cabinet representative were filmed attached to the pertinent film material from Fogo Island and brought back to the communities. Better communication and changes in awareness and attitudes have seemed to result from this undertaking, and the method would certainly seem to merit further experimentation. It may have unique possibilities for community development both in the area of social study and of interpretation.

E. Organizations for community development personnel

In respect of personnel, community development is multi-disciplinary, and in some cases interdisciplinary, in the sense of collaboration among persons representing different disciplines or professions.

The four groups of community development workers and teachers most easily distinguishable are: adult educators; social workers, with specialization in community organization; social scientists (particularly sociologists, social psychologists, and anthropologists); and administrators and programmes, who come from a variety of backgrounds and have, perhaps, a concern with public administration as the nearest approach to a common bond. There appears to be

---

52/ For various points of view regarding the differences and relationships between community development and community organization, see: Thomas D. Sherrard, "Community development and community organization - common elements and major differences", in Rural and Urban Community Development in the United States of America (New York, U.S. Committee on International Conference of Social Work, 1962), pp. 9-18; Roland L. Warren, editor, Community Development and Social Work Practice (New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1962), pp. 50-51; Charles E. Hendry, "Implications for social work education in community planning, community development, and community organization", in Community Organization, Community Planning, and Community Development (New York, Council on Social Work Education, 1961), pp. 3-18; also discussion by Louis Miniclier and William A. Dyson, pp. 19-28; Dunham, op. cit.

relatively little formal intercommunication or close acquaintance between these various groups - except, perhaps for the Canadian National Workshops on Community Development.

This lack of adequate communication among specializations is likely to lead an individual group to assume that it is the central or primary discipline or profession concerned with community development. 53/

There are at least three independent organizations with headquarters in North America which are interested in community development as a profession or vocation. These appear to reflect the disciplinary and professional cleavages mentioned above. Each of these organizations seems to have a primary alignment to a particular specialization or professional group.

The International Society for Community Development (61) was established in Brazil at an international social work conference in 1962. It is open to all persons interested in community development, but in practice its leadership has come chiefly from social workers and it has usually met in connexion with social work conferences. The Society's headquarters are in New York. Most of its members reside in the United States and Canada.

The National Association for Community Development (62) has already been mentioned under "Operating agencies" (31). It was established in 1965 and has headquarters in Washington, D.C. One of its objectives is the promotion of professional competence and growth. In general, active membership is open to anyone with an official relationship to a community action or community development agency. In practice, the organization appears to reflect primarily the interests and concerns of administrators, workers, and citizen leaders in Economic Opportunity and related programmes.

53/ Thus Bertis L. Jones writes, "Community development is a part of the adult education field" in "A philosophical view of community development as an adult education function" (Adult Leadership, January 1965). Eugene I Johnson has written: "Does the adult educator have any central task in a programme of community development? If so, it is to provide the intellectual leadership without which the programme will be a shallow one, producing no significant growth in either individuals or communities", in "The Role of Adult Education in Community Development", Adult Education, vol. VI (Autumn 1955), p. 9.

Social work leaders have warned social workers, on occasion, that community development transcends social work and is different from community organization as it has been traditionally known in social work. See for example, Lester B. Granger, "Passage to India", Community, vol. 28, April 1953; Louis Miniclier, "Social group work in community development programs", Community Organization, 1960 (National Conference on Social Welfare; New York, Columbia University Press, 1960).

The Community Development Society (63) was organized at Columbia, Missouri in the early months of 1969. Membership is open to anyone interested in the advancement of "the community development profession". At present at least, it appears to represent primarily, the interest of university personnel in community development. All the members of the Founding Committee are persons with university affiliations, except one, who is connected with the Federal Extension Service.

Steps are being taken toward the organization of an additional association, which may have implications for community development. In April 1969, a group of university persons met at New Orleans and moved toward the organization of an "American Association of Action Academics". The general purpose is to promote effective university involvement in urban communities. Two of seven objectives are concerned with greater involvement of faculty in "community development activities".

Certain general observations may be made on the basis of this examination of these sixty or so very diverse programmes. These observations are included in the next section, which presents the conclusions of this chapter on North America.

V. CONCLUSIONS

This section summarizes the major conclusions of this chapter, including some which have already been referred to earlier and some additional observations.

1. There is no one over-all programme of community development or of national development in either of the countries of North America.

2. However, community developments is embedded in public policy and governmental programmes in the two countries at various points.

3. Community deve..opment, like planning, is pluralistic in North America.

4. The term community development is used loosely, ambiguously, and with various meanings in North America, and particularly in the United States. The term is used in this report in general conformity with the United Nations definition (see page 92).

5. The North American programmes that may properly be designated as community development are found chiefly in four types of communities: (a) deprived village communities, (b) new, planned communities, (c) deprived urban neighbourhoods or districts - slums and areas of deterioration, and (d) more or less average, reasonably comfortable, small communities.

6. Programmes and agencies concerned with community development in North America include the following categories:

(a) Operating agencies, carrying on "service" programmes with primary focus on:

(i) Rural areas and small communities, including most work with Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts and Métis;

(ii) Urban communities;

(iii) Others - especially agencies whose programmes relate to both rural and urban communities;

(b) Educational institutions;

(c) Organizations for community development personnel.

7. There are several different, generally accepted approaches to action for bringing about community change. These include (a) education and promotion (b) planning and programme development, (c) community development, (d) political or "procedural" social action, (e) "direct action". 54/ All these approaches are found in North America. Community development, then, is one approach to bringing about community change. In a particular situation, it may or may not be the most appropriate approach. Furthermore, the various approaches are frequently intermingled, so community development is not always found in its "pure" or traditional form.

54/ See p. 64 above.

8. There is a profusion and confusion of North American programmes concerned with community change, particularly in the United States. 55/ Many of these programmes are more or less closely related to community development.

9. The basic and most comprehensive programmes relating to community development are under governmental auspices. Non-governmental programmes operate under the most varied auspices, including religious, civic, social welfare, self-help groups, and associations concerned with particular ethnic groups.

10. There is a striking lack of co-ordination among these programmes and agencies which are concerned with community change and community development. 56/ There is nothing resembling a governmental agency with any authority over all such programmes - indeed, this would not be expected under federal systems with the traditions of the North American countries. In the United States there is no one voluntary co-ordinating agency in this area; in Canada, the Canadian Welfare Council may be thought of as actually or potentially serving this purpose in relation to community development. In neither country is there any one clearly designated central clearing house for information regarding community change, community organization, or community development.

11. In Canada, there appears to be more evidence of community development programmes with Indians, Eskimos, and Métis, and more programmes generally comparable to community development programmes in newly developing countries. In the United States, the greatest emphasis appears to be on urban programmes.

12. In urban programmes, particularly, it is often difficult to isolate completely the phenomenon of community development. The boundary lines are frequently blurred between programmes which may be variously characterized as community development, community planning, community action, community organization, or by other terms.

13. Various types of interdisciplinary professional or vocational education and training programmes are found in a number of universities and colleges in each country. Five universities - four in the United States and one in Canada - grant a Master's degree in community development, as such.

14. Community development personnel is multi-disciplinary, and in some cases interdisciplinary, in the sense of real collaboration among various specializations. The four major professional groups of community development workers and teachers represent: adult educators, social workers with

---

55/ Charles I. Schottland, in a 1968 paper, categorized some 245 federal "welfare" programmes in the United States. A large number of these are concerned in one way or another with community change. See Charles I. Schottland, "Federal agencies, national associations, and the politics of welfare", a paper submitted to the National Conference on Social Welfare, 1968. These figures do not appear in the abridged, published version of the paper, in Roland L. Warren, ed., Politics and the Ghettos (New York, Atherton Press, 1969), pp. 142-164.

56/ Roland L. Warren, Studying your Community (New York, Free Press Paperbacks, 1965), introduction.

specialization in community organization, social scientists, and administrators of programmes, with perhaps some common bond in public administration.

15. There are many diverse types of descriptive materials on community change and community development in North America, but there is a notable lack of organization of such materials. No documents or set of documents, and no organization, has a coherent over-all picture of this field of effort.

16. Adequate objective evaluations of particular programmes are rare.

17. There is a fairly substantial literature on community development in North America, but it can hardly be called comprehensive or well-balanced. Some North Americans have made valuable contributions to the general international literature of community development.

18. The problem of obtaining meaningful citizen participation in urban community development programmes is largely unsolved. It is extremely difficult to involve many residents of a heterogeneous city neighborhood in joint planning and decision-making. Group conflicts and factionalism often thwart efforts to arrive at real consensus. When representatives are to be elected, there are questions as to how they should be chosen, and by whom - and whether any such elective process is a duplication of or infringement upon the functions of municipal authorities who have themselves been chosen by a popular electoral process.

19. A major issue in North America, and particularly in the United States, is: what is the place of community development and what contribution can it make in a society which is characterized by a high degree of conflict and violence? Black and white confrontations, protests against the Viet-Nam war, mass organization by the poor and other disadvantaged groups, campus revolts, disorders involving other youth groups, political assassinations, a rising crime rate, and the activities of small but aggressive "revolutionary" groups - all of these have made the 1960s one of the most turbulent eras in the history of the United States, and have produced probably the most critical national situation since the Civil War, a hundred years ago. To a far lesser degree, Canada has had its own conflicts, including the movement for autonomy in Quebec, some campus disorders, and aggressive tactics by some ethnic and other groups.

Conflict may be taken for granted as part of the democratic process. Dissent may be expressed, legally, in many different ways. Beyond this, many conscientious and normally law-abiding citizens would justify civil disobedience in certain extreme situations. But when communities are split into opposing camps, when hatred becomes a chronic state of mind, when disagreements over policies or programmes are continually seen as occasions for violent aggression, obscenity, and brawling, the stability of society as well as the liberties of individuals and groups are threatened. Community development, however rests upon two foundations which, one trusts, will endure: a rational collective approach to problem-solving, a co-operative process that in the long run is even more fundamental in the life of a democratic society than conflict and the right to disagree.

In the meantime, in spite of all the contemporary conflicts, a substantial number of current operating programmes in North America are based upon a community development philosophy. Some sixty illustrative agencies and programmes have been referred to in this report.

20. In the long run, some of the most important results of community development in North America may be indirect rather than direct: namely, the emphasizing and gaining wider acceptance for certain values in programmes outside of the area of community development as such. These values include emphasis upon: (a) human development as well as concrete achievements; (b) total community life as opposed to segmented and specialized approaches; (c) active participation by residents and "consumers" in the planning and carrying out of community programmes; (d) the importance of self-help and (e) an interdisciplinary approach to community problems.

21. In all probability, either community development will be redefined to include some elements from some of the other approaches to community change, or it will come to be recognized that in many situations (particularly urban situations) community development must be supplemented by other approaches.

Something of this general point of view is expressed by Miss Julia Henderson when she says: "Our experience has shown that if there is to be any general impact of community development on economic development, for example... then there does have to be an educated and persuaded 'need' rather than one that is felt simply on the spur of the immediate local conferences that are being held". 57/

Like all other social phenomena, community development and other approaches to community action are constantly changing. It is possible that community development and some of these other approaches may tend to flow together and to effect some new synthesis, either under the name of community development or some new designation.

Whether this happens or not, it seems evident that community development has vitally influenced the whole process of community organization and the various approaches to bringing about community change. There is a tendency to recognize the "community development approach" as one distinctive and important road to community change, along with education, planning, and social action. Furthermore, the new emphasis upon consumer and resident participation is probably due at least in part to a wider knowledge of community development and a wider acceptance of its philosophy.

Community development is not a panacea, a cure for all community ills, or a short-cut to Utopia. There are probably fewer models of "pure" or "orthodox" community development in North America than in Asia or Africa. Nevertheless, it seems likely that when the social history of this century is written, community development will be assessed as one of the important influences upon society and social relationships on the continent of North America.

57/ Julia Henderson, "United Nations community development programmes", in International Society for Community Development, Report on Symposium, The Outlook for Community Development, held during the International Conference of Social Work, Washington, D.C., 8 September 1966 (New York, 1967), p. 22.

ANNEX

PROGRAMMES AND AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES - ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIALS

Programmes and agencies described in this annex are classified as in section IV of chapter II and to facilitate reference, the paragraphs in the annex are numbered consecutively.

A. Operating agencies and programmes in rural areas and small communities

1. Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA)

Canada's Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act of 1961 "was seen as a means of developing national, provincial and local programmes to encourage the growth of agricultural and local industry, and therefore to help people living on low income". 1/ Rural poverty is more widespread and severe in Eastern Canada, particularly in Newfoundland, Northern New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Eastern Quebec. ARDA provides for:

> "... a federal-provincial programme of alternate land use, soil and water conservation, rural development and research... The provinces have responsibility for initiating projects and programmes, implementing them, and paying approximately half the costs involved. The federal government, may provide some forms of technical assistance when required and may initiate and carry out research..." 2/

The federal ARDA administration is in the Department of Forestry and Rural Development. The Rural Development Branch of the Department administers, in addition to ARDA, the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) and the Maritime Marshland Rehabilitation Act (MMRA).

> "Each province has established a provincial ARDA office to administer the provincial programme and maintain working relations with the federal ARDA administration.... The term "rural development" here embraces elements of resource development, development of resource-based industry, community development, rehabilitation, education and training and re-establishment". 3/

ARDA has done a substantial amount of basic research and has published a considerable number of interpretative reports. Some of their "Condensed Reports" are listed in the bibliography.

1/ Jean-B. Lactôt, "Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act - ARDA", in "Community Development in Canada", International Society for Community Development Journal, vol. 1, No. 2 (July 1966), p. 3.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid, pp. 3-4.

Lloyd reports that during approximately the first three years, nearly 700 projects were initiated at a cost of $60 million shared about evenly between the Federal Government and the provincial governments. An official of ARDA commented in 1965 that "community development as a process has tended to take second place to resource manipulation in the ARDA programme." 4/

However, in the current federal-provincial Rural Development Agreement, one objective is:

> "to assist the Province in providing for a specialized corps of Rural Development Officers qualified to guide action projects implemented through ARDA; to encourage effective community and area leadership for programmes under this Agreement, and to involve local people in the solution of socio-economic problems of the community and area." 5/

2. Canadian Council on Rural Development

The Canadian Council on Rural Development is a national body advisory to the Rural Development Administration and the Minister of Forestry. Membership consists of representatives of voluntary organizations concerned with rural development, plus individual members.

The Council stresses the importance of a regional approach to the problems of development, and its second annual report welcomes "the projected establishment of a Department of Regional Development". 6/ The report defines development as "a planned programme of change, both economic and social". The Council recommends the formulation of an over-all development policy; further co-ordination of government agencies administering development programmes, an assessment of existing community development and social animation programmes; citizen participation in planning; and the establishment of a Canadian Development Institute, not as a research institute but as a centre where leaders from various groups could examine common problems. 7/

3. Provincial programmes

Anthony Lloyd, in his Community Development in Canada, reported that (presumably as of about 1965) three provinces had community development

---

4/ Lloyd, op.cit, p. 28, quotation from D.F. Symington.

5/ Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement, 1965-1970 (Ottawa, Department of Forestry and Rural Rehabilitation, 1968), p. 16.

6/ Canadian Council on Rural Development, Second Report and Review: Some Major Problems in Regional Development, 1968 (Ottawa, 1968), p. 1.

7/ Ibid, pp. 15, 50, 53, 58, 59, 61, 63.

programmes - Manitoba, Quebec, and Alberta - and that a fourth, Nova Scotia, was establishing one. He noted also that other provinces had special projects or limited programmes; these included British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, Newfoundland, Ontario, and Saskatchewan. 8/

4. Manitoba

Manitoba has the oldest provincial programme, dating back to 1959. The Community Development Branch of the Manitoba Department of Health and Social Services carries on a varied programme. Community development workers serve in eleven communities with Indian and Métis populations: Recently eight indigenous workers of Indian background have received training to enable them to work in their own communities. "They encourage people in their home communities to become involved in the improvement of their lot."

A provincial report notes the reorganization and development of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, and the organization Manitoba Métis Federation, and the development of field service by the organizations, with the assistance of federal grants.

The Branch has community teachers in five communities:

> "/They help/ people work together in trying to resolve community problems such as unemployment, discriminations, poor housing, poor food, which often (affect) the child's progress at school... Community teachers tend to be better equipped and better suited to teaching in remote communities where cross-cultural situations prevail."

A beginning of community development work has been made in urban Winnipeg. One worker is working with the People's Opportunity Services in the urban renewal area; the second has worked primarily with people of Indian background in Winnipeg.

The Vocational Opportunity Services seek to enable individuals to make the most of their abilities and equipments in terms of vocations and jobs. Some persons are interested in training or permanent employment; others in seasonal employment or improving skills in fishing, trapping etc.

There are seventeen counsellors; the active case load as of 31 March 1968 was 2,939. Counsellors visited most settlements in Manitoba during the year. "Wherever they have gone, the approach has been to involve people in identifying and resolving their problems. Local committees have been formed in a number of Indian and Métis communities..." 9/

8/ Lloyd, op. cit., chaps. V and VI.

9/ These notes on the Manitoba programme have been quoted and summarized from draft materials for the report of the Community Development Branch for 1967-1968, made available through the courtesy of the Director of the Branch. The note on the urban work in Winnipeg is included here rather than to divide the Manitoba report between two sections of this annex.

5. Quebec

A co-operative governmental-voluntary programme called BAEQ (Bureau de l'Aménagement de l'Est de Québec) was established in Quebec in 1963. The organizational relationships involves were complicated. BAEQ stressed the approach of "social animation". Popular participation was seen both as a means to planning and development and as a developmental goal in itself. 10/ The following comment relates to recent developments:

> "... in May 1968 a Federal-Provincial Agreement was signed for the implementation of the plan for which BAEQ had been originally created. The Agreement calls for a joint Federal-Provincial programme covering five years and foreseeing the spending of some 250 million dollars. The component of community development, represented by social animators at the planning stage, has now been taken over by social development teams, fulfilling basically the same function. Five teams, with 40 million dollars at their disposal, are foreseen for the five years." 11/

In regard to current developments in certain provincial programmes, it has been noted that:

> "... one significant change has taken place in Ontario in 1968 when a New Indian Development Branch was created and community development became its fundamental approach and raison d'être... even more important is the fact that in Saskatchewan and in Manitoba, the community development programmes run by the Department of Indian affairs are presently being turned over to the Provincial Brotherhoods organizations of Indians and Métis". 12/

6. Rural development (United States)

In the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) there is an Assistant Secretary for Rural Development and Conservation, who supervises a variety of agencies and services. A publication of the Department states that:

> "USDA provides leadership in helping local groups build communities of tomorrow - communities with their own source of employment, their own factories, their own modern schools and nearby college or university, their own medical center, and their own cultural, entertainment, and recreational opportunities.

10/ Marc-A. Morency "Animation Sociale": the Experience of the BAEQ (ARDA Condensed Report No. 14), (Ottawa, Rural Development Branch, Department of Forestry and Development, 1968), p. 2. For further discussion of the nature of social animation, see current reports. In regard to the beginnings of BAEQ, see Lloyd, op cit., pp. 44-46.

11/ Letter to the author from Francis J. Bregha, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 9 April 1969.

12/ Ibid.

"USDA personnel set up technical action panels to advise local rural areas development committees and other locally organized groups. A local county Extension Services often serves as an executive secretary for a local rural development group. The technical action panels help rural people learn about the usage of federal programmes to create jobs, fight poverty, build new businesses and industry, develop water supplies and other needed community facilities, replace substandard housing, improve or create outdoor recreation opportunities, upgrade agriculture, and carry out conservation, beautification, and other projects which strengthen the rural economy.

"Representatives of USDA agencies in the area serve on the panels, with the Farmers Home Administration supervisor as chairman. Local representatives of other Federal or State development agencies, local government, universities and colleges, and others with the technical knowledge useful to rural areas development who wish to serve are invited to participate." 13/

7. Rural Community Development Service

The Rural Community Development Service, one of the organization units referred to above, is essentially a liaison agency, which "works with other federal agencies to help them extend government services to rural areas". It does not have action programmes at the local level. 14/

Other USDA agencies which help rural areas development with financial and technical assistance and which serve on state, area, and local technical action panels include the Forest Service, Rural Electrification Administration, Farmer Co-operative Service, Consumer and Marketing Service, Agricultural Research Service, Co-operative State Research Service, Economic Research Service, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, and the Statistical Reporting Service. 15/

8. Agricultural extension

The United States Co-operative Extension Service was established in 1914 to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture, home economics, and related subjects. The service is carried out through co-operation between the Federal Extension Service in the Department of Agriculture; the State Extension Services, established as units of the State "land-grant universities", and county governments. The county Extension Staff may include the County Agent, a home economist, a youth worker with 4-H Clubs, and other workers.

13/ United States Department of Agriculture, Your United States Department of Agriculture (Washington, 1967), pp. 8-9.

14/ Ibid., p. 9; also letter from D.M. Matthews, Administrator, Rural Community Development Service, 10 January 1969.

15/ United States Department of Agriculture, op cit. p. 9.

The educational programme is concerned with agricultural production and marketing, home economics education, 4-H clubs and youth development, and community resource development.

"Community resource development" comes close to the concepts of community development.

> "Community resource development is a process whereby those in the community arrive at group decisions and take actions to enhance the social and economic well-being of the community. This process is concerned primarily with what happens to people as a result of group decision making after intensive subject-matter analysis and the implementation of programmes concerning the community's social, economic and institutional components... Essentially, community resource development aims at improving group decisions to attain a better community life." 16/

The "dimensions" of community resource development include: improvement of economic opportunity and the quality of living, more effective or efficient use of resources, and concern with technical structural analysis (institutional interactions), organizational interrelationships and common interests and problems. 17/

The Federal Extension Service reports that the number of organizations assisted by Extension during a recent six-month period included twenty State Resource Development Committees, 1,104 area organizations, and 16,087 county and other local organizations. 18/

9. The Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

The Indian population of Canada in 1967 was estimated at nearly 231,000. This represents an increase of about 53 per cent since 1954. 19/ The annual population increase among the Indians is about twice the annual rate for the Canadian population in general. Over 155,000 Indians live on the 2,269 reserves in Canada. Canada's Eskimo population is about 13,000. Most of them live in the Northwest Territories. 20/

16/ Community Resource Development, ECOP Report (Washington, Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP), 1967), pp. 9-12.

17/ Ibid., pp. 10-11. See also Community Resource Development: How Co-operative Extension Helps (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 8 pp.

18/ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Federal Extension Service, Statistical Summary, Community Resource Development Progress Report for Six-months Ended June 30, 1968, p. 1.

19/ Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Annual Report - 1967-1968 (Ottawa, 1968), p. 62.

20/ E.R. McEwan, Community Development Services for Canadian Indian and Métis Communities (Toronto, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1968), p. 23.

The Federal Community Development Services were initiated about 1963-1964. "Four provinces have established community development services for their native communities: Manitoba in 1958, Ontario in 1962, Alberta 1963 and Saskatchewan 1964". 21/

The Northern Administration Branch of the above-named federal department reports that:

> "As part of a community development programme, steps were taken to engage Indians and Eskimos in the planning and conduct of community programmes in the north. This included a field research project to evaluate the potential for community development activity, followed by a community development training programme for field and headquarters staff." 22/

The Indian Affairs Branch reports that its community development work "... is carried out by 67 Community Development Workers, 25 of whom are persons of Indian status and by 28 provincial Community Development Workers who work in Indian communities under agreements with provinces..." (Community development project contracts have been entered into with Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Ontario, and with St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish).

> "Over 30 per cent of the 160 participants in a Human Resources Development Programme at Smith's Falls, Ontario, were Indians. Another 21 participants attended a Community Development Workers Course. Leadership training courses were also provided by the Branch at the regional level, where Indian leaders and band staff learned necessary skills in managing their community affairs such as finance, legal and technical matters. The Branch has made it possible for Indian leaders to meet with each other to discuss common problems, and to meet non-Indian people to develop mutual understanding and co-operation." 23/

10. Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada

The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada (I.E.A.) is a national citizens' organization concerned with the advancement of Indian, Métis, and Eskimo Canadians. It has a membership of some 4,000 individuals, of whom about 20 per cent would be of native ancestry. There are over 140 organizations and agencies affiliated with the I.E.A. Its purpose is to support the native people to attain parity with other Canadians economically, socially, culturally and politically. 24/

21/ Ibid, pp. 14-16.

22/ Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Annual Report, 1967-1968, p. 8.

23/ Ibid, pp. 72-73.

24/ Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. Report of Executive Director to the Ninth Annual Meeting of Members (Toronto, 1968), p. 1.

In September 1968, there was a joint meeting of the Boards of the I.E.A., the National Indian Brotherhood, and the Canadian Métis Society. There were exchanges of views and clear expressions of the native groups' desire for more self-determination. 25/

The philosophy of the I.E.A. appears to embody quite clearly several basic concepts of community development:

> "Indian and Eskimo people must identify their problems and give the leadership needed in their resolution. This task cannot be done for them... The Indians and Eskimos need sympathetic support from Canadians in general, but this must be /given/ without usurping the leadership... Indians and Eskimos need to develop their own organizations and I.E.A. should facilitate such development ... Indians and Eskimos must be encouraged to cherish their cultural heritage and work to ensure that it has an honorable place in the Canadian mosaic of cultures... I.E.A. will be dissolved when native communities and people have opportunities equal to those afforded other Canadians. 26/

In 1968 the I.E.A. published a report of a study by E.R. McEwan (its executive director), Community Development Services for Canadian Indian and Métis Communities. This report discussed "the plight of Canadian Indians and Eskimos... the present community development agencies and services, current difficulties and problems", and "criteria for the development of a structure for community development to serve native Canadian communities". The report proposed the establishment of new agency, a Native Canadian Development Institute. This would be a "crown corporation", responsible to the Privy Council and presumably supported primarily by government funds. Its basic function would be to "serve as an intermediary device through which services of federal and provincial agencies would be made available (in a co-ordinated way) to the native communities in response to community initiatives stimulated by community development activity. 27/

It is envisaged that the staff would include personnel seconded by various specialized governmental agencies.

The philosophy underlying the proposed Institute is thus stated: "Changing attitudes of the people will be one of the hardest tasks faced by the administrator and the staff as a whole. The main concern will be facilitating the growth of the people. Project development, although important, is secondary. 28/

25/ National Indian Brotherhood, Canadian Métis Society, Indian Eskimo Association: Report of a Joint Meeting of the Above Organizations for Purpose of Reviewing and Re-directing the Role of the Indian-Eskimo Association, Toronto, September 26, 1968 (Toronto, I.E.A., 1968).

26/ Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

27/ McEwan, op. cit., p. 41.

28/ Ibid., p. 42.

11. United States Bureau of Indian Affairs

In 1960 there were 552,000 American Indians in the United States, including 28,000 Aleuts and Eskimos. More than 300,000 of them live on "trust lands" for which the Secretary of the Interior is the trustee. 29/ The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) of the Department of the Interior administers the Federal Government's responsibilities to the Indians, Aleuts and Eskimos.

In March 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson sent to Congress the first presidential message ever devoted specifically to American Indian problems, upon which the following comment was made by the Commissioner for Indian Affairs:

> "The concept of community development was threaded through the President's appeal for all-out efforts in education and development of Indian lands. In its most meaningful sense, the term community development treats human resources and natural resources in relationship to each other." 30/

The concepts of self-help, participation and resource development are frequently referred to in the publications of the BIA. The Bureau's annual report for 1967 begins with a reference to the two complementary aspects of community development:

> "In 1967, two kinds of progress took place in Indian affairs. These complemented one another... One kind of progress can be measured in concrete terms - housing built, trees planted, jobs created, roads paved. The other kind of progress is less tangible. It concerns attitudes, opinions, and expectations. In this area are the more impressive gains, those that signify the potential of the human spirit to make dreams a reality." 31/

Commissioner Bennett commented on the progress made during that year, as follows: "The growth of Indian leaders in decision-making ability was perhaps the most significant of Indian achievements in 1967. That year saw many remarkable advances, most of which reflected this readiness to tackle ever more difficult problems."

This personal growth reflects the Commissioner's determination to create, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a programme that will build on the strengths of the Indian heritage. The creative use of Indian concepts, languages, and habits is proving to be an effective means of helping the Indian people create for themselves lives of usefulness and independence.

12. Association on American Indian Affairs

The Association on American Indian Affairs quotes a leader of the Devil's Lake Sioux Indians, who "not long ago" wrote: "All we know is hard times,

---

29/ United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Answers to Your Questions About American Indians.

30/ Robert L. Bennett, Federal Indian Policy: Past, Present and Future, (Washington, D.C., Department of Interior, 1968), p. 6.

31/ Indian Affairs, 1967: A Progress Report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Bureau of Indian Affairs annual report), Washington, Department of Interior), p. 4.

suffering, and going hungry... log cabins, no floors and dirt roofs, no water well. We have to haul water eight to ten miles every day. We have nothing." 32/

The Association gives community development a central place in its programme. It asserts that:

> "The Association's community development programme is the first successful and total approach to the rehabilitation of entire Indian tribes. By providing technical assistance and guidance in organization and planning, it aids tribes in establishing sound governments and in developing productive programs in resource utilization; employment opportunities; housing; tourism; education; health and sanitations; law and order; and vocational training. It encourages tribes to enlist all available federal, state, and private agencies for a co-ordinated attack on the problems of poverty." 33/

13. National Congress of American Indians

The National Congress of American Indians, with headquarters in Washington D.C., is oriented primarily towards social action. However, a list of its achievements includes the following items:

> "A major study of economic resources on Indian reservations for the benefit of Indian Tribes launched in 1965-1966...
>
> "Established a program to provide community and economic development /for/ American Indian groups (whether on or off the reservations). Such programs will be co-ordinated from the field office in Denver, Colorado, 1968-1970.
>
> "Established an Industrial Development Division in the Washington Headquarters Office to promote industry on Indian Reservations, 1968-1970." 34/

14. Indian Rights Association (United States)

> "The Indian Rights Association seeks to promote the spiritual, moral and material welfare of Indians and to protect or secure their rights. /It/ maintains close contact with Indian people and their leaders and with Indian community and reservation conditions..." 35/

Of the five important items which are included in the Association's concept of "Indian Rights", two are as follows:

> "Adequate health and educational services for Indian children and adults...

32/ Circular letter (appeal) from the Association, received June 1969.

33/ Ibid., (the italics are in the original).

34/ National Congress of American Indians, NCAI Achievements (Washington, D.C.).

35/ Indian Rights Association, leaflet.

"Full development of Indian land, mineral, and other resources for their own use and benefit through self-help projects, technical help, and liberal credit." 35/

B. Programmes in urban communities

15. The "Gray Area" programme

Beginning in 1960 the Ford Foundation made grants to a number of cities for what was called "the Great Cities School Improvement Program". These programmes were "focused on the educational needs of culturally disadvantaged children". 36/

Partly as an outgrowth of this experience, the Foundation developed a programme of large-scale grants to help selected cities mount a co-ordinated attack on all aspects of deprivation, including jobs, education, housing, planning and recreation. Grants were made under this community development programme in Boston, New Haven, Oakland, Philadelphia, and the state of North Carolina. 37/

Paul N. Ylvisaker of the Foundation suggested some of the questions that should be asked in measuring the accomplishments of these programmes. Among seven questions suggested were the following:

> "Will they have made the urban community more self-conscious and competent in its role of producing first-class citizens?
>
> "Will they have helped translate legitimate protest into workable programmes, and will they have developed a middle ground of constructive action?...
>
> "Will they have developed the community's capacity for self-criticism and procedures for evaluating the social services of public and private agencies?
>
> "Will they have made a difference in the lives of those whose conditions and opportunities they were meant to improve, not least by developing their capacity to help themselves?" 38/

These "Gray Area" projects were intended to "plan with people, not for people", and to involve actively the residents of target areas. 39/

36/ American Community Development. Preliminary Reports by Directors of Projects Assisted by the Ford Foundation in Four Cities and a State (New York, Ford Foundation, 1964), p. 1.

37/ Ibid., pp. 1-2. North Carolina does not of course represent primarily "urban" community development.

38/ Ibid., p. 9.

39/ Peter Marris and Martin Rein, Dilemmas of Social Reform, Poverty and Community Action in the United States (New York, Atherton Press, 1967), p. 164.

Part of the history of these programmes has been mentioned by Peter Marris and Martin Rein 39/, but at the present time there are no available objective appraisals of the individual programmes. The available evidence suggests that they represented broad approaches to urban problems, characteristic of the community development approach; they were based upon a philosophy of "consumer involvement"; they could show substantial results in particular areas; they ran into various conflicts and problems, centred particularly about political relationships and organizational controls. These programmes were a stage in the direction of the later approaches by the Federal Government, in the Poverty Program and the Model Cities Program.

16. Mobilization for Youth

Mobilization for Youth (MFY) was established in 1962 as a demonstration project on the Lower East Side of New York City, financed chiefly by government funds from the National Institute for Mental Health, the City of New York, and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, which made grants also to several other cities.

In spite of its title, MFY was concerned essentially with what its leaders regarded as urban community development. Poverty was viewed as the central problem and power in the hands of the poor was seen as the solution. 40/

"Neighborhood community development" was concerned with low-income, "lower-class, minority-group, urban-slum residents". The goal was "to engage the poor in the decision-making process of the community." 41/

Some of the innovative approaches of MFY were the following: (a) Redefining the roles of the workers (in this case, social workers, some of them specialists in community organization) to include, first, that of the "broker", a guide to persons with problems, helping to connect them with appropriate agencies and community resources; secondly, the role of "advocate" of the consumers' point of view and thirdly, that of activist in social action; (b) Encouraging and assisting residents in non-violent direct action; (c) Employing non-professional neighbourhood residents as aides in a visiting homemaker service, a parent-education unit, and a community development programme; 42/ (d) establishing store-front neighbourhood service centres where people might come in and describe their problems as they saw them. This tied in with the "broker" and "advocate" roles of the workers; (e) the provision of legal services for persons referred from the neighbourhood centres. 43/

40/ George A. Brager and Francis P. Purcell, Community Action Against Poverty: Readings from the Mobilization Experience (New Haven, College and University Press, 1967) p. 20.

41/ Ibid., Charles F. Grosser, "Neighborhood Community-Development Programs Serving the Urban Poor", p. 245.

42/ This is somewhat reminiscent of the employment of indigenous front-line workers in community development programmes in certain newly developing countries.

43/ Community Action Against Poverty, especially chapters 10-16.

The social action and social protest activities of MFY stirred up vigorous opposition. MFY was bitterly attached by a New York newspaper and certain political leaders. It survived the consequent investigation, but it sustained considerable damage. 44/

17. The Economic Opportunity programme

The Economic Opportunity Act was signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson in August 1964. The Act was intended to translate into action "an unconditional war against poverty". Actually, the programme is country-wide and is rural as well as urban. It is included here under urban problems because nearly three-fourths of the population of the country is urban, and its most crucial problems and crucial tests have, for the most part, been encountered in the cities.

An Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was created in the Executive Office of the President. The act provided for a variety of programmes, with a focus particularly on education, job-training, and employment. It established VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America - a "domestic Peace Corps"); it provided for rural assistance and loans to small business concerns. Most important of all from the standpoint of community development, the Act provided for Community Action Programs (CAPs).

CAP is a community-planning approach to the problem of poverty. The idea went back to MFY and the "Gray Area" programmes. CAP was to be a local agency, receiving federal funds, and serving to stimulate the community to mobilize its resources to combat poverty through specific programmes.

The programmes were many and varied. They might include multipurpose neighbourhood centres; manpower and job development projects; Head Start programmes (pre-kindergarten programmes for children in deprived areas); legal services programmes; housing services; adult education; tutorial services; Upward Bound (to motivate non-college-bound high school students towards college); "foster grandparents" to children in institutions; and local planning and co-ordinating efforts. 45/

The Economic Opportunity Act contains a provision that is amazing in the light of social welfare history and which clearly embodies a community development approach. The Act provided that a CAP should be "developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of the areas and members of the groups served". 46/

44/ An account of the attack on MFY is given in Herbert Krosny, Beyond Welfare (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), chap. 2.

45/ Summarized from Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program Fact Sheet, March 1967.

46/ Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Section 202 (a) (3).

The latest available annual report of the OEO states that 9 million Americans have participated in 1,050 community action projects, and 90,000 persons serve without pay on Community Action Boards. At least one-third of each Board must be representatives of the poor. 47/

A competent observer observes that "war on poverty is clearly an inflated description" because of the inadequacy of the appropriations (about $1,500 million a year), in view of the extent of the problem (some 34.5 million poor people in the United States. 48/ The Poor People's March to Washington in 1968 was made by poor themselves, protesting that they were not being helped. The programme as a whole has been "spotty".

In some cases government funds have financed organizations which have engaged in protest against government programmes. This has usually stirred up governmental and political opposition and counter-action, raising the possibility that in the future the financing of such social action efforts by the Government may be curtailed. 49/

President Nixon has proposed a major reorganization of the entire poverty programme. A number of the operating programmes have shifted to old line departments; the Job Corps has been transferred to the Labor Department, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has taken over Head Start; as for OEO, the President would restrict it to programme development and research: "OEO is to be a laboratory agency, where new ideas for helping people are tried on a pilot basis".

18. United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW)

The HEW has a position designated as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development, which has been unfilled during the last two fiscal years. This position is under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Secretary for Community Field Services. Of this official, it was reported that, "community development is her responsibility and there is an office working under her supervision: the Center for Community Planning..." The Center was established by the Secretary of HEW in 1967. It is a unit of about thirty people; "it works to focus the resources of the Department on urban problems and other problems of the poor. For the Department, it attempts to respond to interdepartmental programmes like Model Cities". 50/

47/ OEO, The Tide of Progress (annual report for fiscal year 1966-1967), pp. 4-5, 9.

48/ Sar. A. Levitan, The Design of Federal Antipoverty Strategy (Ann Arbor and Detroit, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1967), p. 1; foot-note, p. 8.

49/ See Arnold Gurin and Joan Levin Ecklein, "Community Organization for Political Power on Service Delivery", Social Work Practice (National Conference on Social Welfare), (New York, Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 1-15.

50/ Letters to the author from John G. Veneman, Under-Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 6 June and 28 July, 1969.

Three leaflets of the Center for Community Planning relate to the following: (1) Neighbourhood Service Programme, "a demonstration programme... working with America's inner city poor. NSP attempts to tie services together so that neighbourhood residents can - and will - use them as a ladder out of poverty"; (2) Parent and Child Centers, "an experimental project which will provide comprehensive services... to young children from low-income families. The Center will also work intensively with parents..."; (3) HEW and the Model Cities.

19. HUD and the Model City Program

The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was established by Act of Congress in 1965. The new department took over the functions of several agencies concerned with housing. It was designed to administer the principal federal programmes, "which provide assistance for housing and for the development of the Nation's communities. The department's responsibilities were further broadened by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

Under the Assistant Secretary for Renewal and Housing Assistance is an Office of Community Development, whose functions are thus described:

> "The Office of Community Development works in concert with HUD program administrators to further the definition, understanding, and implementation of social goals for Departmental programs. We support research and development in such areas as tenant-management relations, self-help and personal growth programs, and training for the unemployed and underemployed.
>
> "The Office of Community Development also has direct responsibility for certain types of community-wide development and services, including the relocation and rehousing of persons and businesses displaced by any Department program activities, social planning for all Department programs, Workable Programs for Community Improvement, and the community design aspects of renewal and housing assistance programs." 51/

The Model Cities Program or Demonstration Cities Program, administered by HUD, "is in essence an attempt to improve the quality of urban living by grants to cities to renew blighted areas". 52/ Actually, it is concerned primarily with "model" neighbourhoods, because it concentrates on selected poverty neighbourhoods, rather than on cities at large. Potentially, at least the Model Cities Program appears to come close to the idea of urban community development.

In the first place, it seeks to combine physical and social planning for the selected "target area", and to deal with most of the facets of community life.

51/ Letter to the author from James G. Banks, Director, Office of Community Development, HUD, 13 January, 1969.

52/ Bernard Russell (HUD) "The Demonstration Cities Program", in Community Planning in Public Welfare (Washington, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968), p. 43.

Thus, a demonstration programme, should be designed to rebuild or revitalize large slum and blighted areas, expand housing, job and income opportunities; reduce dependence on welfare payments; improve educational facilities and programmes; combat disease and ill health; reduce the incidents of crime and delinquency; enhance recreational and cultural opportunities; establish better access to homes and jobs; and generally to improve living conditions for the people who live in demonstration areas. 53/

In the second place, the programme envisages achieving maximum co-ordination among federal agencies "which have a major impact on community development" and consulting with appropriate state, regional, and local officials.

In the third place, the programme provides for grants and technical assistance from the Federal Government to municipal "city demonstration agencies".

Finally, a model city programme must:

- Involve widespread citizen participation;

- Create maximum opportunities for training and employing area residents in all phases of the program;

- Assure maximum opportunities in housing choices for all citizens. 54/

These provisions for widespread resident participation are crucial, as far as community development goes. If they are carried out effectively, and become operating principles of the model city programmes, these programmes may come to be, not merely a new way of "planning for" communities but a new experiment in co-operation between the residents of deprived urban areas and the agencies of federal and municipal governments.

20. Some Canadian approaches to urban community development

21. The Canadian Poverty Programme

In 1965, the Canadian Government established a Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council to increase the effectiveness of governmental programmes concerned with the poor.

It worked on the assumption that the poor would benefit most if social action in general were more effective - social action at all levels of the Governments, by voluntary organizations, by individuals. In short, it believed that social progress is indivisible. 55/

The Canadian programme was contrasted with the Economic Opportunity Program. In Canada, the programme was "deliberately low key"; efforts were to

53/ Programs of HUD, (Washington, Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1968), p. 5.

54/ Ibid., p. 6.

55/ Government of Canada, Special Planning Secretariat, Meeting Poverty.

be channelled through the provincial governments; the main tasks of the secretariat were co-ordination, the stimulation of research and evaluation, and the dissemination of information. 56/

At the time this programme was launched, the Special Planning Secretariat called a Canada-wide conference on poverty.

Under a recent reorganization of cabinet machinery, the Special Planning Secretariat was abolished as a separate unit and its services were more closely integrated with other agencies.

Most of the programme to inform Canadians will continue. Through the collaboration of the National Library and the Canadian Welfare Council, the periodic bibliography on poverty will continue. The Privy Council Office itself will continue to publish and keep up to date the Index of Programmes for Human Development as a reference guide. A comprehensive annual review of federal social development programmes will also help Canadians learn something about how resources are now being used for fighting poverty. 57/

22. Social animation

The phenomenon of "social animation" has already been referred to (pages 59 and 85 above). Michel Blondin points out that "the poor man is forgotten when it comes to making decisions... /He is/ a second-class citizen". Blondin continues:

> "Social animation, far from sweeping poverty under the rug, makes its presence conspicuous and more embarrassing, which is the first serious step towards its solution.
>
> "Social animation accords a large place to participation by the little people of our society - the poor and the working-class people - because it seeks to give them back a real place in our society, to give them a share of power like any other social class.
>
> "Social animation thus becomes a basic weapon in the war on poverty by placing in the hands of the poor some instruments for securing their advancement as a group.
>
> "What the social animator know of and what many others suspect is that once these people, who comprise 30-40 per cent of the population of our towns and cities, become participants, at that very moment all our institutions and all our structures - social, economic and political - will have to be re-examined. To work from below, to build with those who are the cast-offs, means to rebuild, to re-invent our society, no longer to serve the interests of the well-off but to serve the needs of the whole population, beginning with the less fortunate. And we are convinced that the choices that then

56/ Benjamin Schlesinger, "A Profile of Canadian Poverty", quoting Albert Rose, in Benjamin Schlesinger, Poverty in Canada and the United States (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 38.

57/ Government of Canada, Special Planning Secretariat, Meeting Poverty.

would be made by the underprivileged would meet the aspirations of other social classes, because the things that are troubling our society are felt by more than one class, as they have so little to do with material comfort." 58/

24. The Lower Town Project

The Lower Town Project (l'Etude de la Basseville) was a research project carried on by the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology of St. Paul University, Ottawa. The area studied was Ottawa's Lower Town, an "urban village", one of the oldest parts of the city, and an area about to undergo urban renewal.

The aims of the project were: to determine the role that a university could play in the community; to train students in urban research and interdisciplinary projects; and to carry out a number of interrelated studies in an area about to undergo urban renewal. 59/

The research was interdisciplinary, interuniversity, and bilingual. In connexion with the project, a research station was opened in the study area.

The specific sectional study reports (two published in English and two in French) were L'Histoire Sociale de Basseville, Mutual Aid and Neighbouring Patterns La Femme dans la Basse-ville and Radio Forum and Urban Renewal.

In a final section of the report, Professor James Lotz, who directed the project, discusses "Community Development and Urban Research". He presents a distinctive statement regarding the Centre's approach to urban community development, which involves the following concepts:

(a) Research into the social sciences;

(b) Research into the social sciences carried out on an interdisciplinary basis;

(c) The devising of ways and means of applying the results of social science research;

(d) The initiating of research that could lead to action programmes;

(e) The avoidance of direct social action;

(f) The avoidance or mitigation of hurt or harm or "insult" to any person or organization.

In brief, the concept of community development evolved by the Centre revolves around devising ways and means of applying the results of social science research in such a way that no damage is done, and change is brought about in an evolutionary and not a revolutionary manner. 60/

58/ Blondin, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

59/ Pierre Gelineau, ed. The Lower Town Project (Ottawa, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1968), prefatory note.

60/ Ibid., pp. 100-101.

Lotz suggests that the contemporary university might add to its traditional functions of teaching, providing information, and research, another function: "to serve as a neutral ground in a community where all sectors of the community can meet to pool their knowledge and to discuss methods of solving complex social-economic problems". He emphasizes the need of more research on urban problems, and suggests the possibility of an Urban Studies Institute in Ottawa, to serve not only the city but the nation. In this connexion, he notes that urban community development need not be restricted to "slum" communities. He says:

> "It is worth pointing out... that the urban scene in Ottawa is not pathological in the sense that it is in the many cities of the United States. There is room for improvement in Ottawa - and scope for experiment on the urban scene that can be carried out in such a way that everyone is involved and consulted." 61/

25. Some other urban-focused organizations

26. National Urban League

The National Urban League, with headquarters in New York, is "a community service agency, inter-racial in leadership, which seeks equal opportunity for Negro citizens".

The term "community organization" is frequently used in relation to the League's programme, but a current emphasis in the programme, suggestive of community development, is building "ghetto power for urban change by mobilizing the black community". New programmes include:

(a) An economic self-help programme for fifteen predominantly black countries in Southern Alabama;

(b) A low-income housing rehabilitation programme in Omaha;

(c) The decentralization of ghetto schools in Seattle;

(d) The organization of grass-roots neighbourhood action groups in Knoxville, Little Rock and elsewhere. 62/

The League's total programme includes services in the areas of economic development and employment, education, health and welfare, housing, a fellowship programme, and youth programmes. The League asserts that:

> "The source of equal rights and equal opportunities is not outside the ghetto, but inside... It is in the dispossessed to articulate their needs and expectations. It is in the dispossessed to lead America back to unity. 63/

61/ Ibid., pp. 129-131.

62/ Urban League Newsletter, February 1969.

63/ I want to be Me (Annual Report, National Urban League, New York, 1967).

27. Settlement and neighbourhood centres

"The settlement movement states its general objective as that of working with people towards building better neighbourhoods." 64/

The Henry Street Settlement in New York City recently restated its central purpose in the following words:

> "The central objective of Henry Street Settlement is to increase the options of neighborhood residents who have the least number of alternatives open to them as they attempt to solve the basic problems of survival in the city. Programs are evaluated in terms of their effectiveness in advancing this objective... ." 65/

Arthur Hillman points out that neighbourhood organization work, an old concern of settlements, was greatly expanded in the 1960s: "Staff service is provided to resident groups, block clubs, and councils in many cities". The agency may also be a "resource to local groups, providing facilities and technical assistance as requested". 66/

In Columbus, Ohio, a neighbourhood centre under church auspices was turned over to the people of the area, numbering about 8,000; a neighbourhood "corporation" was organized and it received an OEO grant and a federal grant for a self-directed youth programme. 67/

In Vancouver, B.C., the Red Door was opened in April 1965 by the Area Development Project of the Community Chest and Councils of Greater Vancouver. Two community social workers are assisted by many volunteers: "Their work is an experiment with community development methods in a low-income neighborhood where many families require social services". 68/

Among the activities related to the Red Door are: a drop-in suite where neighbours are always welcome; work with the Tenants' Association of the public housing project; an experimental Head Start nursery school; mothers' groups; a programme for teen-agers; and a Community Association seeking a more adequate community centre for the area.

The Halifax Neighbourhood Centre Project is located in an area of community poverty.

64/ Arthur Hillman, "Neighborhood organization - making the American democracy Work" (Paper, National Conference on Social Welfare, 1967 - mimeographed), p. 5.

65/ Arthur Hillman, "Neighborhood organization: rationale for survival, the city, the neighborhood and common sense" (New York, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1968) (mimeographed), p. 1.

66/ Ibid., p. 4.

67/ Ibid., p. 7.

68/ Mrs. M. Mitchell, "The Story of the Red Door - an experiment in neighborhood self help", in Neighborhoods - A Target for Community Development (Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1968, mimeographed) p. 6.

"/The Centre/ proposed a two-pronged approach; to assist in the improvement of the neighbourhood, and to assist in the development of its residents in overcoming social inequalities. The involvement and training of indigenous neighbourhood volunteers was considered to be a main feature of the Project." 69/

A tenants' council was organized through block organization and general meetings; neighbourhood legal assistar e services were developed; constructive communication and co-operation have been developed with the Canada Manpower Division and other governmental agencies; a training programme was held for staff and volunteers acquainting them with civil rights legislation, and government and agency structure. The community development objectives of the project are thus stated:

"The long-term objectives under which the Project was designed call for the participation of residents in all service systems, joining in a concerted and co-operative attack on the problems experienced in eddcation, employment, economic development, health, housing, consumer education and credit, law enforcement, religion, recreation and welfare." 70/

28. Citizen Self-Help Organizations

Citizen Self-Help Organizations (CSHO) were the subject of a recent United States workshop and conference project which cut across agency lines and included a variety of organizations. 71/

The study identifies three strategies used by CSHOs: consensus, conflict and negotiation. Consensus strategy is thus described:

"/It/ involves a commitment that if the public only knew the needs of the neighborhood they would respond to them. Organizations using this strategy emphasized education, better communication, and the selection of people who could personally influence others." 72/

The editor of the report of this project concludes that effective CSHOs "should be able to satisfy to a reasonable extent the following conditions:

69/ Robert U. Doyle, "Facing community poverty: the Halifax Neighborhood Center Project", in "Neighborhoods: A Target for Community Development, op. cit., p. 9.

70/ Ibid., p. 11.

71/ John B. Turner, ed., Neighborhood Organization for Community Action (New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1968).

72/ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

"(1) To reflect the basic needs of their community (not just of their members).

"(2) To provide real access to two-way communication with centers of decision-making (apart from the immediate constituency).

"(3) To be able to mobilize and direct the power of their constituency (in terms of solidarity) toward organizational goals.

"(4) To make a rational allocation of member resources in regard to activities related to major goals.

"(5) To develop ideas about what should be done about problems.

"(6) To have the respect of their constituency". 73/

The writer of the report observes that CSHOs need technical assistance in the areas of internal management, policy and programme design, and action strategy and resource mobilization. Such technical assistance is at present limited. In a period of demand for rapid social change,

"... the citizen self-help organization offers a promise of solution through a strategy of benign revolution. For the CSHO ideally is an admixture of the spirit of the revolution blended with rationality of technical assistance and fused by our democratic decision-making processes. The CSHO, which in the past has often served as a safety valve, can indeed become a valued source of community redevelopment". 74/

C. Other operating agencies

29. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare

The responsibilities of the Department of National Health and Welfare in respect to community development are carried out under two programmes:

(1) Under the Canada Assistance Plan "the Federal Government contributes 50 per cent of shareable costs for assistance and welfare services provided by provinces, municipalities and certain voluntary agencies". These services include community development.

(2) Under the National Welfare Grants programme "financial assistance has been extended to a number of demonstration projects related to community development". 75/ Eleven demonstration projects, which are listed, include a wide variety of situations and projects; in addition, there are two research projects.

73/ Ibid., p. 185.

74/ Ibid., p. 186.

75/ Letter to the author from R.B. Splane, Director-General, Welfare Assistance and Services, Department of National Health and Welfare, 18 March 1969.

30. Community Development Foundation

The Community Development Foundation (established in 1959) is a non-governmental organization with headquarters in Norwalk, Connecticut. It is an operating agency rather than a "foundation" in the usual sense. It is closely linked with the Save the Children Federation: the two organizations have the same executive and headquarters.

> "The goal of the Community Development Foundation (CDF) is to help deprived people and developing nations to improve their economic and social conditions by working together on projects the people believe will better their lives. CDF works toward this goal by helping local groups to understand and apply the self-help concept, and by providing national governments with technical services to help them start and carry out a community development program, CDF also continues to research, test, and write about new ways to encourage the effectiveness and growth of self help around the world." 76/

The major emphasis of the programme has been international but CDF has also encouraged community self-help projects in Appalachia and on American Indian reservations. It has received a contract from the Office of Economic Opportunity "to train over 1,000 community action workers in three states... in the techniques of stimulating community development, determining a community's felt needs, encouraging action, and developing leadership: The Foundation has also undertaken workshops, training and pilot projects in selected urban areas in the United States". 77/

Self-help projects in the ghettos have included the development of day care centres. Certain Negro families have received small grants and practical counselling to help them establish licensed day care centres which are needed in the community. 78/

31. National Association for Community Development

The National Association for Community Development (NACD) is a voluntary association, established in 1965, with headquarters in Washington, D.C. Its purpose is:

> "... stimulating and assisting the national effort to provide all citizens with opportunities to realize their full human and economic potential through education, job training, neighborhood organization, agricultural and business development, and programs of special services."

It seeks also to promote professional growth and competence in the administration of community development; to stimulate interest and research in community development; and to enhance relationships among agencies concerned with the development of human resources.

76/ "CDF annual report for year ended 30 June 1968" (preliminary draft).

77/ Ten Years of CDF, 1959-1969 (processed).

78/ "Community development foundation opens self-help services to ghettos" (leaflet issued by the Community Development Foundation).

Services to members include: a monthly newspaper, Community Development; bi-weekly newsletters and legislative bulletins; a reference service; the listing of job opportunities in Community Development; consultant services in respect to training and technical assistance in special areas of programme development; an insurance programme for agency members; and special publications and projects. 79/

The February 1969 issue of Community Development announces a plan for a training centre, a national Leadership Institute for Community Development. NACD is interested in setting up a comprehensive career development programme for community development leaders and practitioners.

Much of the interest of NACD has been focused on the Economic Opportunity Program, and much of its leadership comes from agencies and persons involved in that programme.

32. Programmes under religious auspices

William Biddle reported several years ago that "various religious organizations have been giving attention to Community Development, through the work with migrants of several denominations and of the National Council of Churches." 80/

33. Catholic programmes

Catholic programmes involving community development are found in both Canada and the United States. For Canada, it is reported that:

> "Some programmes dealing directly with community development services for Canadian Indian-Metis groups are undertaken by the Catholic Church or organizations within it. In Winnipeg (community cultural project), Calgary, (development of co-operatives on reserves), and in two or three places in British Columbia (development of reserve land; "Head Start" educational services; integration with white communities). The Oblate Indian-Eskimo Association Council has co-operated with the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada to produce a plan for community development services to the Canadian Indian....
>
> "The Church is also involved in some of the particular aspects of community development services, /namely/ housing (provision of land, assumption of mortgages, sponsoring co-operative housing, etc.), urban renewal (many Catholic agencies supply personnel and sponsor volunteer groups used in all asepcts of urban renewal), poverty alleviation (associated with community development - mostly of a social animation nature)". 81/

79/ "National Association for Community Development" (leaflet).

80/ Biddle and Biddle, The Community Development Process, p. 290.

81/ Letter to the author from Rev. Everett McNeil, Canadian Catholic Conference, February 1969.

For the United States,

"... programmes of community development have been established by various Catholic agencies and commissions.... Primarly because of the impact of the urban crisis upon the church and its agencies, there have been certain trends noticeable over the past ten years:

"1. Extension of the more traditional social services to the individual, by turning to community organization programmes at the grass-roots level. This has been common in many of the Catholic Charities' agencies across the country and it is indicated by the inclusion of community organization workers on social service staff;

"2. The development of "New Careers" programmes to train indigenous leaders and personnel;

"3. Providing seed money for local community organization and development. This includes considerable efforts in helping to establish co-operatives, particularly in the rural south;

"4. The establishment within many of the dioceses of a Division of Urban Affairs, or a similarly titled branch of the archdiocesan administration;

"5. The organization of interfaith groups which work towards community organization in the area of social justice and integration, as well as for developing self-help housing programmes. 82/

34. The Urban Commission of the Archdiocese of Baltimore has developed a threefold strategy, which is summarized below:

For the area of transition the effort is "to stimulate the churches to sponsor mass-based community organizations" on a direct-action model. "Our goal is to ring the central city with strong organizations which will have the power to stabilize these communities". One such organization is operating; three others are in earlier stages. For the central city it is hoped "to stimulate economic development ventures in about seven sections of the inner city by plugging into Model Cities and the Housing and Community Development agencies". It is hoped to work directly with all Protestant and Catholic churches in the area.

The Archdiocese has established an Organization Resource Bank, with a fund of $100,000, to help "unsophisticated community organizations which would not normally be funded through official government sources.... Grantees included welfare right groups, food co-operatives, a housing relocation organization etc."

For suburbia, where "most of 'the establishment' resides", educational programmes are planned, including eight-week seminars in human relations, for groups of parishes, leading, it is hoped, to "a permanent Project Bridge organization...." 83/

82/ Letter to the author from Sister Maria Mercedes, SSND., National Conference of Catholic Charities, February 1969.

83/ Summarized from letter to National Conference of Catholic Charities from Frank J. Bien, Baltimore Archdiocesan Urban Commission, February 1969.

35. The United Presbyterian Church, Institute of Strategic Studies

The Office of Community Development of the Institute of Strategic Studies of the United Presbyterian Church was established as early as 1964. The programme of the Office has included the maintenance of an up-to-date clearing house and of files of books and materials on community development and related subjects: assistance to programme departments of the denomination, on request; and a few intensive demonstration projects, conducted in co-operation with specific presbyteries, synods, and programme departments. 84/

36. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

The American Friends Service Committee, with headquarters in Philadelphia, has conducted community development programmes on Indian reservations, and with migrants and farm workers. One "self-help housing" programme illustrates the movement from pioneering and demonstration by a voluntary organization to support from governmental funds.

In 1962 the Service Committee started a self-help housing programme in Tulare County, California. Twenty families got low-interest, long-term loans from the Farmers Home Administration to buy the bricks and mortar, the AFSC provided construction supervision and the families shared their labour to build modern houses valued at $10,000 each. From this impetus, self-help housing projects have developed independently of the Service Committee in... (several) other states. In California, a state-wide organization, seeded by AFSC funds, is helping hundreds of families use this technique. In 1966 International Self-Help Housing Associates was founded, with AFSC encouragement, to provide a resource for self-help housing groups.

Near the original houses built in Tulare County, fifty-five families are building a self-help community in Three Rocks, one of the most blighted farm labour communities in California. The houses were long ago condemned by the state. For the last nine years each family has had to haul its water from nearby camps or irrigation ditches. With Service Committee help these families have formed a corporation called "El Porvenir" and have received a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The assistance of State, county and community officials, combined with large donations of time and skill by engineers and architects, has helped them overcome innumerable obstacles. 85/

37. North Carolina Fund Programme

The North Carolina Fund is a state-wide non-profit organization established primarily to experiment with and demonstrate new approaches to the problem of proverty. It was set up in 1963 for a five-year period. Its objectives were to enable the poor to become productive, self-reliant citizens, and to foster institutional, political, economic and social change designed to

---

84/ Community Development Bulletin, Institute of Strategic Studies, vol. I, No. 1, January 1964.

85/ From a printed fifty-page review of the AFSC, 1917-1967 (no formal title), p. 21.

bring about a functioning, democratic society. In striving toward these two equally important aims, the Fund undertook:

(a) To help the poor show that they can be effective not only in identifying their own needs and opportunities, but in participating in the decision-making process of the entire community;

(b) To help the state and the communities develop, demonstrate, and evaluate effective processes for mobilizing all available resources to provide more effective services and to open up opportunities to all people;

(c) To create support for these programmes by increasing public understanding of the problems of the poor in modern society, and acquainting the public, its elected and appointed officials and the poor themselves with emerging solutions. 86/

The Fund has supported local community action programmes. It has emphasized technical assistance to communities and has made grants for experimental and innovative programmes not fundable by the Federal Government. The programme of the Fund has stressed education and job training.

As an extension of one Fund Project, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in 1964, made a grant of a $1 million to the State Board of Public Welfare to employ twenty-five community service consultants in counties not covered by the Fund's grants. The consultants were to seek to co-ordinate the efforts of governmental and voluntary agencies in attacking the problems of poverty. In evaluating the programme some three years later, Richard W. Poston stated: "The project staff is developing new methods and techniques to involve the poor in solving their own problems with the support of the total community and is demonstrating the value of a new model of community organization in public welfare". 87/

38. Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)

VISTA was established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It is "a national corps of volunteers concerned with the eradication of poverty within the United States". Most of the volunteers are young people: the minimum age is eighteen, but there is no upper age limit, and some volunteers are in their sixties or older. Married couples, if accepted, train and serve together.

The volunteer serves for one year after the completion of a training course of approximately six weeks. He may re-enrol for a second year.

86/ "Three years of change: narrative history of the North Carolina Fund" (February 1967), (mimeographed), pp. A-3, A-4.

87/ Richard W. Poston, Experiment in North Cardina (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, School of Social Work, 1967), p. 158.

There are some 3,500 volunteers working on more than 400 projects in forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Volunteers work in community action projects in urban low income areas; in areas of rural poverty; among migrant farm labourers; in Indian projects; in mental health and mental retardation projects; and in the Job Corps, another arm of the Economic Opportunity Programme. Projects may be concerned with education, housing, health, income improvement and recreation. Many of them are essentially community development projects. 88/

39. The Company of Young Canadians (CYC)

The Company of Young Canadians was established by Act of Parliament in 1966. It is an organization of young volunteers who enlist for a two-year period of service. The company is a "crown corporation" - it reports to the Secretary of State, and it is funded by the Federal Government, but with two-thirds of the governing council elected by the volunteers.

There are 190 volunteers working in projects in various parts of Canada. The possibility of overseas projects lies in the future. The philosophy of the Company is expressed in this statement, which is based squarely on the ideas of "participatory democracy" and self-help:

> "Volunteers do not impose solution on communities. They help the community people find solutions to those problems the community itself regards as urgent. Our volunteers do not attempt to replace urban experts, sociologists and other professionals. Nor do they go into a community with ready-made plans and policies. The volunteer's main job is to help people help themselves. They act as community catalysts, providing a special kind of human resource which complements existing resources...
>
> "CYC projects fall into four areas; urban renewal, housing and related urban problems; rural and isolated community development; youth and education involving Indians and Métis..." 89/

The flavour of some of the projects is suggested by the following:

> "Some volunteers work with residents in public housing projects, helping them form associations to exercise their rights (Vancouver). Others help local people to fight expropriation and to present briefs on the urban renewal process to local government authorities (Calgary)...
>
> "/One volunteer has/ aided a local group, the Diggers, to deal with some of the problems in one of Canada's best known hippie communities...

88/ Information summarized from VISTA leaflets and from a letter to the author from Albert Meisel, Director, Division of Plans and Research, VISTA, January 1969.

89/ Annual Report, the Company of Young Canadians, 31 March 1968, p. 4.

"/In rural and isolated areas/ they help to publish a community newsletter, organize meetings and government officials, help to produce radio programmes, encourage formation of community groups, and begin adult education classes". 90/

The annual report indicates that CYC has been involved in controversies and has received considerable criticism. It accepts some of the criticisms as valid and constructive, but it points out that social "change does not always take place quietly, respectably and without passion. We can't achieve equality and freedom in this country without controversy and heated discussion". 91/

40. Junior Chamber International (JYCEES)

The Junior Chamber International (JCI or Jaycees) was organized about 1920 as the Junior Chamber of Commerce. The present name was adopted in 1965. Membership is restricted to men between twenty-one and thirty-five. The organization is found in many countries, including Canada and the United States.

Since 1959, JCI has had a community development programme. A Community Development Manual and other materials are published. Community development is regarded as "an educational process where a Chamber combined efforts with a local community in order to solve existing problems that affect the life of the members of the locality". The "planned steps" of the programme are: survey, analysis, action. 92/

Operation Opportunity, co-sponsored by the United States Jaycees and the Sears Roebuck Foundation, is described as:

"...a people-to-people approach to eliminate community ills by first identifying the needs and opportunities of the disadvantages and helping the disadvantaged identify their needs and opportunities and focusing on these opportunities the tremendous resources of manpower, aggressive leadership and youthful vigour". 93/

Local examples of action by Jaycees cover a wide range of projects, including establishing a storefront community centre; promoting low income housing; working on a summer employment project with Negro boys; helping to develop parks, playgrounds, and totlots; and assisting in community human relations programmes.

90/ Ibid., p. 8.

91/ Ibid., p. 5.

92/ César A. Rodriguez, "The dynamics of the JCI community development program" (mimeographed).

93/ Operation Opportunity (Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S. Jaycees, 1968), p. 4.

41. Community welfare councils

Community welfare councils (or social planning councils) have generally exemplified primarily the planning approach to community problems. Individual councils, through district or neighbourhood councils or other projects, have sometimes sponsored projects of a community development type.

In Dayton, Ohio, for example, in 1961, at the urging of neighbourhood residents, the West Dayton Area Council stimulated city action to clean up a slum district filled with shacks and overgrown with brush. Citizens were concerned because children would be forced to pass through the area to reach a school then under construction. Following a survey by the West Dayton Area Council and meetings with several city departments on the findings of the survey, a full-scale urban renewal programme was planned and presented to the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency for approval.

The Area Councils Service of the Welfare Council has been active in neighbourhood conservation. On the theory that urban blight is, at least partly, a matter of poor attitudes, the city of Dayton has financed a programme which sends Welfare Council workers into neighbourhoods to stimulate citizens to take measures to preserve their neighbourhood. 94/

The Contra Costa Council of Community Services has published a series of technical monographs, some of them related to the Richmond Community Development Project and some of them concerned specifically with aspects of urban community development. Several of these monographs are listed in the bibliography.

42. United Community Funds and Councils of America

national organization of community welfare councils and united funds emphasizes in a recent publication that member of minority groups should be adequately represented on fund, council and agency boards, staffs and committees, and that agency services should be offered without discrimination. publication observes that "the problem of providing an effective voice for residents of disadvantaged areas and recipients of agency services in decision-making that affects them warrants thoughtful attention and creative experimentation". 95/

43. Canadian Welfare Council

The Canadian Welfare Council, a national voluntary planning agency, has published a number of documents relating to community development, including an impressive annotated bibliography on poverty, with several supplements; two conference reports on the integration of physical and social planning; and Michel Blondin's report on animation social. The last two publications have been mentioned previously.

94/ Getting Things Done: Factual Accounts of Typical Planning Carried Out by Community Health and Welfare Councils (New York, United Community Funds and Councils of America,) p. 34.

95/ The United Way: Backdrop and Breakthrough (New York, United Community Funds and Councils of America, 1967), p. 12.

D. Educational programmes

44. Universities and colleges - United States of America

45. A directory, compiled at the University of Missouri and published in 1969, lists fourteen United States educational institutions with seventeen separate curricula relating to community development, classified as follows:

Graduate degree in community development	3
Diploma and/or certificate in community development	1
Graduate degree in other field with major or emphasis in community development	9
Diploma and/or certificate in other fields with major or emphasis in community development	1
Undergraduate degree with major in community development	3
Total curricula	17 96/

William Biddle, writing about 1964, primarily concerning the United States, observed that:

> "There are approximately thirty academic institutions or systems that carry on some kind of community development, as defined. The number cannot be made more exact at this time because programmes fade in and out, depending upon who heads them at any given time, the decisions made by administrators, and the availability of funds (often from some source outside the regular budget, such as, foundations or other special donors). And emphasis may shift into or away from Community Development". 97/

96/ A.E. Benson and Lee J. Cary, Community Development: A Directory of Academic Curriculums Throughout the World (including course descriptions) (Columbia, Missouri, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, University of Missouri, 1969), 76 pp. The Directory lists 14 programmes in the United States, 2 in Canada, 6 in the United Kingdom, and 5 in 4 other countries or jurisdictions.

This directory grew out of an earlier survey by the late Professor Donald L. Beran at the University of Missouri: D.L. Beran, Community Development in Colleges and Universities of the United States (Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, 1967). Beran mentions previous studies or compilations by Katharine Lackey, Louis M. Miniclier and W. Fred Totten (Beran, op. cit. pp. 9-11). To these should be added the list included in William W. Biddle and Loureide J. Biddle, The Community Development Process, pp. 284-286. An earlier compilation was made by Robert Child for the Community Development Division of the National University Extension Association, Community Development Service Operations in Member Institutions of the National University Extension Association (1962) which listed twenty-five institutions.

97/ Biddle and Biddle, op. cit. p. 284.

Beran, in his questionnaire study, received replies regarding community development activities in twenty-seven institutions. Beran analyzed the number of institutions providing an academic curriculum (certificate, graduate or undergraduate degree, or elective courses in community development); training programmes (such as for Peace Corps, VISTA or Office of Economic Opportunity programmes); and service.

Biddle commented earlier, in regard to service: "Most universities that are active in this field offer a consultation service. The institution makes available the field services of experts (either those wise in subject matter, or expediters of process), handbooks or guides for development, and such items as newsletters or library materials". 98/

Beran listed twelve types of services reported by the institutions that he studied, as follows:

(1) To develop and activate regional plans;

(2) To publish research and survey results;

(3) To serve as a "pilot" to demonstrate new methods and techniques of community and area improvement;

(4) To provide adult education programmes;

(5) To offer extension work;

(6) To prepare leadership handbooks and guides;

(7) To conduct community betterment competition;

(8) To offer consultation services to communities;

(9) To develop self-help planning in small communities;

(10) To engage in city planning;

(11) To provide cultural enrichment programmes;

(12) To conduct seminars and conferences on school and community. 99/

Beran noted that four institutions reported involvement with the three areas of academic curriculum, training and service. These were the University of Arizona, University of Missouri, Virginia State College (Norfolk Division) and Michigan State University. Altogether, twenty-four institutions offered service, nine offered graduate curricula, five offered undergraduate curricula, and six offered training. 100/

46. University of Missouri (at Columbia)

The University of Missouri has a Department of Regional and Community Affairs (formerly called the Department of Community Development) in the School

---

98/ Ibid.

99/ Beran, op. cit., p. 14.

100/ Ibid., pp. 17-18, 27-28.

of Social and Community Services, which includes the School of Social Work and the Department of Recreation and Park administration.

During 1967-1968 the Department of Regional and Community Affairs had thirty-eight full-time students in the Master's programme (established in 1962) and twelve students in a nine-month diploma programme, designed specifically for international students. The Department also offered a three-week accelerated summer programme for extension personnel and others, and a non-credit workshop. The curriculum includes the following courses: Theory and Principles of Community Development, Group and Interpersonal Competence, Community Development Process, Community Development in Urban Areas, Community and Area Planning, Changing Communities in Modern Nations, and Action Research; and various courses may be elected from other departments.

A correspondence course, "The Theory and Principles of Community Development", is said to be the first university correspondence course in community development in the country.

Extension programmes included: induction and in-service training for area community development agents; back-up services to community development agents in the field; and consultation and liaison services between the Department and the University on the one hand and organizations and communities on the other. (This included two five-day staff training conferences.) 101/

Recent research publications have included Dr. Beran's study and the directory mentioned above, a compilation of abstracts of articles and chapters on urban community development and a monograph containing three papers on the role of the university in community development.

The Department co-operated with the Missouri Division of Mental Diseases in the development of a Foster Home Community Project.

The Department has received a grant from the University to establish an Urban Community Development Unit at Kansas City or St. Louis.

47. Community Development Services of the University of Southern Illinois.

The Community Development Services of the University of Southern Illinois, located at Carbondale, is composed of three units. The Community Development Institute provides graduate instruction leading to a Master's degree in community development. The Community Studies unit carries on research and evaluative studies of action and training programmes. The Training and Consultation Unit conducts community development and social action programmes, projects and services in southern Illinois communities. Consultation is given to a variety of organizations and groups; and training programmes during 1967-1968 included a group of priests, community action aides, teachers of adults, two groups from Latin American countries, and regional leaders of parent-teacher associations.

101/ Annual Report, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, School of Social and Community Services, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1 July 1967 - 30 June 1968 (mimeographed).

48. University of Georgia

The University of Georgia has an Institute of Community and Area Development, which carries on research and community studies and provides information and technical and consultative services to communities in a variety of fields. It conducts community development courses in local communities, and holds and participates in workshops, seminars and institutes at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education, in Athens, and in local communities. The main educational objective is to help local citizens to exercise greater influence in determining the future of their communities.

49. University of Colorado

The University of Colorado has a Bureau of Community Services in its Extension Division, and also a Center for Urban Affairs; both are located at the Denver Center of the University.

> "...the Bureau and Center... carry an outreach and service programmes to the community, getting involved in Model Cities, Urban Coalition, work with minority and poverty groups, education and additional change in suburbia, etc. We are primarily an urban-suburban oriented programme. Staff consists of generalists, process type, and also from time to time content specialists." 102/

In Mesa County, the activities of the Bureau of Community Services included consultation regarding reducing under-employment; a reconnaissance survey; compilation of a directory of community resources; offering of a sociology course, "Communities"; work with groups concerned with inadequate housing; training in leadership development among low-income groups; and helping low-income groups to gain support for their programmes. 103/

One of the research projects of the Urban Center was a HUD Summer Study Project on Criteria for New Towns, basically using systems analysis of the urban community. study brought together prefessionals from the community with staff members from major corporations, and academic staffs from several schools and colleges. 104/

50. Canadian universities and colleges

A 1967 summary report by Donald Snowden and Edna Bair gives information regarding community development training and activities in certain Canadian

---

102/ Letter to the author from Daniel J. Schler, Bureau of Community Services, 7 May 1969.

103/ "Bureau of Community Services, Role, Activities and Plans" (no date), (mimeographed), 5 pp.

104/ "Report on the First Year of the Center for Urban Affairs" - to Poland Rautenstraus, Vice President, University of Colorado, from Byron L. Johnson, Director, Center for Urban Affairs (14 April 1969, mimeographed), p. 1.

universities and colleges. According to textual statements in the report, nine institutions were carrying on or planning some programmes or activities relating to community development. 105/

51. St. Francis Xavier University

St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, which has long been famous for its programme of adult education and co-operatives among the fishing villages, reports:

> "The gradual and continuous deterioration of the economic base of Eastern Nova Scotia reached a critically accelerated pace during the past year. The out-migration statistics for the entire Atlantic area cause serious alarm, especially since the figures emphasize the high proportion of young people who are leaving. The exodus from Eastern Nova Scotia is even worse.
>
> "The traditional resource-based industries of fishing, agriculture, forestry, steel and coal have been undergoing serious decline for some years. Then came "Black Friday". This was the day, Friday, 13 October 1967, when the Sydney steel plant received its death notice. Such a calamity at this time could bring about the total collapse of the entire social and economic structure of this region. It was difficult to imagine how many of the local communities and institutions could survive such a blow. Any talk of bringing in new industries seemed ludricrous in such circumstances.
>
> "Faced with these grim facts and many uncertainties, the local people responded magnificently. They united as seldom if ever before. There existed a combination of circumstances which made the situation ripe for panic and even violence. Instead the people organized an impressive demonstration of determination, confidence and cooperation. This culminated in the Parade of Concern where 20,000 local citizens, representing every imaginable group in the region, marched to witness their united front. One could not expect a more ideal reaction from a people confronted with these tribulations and uncertainties...
>
> "We are witnessing in these countries a great social change. The traditional rural economy and way of life is rapidly diminishing in importance. Many rural communities are declining; some will disappear; some will be transformed into a new type of rural community. Agricultural, forestry and fishing operations will be concentrated in fewer areas and these will continue to develop as strong rural communities. Coal and steel have been almost the sole basis for industrial Cape Breton. Indeed this has been the major industrial area in the Atlantic provinces. Now, other industries are beginning to develop in the environs of Sydney,

---

105/ Donald Snowden and Edna Bair, compilers, Summary of Community Development Training and Activities Undertaken by Extension Services of Some Canadian Universities, 1967 (St. John's, Newfoundland, Extension Service, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1967) - processed, 33 pp.

Port Hawkesbury and New Glasgow. Subtly, the basis of our economy is shifting away from a complete dependence on our traditional sources of employment." 106/

The report goes on to recount the constructive governmental action taken and to summarize the work of the Extension Department during the past year. Most of the work of the Department is concerned with community development programmes of various types.

The Coady International Institute (named after Dr. M. M. Coady, the first director of the Movement) was established in 1959, at the University, to bring the Antigonish Movement to international students. An eight-month course, including field work, leads to a diploma in Social Leadership: it includes content relating to the Antigonish Movement, adult education, economic co-operation, and the social sciences. A seven-weeks summer course is also given. Since 1959, the Institute has had more than 1,000 students from over 100 countries. 107/

52. The Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology (Ottawa)

The Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology at Ottawa is a part of St. Paul University, a Catholic university federated with the University of Ottawa.

The Centre's interests focus on: anthropology, particularly social and cultural anthropology of traditional peoples - its application to mission problems; community development (socio-economic development and change), particularly in frontier areas; and urban poverty.

The Centre has published a number of books and monographs, including Anthony John Lloyd's Community Development in Canada, and it publishes Anthropologica, a bilingual journal in the social sciences. 108/ The Lower Town Project (24), sponsored by the University, has already been discussed.

53. The Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies (Montreal)

The Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies is a programme under the Department of Applied Social Science, Sir George Williams University, Montreal. It has an interdisciplinary staff of psychologists, sociologists, educators, and social workers.

106/ Review of the Work of the Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, May 1967-June 1968, pp. 3-4.

107/ Coady International Institute, leaflets: Desmond M. Connor and Zita Cameron, "Antigonish and the world", reprint from America, 23 March 1963; "The world comes to Antigonish", reprint from Weekend Magazine," October 1966.

108/ James Lotz and Jean Trudeau, "The Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology", Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa, vol. 38 (2), 1968.

A workshop attended by fifteen federal officials concerned with various aspects of community development was held in Montreal, 11-17 June 1967, under the auspices of the Centre.

In the introduction to the report of this workshop, the Deputy Director of the Special Planning Secretariat notes the following factors, which the Interdepartmental Committee on Community Development believes "should contribute to the gradual improvement of the art and science of community intervention", and he notes that out of this context the Workshop was developed: ready access by Community Development workers to one another's work experience, continuing rapport with behavioral scientists and interpretation of the community development process to those connected with it in other than a direct field-level capacity. 109/

54. The Canadian Centre for Community Studies

The following statement summarizes the operation of the Canadian Centre for Community Studies, and its predecessor, during the period 1957-1968:

The Centre for Community Studies was established in 1957 under the joint sponsorship of the provincial government and the University of Saskatchewan and the directorship of Dr. William B. Baker. It was established in response to the findings of the Royal Commission on Rural Life, which was concerned with the rural to urban shift and by the changing organization of agriculture. The Centre had the three functions of community counselling, training and research, and a staff drawn from the fields of extension education, community development, sociology, economics and anthropology. The work of the Centre was not confined to the province, but included contracts for consulting and training in other parts of Canada.

In 1964, the work of the Centre was more than half supported by contracts, one of the largest of which was with the Agriculture and Rural Development Administration of the National Department of Forestry and Rural Development. This programme of research was concerned with exploring the problems of a low-income agricultural area in the province of Saskatchewan and recommending guidelines for an approach to development. In 1966, the Centre became incorporated as a national non-profit corporation under the name of the Canadian Centre for Community Studies. A central office was established in Ottawa, and the Saskatoon group continued to operate as a regional office and the service branch of the organization. Owing to an accumulation of difficulties - Dr. Baker's prolonged and fatal illness, failure to find adequate funding, shortage of trained senior people in the field etc. - both offices closed in June 1968. The chapter is still held by the Board of Directors, but the organization is inactive". 110/

109/ An External Intervention into Federal Community Development Programs. Report of a Workshop at Scholastica Central de Montreal, 11-17 June, 1967 (Montreal - Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies, Sir George Williams University, Project Report No. 8, 1967), introductory section n.p.

110/ Letter to the author from Jane A. Abramson, University of Saskatchewan, March 1969.

The Centre published research reports on a variety of subjects and also several brief guides on particular aspects of community development - community programme planning, co-ordination, self-surveys, evaluation of the community development council etc.

During 1967, the Centre conducted four seminars for persons in key positions in relation to policy, planning and administration. The subjects related to community leadership, socio-technical systems in regional development, welfare, social indicators, and systems analysis budgeting.

55. National University Extension Association (United States)

The National University Extension Association of the United States (NUEA) has an active Division on Community Development, created in 1955. It holds meetings at the time of the annual meeting of the NUEA, and the proceedings of these meetings are published. 111/ With the co-operation of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education and the Sears Roebuck Foundation, the Division has conducted, since 1960, a series of professionally oriented National Community Development Seminars, held at intervals of one or two years. The Division has also co-operated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Sears Roebuck Foundation in planning and carrying on biennial leadership training seminars for the national Community Improvement Program of the Federation.

Two major current projects of the Division are "the development of a Position Paper on Community Development and the first of a series of monographs on vital areas of community development". 112/

56. Adult Education Association of the United States of America

The Adult Education Association of the United States of America has a community development section which holds meetings in connexion with the annual meeting of the Association. In 1968 the community development meetings focused on the role of the consultant in community development, community education: an approach to urban problems and instructional programmes in the adult education approach to community development.

57. Canadian Association for Adult Education

In 1965 the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), together with ARDA, sponsored two "national consultations" on aspects of community development

---

111/ University Community Development Programs and the War on Poverty (Community Development Publication No. 10), (Community Development Services, Division of State and National Services, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill., 1965); New Dimensions in Community Development (Institute of Public Affairs, University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1966); Community Development in Transition (same publisher, 1967).

112/ Letter to the author from Otto G. Hoiberg (University of Nebraska), Chairman of the NUEA Community Development Division, February 1969.

in Canada and training for community development. 113/ Recently, the information service of the association has published several reading lists on community development.

58. Canadian workshops on community development

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), in Toronto, has twice sponsored a Canadian National Workshop on Community Development - in April 1968 and February 1969. These sessions of two or three days brought together some twenty to fifty representatives of the social sciences, adult education, social work and various governmental and voluntary agencies. The proceedings of the two workshops have been published. 114/ The 1969 group expressed the desire to continue these workshops but to have them held in various parts of the country.

These workshops are a potential force for increasing communication and understanding among various groups interested in community development in Canada. They appear to be the outstanding North American example of a national interdisciplinary unifying force in community development.

The 1968-1969 workshops were preceded by four others, held over a period of years, under the auspices of the University of Toronto School of Social Work. It is reported that these workshops provided stimulation for Murray G. Ross in writing his widely-known book, Community Organization: Theory and Principles (1955). 115/

59. Schools of social work

Within the last ten years, community development has become of interest to a considerable number of graduate schools of social work.

Of the eight Canadian graduate schools of social work, six have two-year concentrations in community organization. Of the sixty-one such schools (excluding branches) in the United States, twenty-nine have two-year concentrations in community organizations; and in some cases, there are separate courses in community development. For example, the University of Michigan School of Social Work has one on international community development. Some community organization field work assignments also may be in community development programmes. The University of Toronto School of Social Work, in a statement regarding its community organization concentration, includes particularly a reference to

---

113/ National Consultation on Training for Community Development, sponsored by ARDA and CAAE Toronto, 31 January-2 February 1965 (processed); Community Development: National Consultation, sponsored by CAAE and ARDA, Montreal, 15-16 March 1965 (mimeographed).

114/ National Workshop on Community Development Teaching and Research, April 1968 (Toronto, Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968); Second National Workshop of Adult Education (Ontario, Institute for Studies in Education, 1969).

115/ Letter to the author from Charles E. Hendry, Director, University of Toronto, School of Social Work, 7 April 1969.

"working directly with broad-based community groups to encourage social action related to self-selected goals". The University of Michigan School announcement, in referring to "Specialization in Community Practice", says that: "Students who specialize in methods of intervention at the community level may emphasize techniques of community planning, action, or development, or a combination of these".

Interest in community development is reflected also in the current literature of social work - including reference books, texts and articles in periodicals - and in the appearance of the subject on conference programmes and in their proceedings. 116/

60. Films

The National Film Board of Canada (with headquarters at Montreal) has developed a "Challenge for Change" programme of educational films relating to community development and other aspects of social change. Some of the films are listed below:

> "Indian Relocation - Elliot Lake. A Report". Relocation of twenty Indian families, to provide them with a programme of academic and vocational training.
>
> "Encounter at Kwacha House - Halifax". A discussion between black and white youths about issues of vital concern to the Negroes of Halifax.
>
> "Halifax Neighborhood Center Project" - Efforts of a "new kind of community action agency to battle poverty in one Canadian city".
>
> "Encounter with Saul Alinsky, militant direct actionist" - two films: one, an encounter between Mr. Alinsky and several staff members of the Company of Young Canadians; the other an encounter with several Indians on the Rama Reserve in Ontario.

During June 1968, a four-week workshop on the role of the film in community development was held in St. John's under the auspices of the National Film Board and the Extension Department of Memorial University, Newfoundland. 117/

The Film Board has also carried on a unique, experimental Newfoundland project which is thus described:

> "The Newfoundland Project is a pilot experiment in the use of film as a direct means of communication and as a catalyst for social change.

116/ See bibliography.

117/ Newsletter, Challenge for Change, vol. 1, no. 2 - fall 1968 (Montreal, National Film Board).

"In collaboration with a community development officer from the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland, twenty hours of film were shot in Fogo Island in August and September of 1967. The technology of film-making and the skill of the film-maker were placed at the disposal of the people of this island outpost. Problems of daily concern and thoughts of the future formed the substance of their discussions and the very process of committing their problems to film helped to express them in more concrete terms, and, in some measure, to face them.

"The assembled footage was shown to the people in the various communities on the island, and the edited films were subsequently shown to the provicial cabinet. Replies from a Cabinet representative were filmed, attached to the pertinent film material and brought back to the communities.

"Greater communication and change in attitude and awareness occurred on a number of levels: people became more conscious of themselves as individuals when seeing themselves on the screen: understanding grew between individuals in a community; communication was brought about between the isolated villages on the island; a dialogue was started between the islands and the Government. 118/

E. Organizations for Community Development Personnel

There are at least three independent organizations with headquarters in North America, whose members are presumably primarily community development workers or other persons interested in community development. The leadership of each of these organizations appears to reflect primarily the interest of a particular professional group in community development.

61. International Society for Community Development

The International Society for Community Development (with headquarters at 345 East 46th Street, New York) was established at the International Conference of Social Work in Brazil in 1962. Most of its membership is in the United States and Canada, and the two chief officers have usually come from those countries. The Society has held meetings, usually in connexion with international or national social work conferences, and it has issued some publications. The programme has been handicapped by lack of funds and by the international spread of the membership.

62. National Association for Community Development

The National Association for Community Development (1932 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington D.C.) has been described above (31). It is primarily a planning

---

118/ National Film Board of Canada, Newfoundland Project (leaflet), A more detailed account of this project is contained in Fogo Island Film and Community Development Project, National Film Board of Canada, 1968 (mimeographed) 19 pp. plus appendices.

and action organization, although one of its objectives is "promoting professional competence and growth". Individual active membership is open to anyone with an official, employee, or consultant relationship with an agency concerned primarily with community action or development or social planning. 119/

63. The Community Development Society

The Community Development Society (909 University Avenue, Columbia, Missouri) organized early in 1969, is "an individual membership society for the advancement of the community development profession". It plans a national professional meeting each year; regional meetings, workshops, and programmes in conjunction with other associations; the Journal of the Community Development Society, issued semi-annually, and other publications. 120/

In April 1969, a group of university persons met at New Orleans and formed a temporary organizing committee to move towards establishing, in the fall of 1969, an organization to be known as the American Association of Action Academics. The general purpose is "to promote the effective involvement of institutions of higher education in the development of their urban communities...". Two of seven specific objectives are: "promoting the allocation of faculty and staff time to community development activities", and "modifying the faculty incentive and reward system to support community development activities". 121/

119/ "Community Development Society" (leaflet).

120/ "National Association for Community Development" (leaflet).

121/ Herman Niebuhr, Jr., "Draft - An Announcement", (18 April 1969) (Processed - no address).

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH AMERICA

For the most part, this bibliography is limited to North American books, monographs, and a few selected articles, published chiefly during the 1960s. The annual reports of agencies and organizations, and similar documents, have not been included. Many of these are referred to in foot-notes in the annex to this chapter.

ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1. Community development abstracts - Abstracts of 1108 books, monographs, papers and articles, (prepared for United States Agency for International Development by Sociological Abstracts, Inc.). Washington, D.C., Department of State, Agency for International Development, 1964. 281 pp.

2. Jantzen, Carl R. and Iwao Ishino. A working bibliography on community development. East Lansing, Michigan, Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, 1962 (processed). 33 pp.

3. Mendes, Richard H.P. Bibliography on community organization for citizen participation in voluntary organizations. Washington, President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, 1965, 98 pp.

4. Mezirow, Jack. The literature of community development. Washington, Department of State, Agency for International Development, 1963. 177 pp.

5. Paltial, Freda L. Poverty: an annotated bibliography and references. Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1966. 136 pp. With three supplements, compiled by Agnes Woodward and published in March 1967, October 1967 and April 1968, respectively. Supplements bear notation: Bibliography prepared by the Canadian Welfare Council in collaboration with the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council Office.

6. Shiner, Patricia, Peggy Wineman and Lee J. Cary. Community development in urban areas: a summary of pertinent journal articles and book chapters (abstracts). Columbia, Missouri, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, School of Social and Community Services, University of Missouri, 1969. 81 pp.

7. Survey of literature on the community with selected annotations, reading lists, and periodicals. Ottawa, Experimental Projects Branch, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968 (processed). 42 pp.

8. Benson, A.E. and Lee J. Cary. Community development; a directory of academic curriculums throughout the world, including course descriptions. Columbia, Missouri Department of Regional and Community Affairs, University of Missouri, 1969. 76 pp.

9. Biddle, William W. Deflating the community developer. Community Development Journal, vol. 3. pp. 191-194, October 1968.

10. Biddle, William W. The "fuzziness" of definition of community development. Community Development Journal, vol. 2. pp. 5-12, April 1966.

11. —— Varieties in community work. Town and country church (National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America) No. 168, January-February 1963, pp. 6-10.

12. —— and Loureide J. Biddle. The community development process: the rediscovery of local initiative. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965. 352 pp. Appendix I relates primarily to community development in the United States.

13. —— and Loureide J. Biddle. Encouraging community development: a training guide for local workers. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. 224 pp.

14. Bruynn, Severyn T. Communities in action: pattern and process. New Haven, College and University Press, 1963. 205 pp.

15. Clinard, Marshall B. Perspectives on urban community development and community organization (discussion by Kenneth W. Kindelsperger). Social welfare forum. National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1962. pp. 65-89.

16. —— Slums and community development: experiments in self-help. New York, Free Press, 1966. 395 pp.

17. Community development. Issue of Anthropologica, N.S., vol. IX, No. 2, 1967. Editor James Lotz. Published by Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, Ottawa. Includes the following articles: James Lotz, Introduction - is community development necessary?; Jean Lagassé, A review of community development experience in the world - 1945-1967; Louis Feldhammer, Social anthropology - mechanized or humanized?; Desmond H. Connor and Kenneth R. Davidson, A typology of residents for community development; Norman Shulman, Mutual aid and neighboring patterns: the Lower Town study; Jacques Beaucage, La participation; Saul Arbess, Economic realities and political development: the George River case; Claude Melangon, Inventaire et perspectives de l'action sociale étudiante du Québec.

18. Community development and community organization. An international workshop held at Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., April 1960. Reported by Kenneth Kindelsperger. New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1961. 40 pp.

19. Community organization, community planning, and community development: some common and distinctive elements. Papers presented at annual programme meeting of Council on Social Work Education, Montreal, February 1961. New York, Council on Social Work Education, 1961. 55 pp. Includes papers by Charles E. Hendry, Louis M. Miniclier, William Dyson, Walter Rudnicki and W.B. Baker.

20. Connor, Desmond M. Four roles for the development worker: an approach to training and action. Community Development Journal, No. 3, October 1967. pp. 22-25.

21. Connor, Desmond M. Understanding your community., Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 1964. 35 pp; Diagnosing community problems. Ottawa, Development Press, 2nd ed., 1968. 35 pp; Strategies for development. Ottawa, Development Press, 1968. 47 pp. A series of short handbooks for training workers in community action programmes.

22. Dunham, Arthur. Community development - whither bound? Social Work Practice, National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1968. pp. 48-61.

23. _____. The new community organization (revision and rewriting of Community welfare organization, 1958). New York, Crowell, 1970. Includes four chapters on community development.

24. _____. Types of jobs in community development (summary of a report of a reconnaissance study, 1965). Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, 1966. 28 pp.

25. Franklin, Richard, ed. Patterns of community development. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1966. 124 pp.

26. Frieden, Bernard J. and Robert Morris, eds. Urban planning and social policy. New York, Basic Books, 1968. 459 pp.

27. Fry, John R., ed. The church and community organization. A report of the consultation on community development and community organization sponsored by the Division of Home Missions (now the Division of Christian Life and Mission), National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, Philadelphia, 7-10 December 1964). New York, National Council of Churches, 1965. 179 pp.

28. Goodenough, Ward Hunt. Co-operation in change: an anthropological approach to community development. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1963. 543 pp.

29. Grosser, Charles F. Community development programs serving the urban poor. Social Work, vol. 10, July 1965. pp. 15-21.

30. Haggstrom, Warren C. Poverty and adult education. Washington, Adult Education Association of the United States of America., 1964.

31. Hallenbeck, Wilbur C. et al. Community and adult education. Washington, Adult Education Association of the United States of America, 1962. 33 pp. Four papers plus introduction and conclusion.

32. Haworth, Laurence. The good city. Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1966. 160 pp.

33. Henderson, Julia. Community development from an international perspective - implications for North America (address, McGill University, School of Social Work, 20 October 1961). 16 pp.

34. Hendry, Charles E. Community development. Encyclopedia of Social Work. New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1965. pp. 170-177.

35. Hoffer, Charles R. Modern communities and their development (Research report 61, Development and Public Affairs). East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University, Agricultural Experiment Station. 20 pp.

36. Hoiberg, Otto G. Improving the small community, reprint from Business Studies (North Texas State University), fall 1967. 3 pp.

37. Hynam, C.A.S. Community development: an example of conceptual confusion (paper presented at Western Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists, Banff, Alberta, Canada, December 1968). University of Alberta, Department of Sociology (processed). 11 pp.

38. JCI community development manual. Miami Beach, Florida, Junior Chamber International (Jaycees), 1966. 47 pp.

39. Jensen, Gale E. Planning adult education investments for community economic development: a policy framework. International review of community development, Nos. 17-18 (one issue), 1967. pp. 31-42.

40. Jones, Bertis L. A philosophical view of community development as an adult education function. Reprint from Adult leadership. January 1965. 4 pp.

41. Kahn, Alfred J. Theory and practice of social planning. New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1969. 348 pp.

42. King, Clarence. Working with people in community action. New York, Association Press, 1965. 192 pp.

43. Krietlow, Burton W. et al. Leadership for action in rural communities. Danville, Illinois, Interstate, 1960. 346 pp.

44. Marris, Peter and Martin Rein. Dilemmas of social reform: poverty and community action in the United States. New York, Atherton Press, 1967. 240 pp.

45. Mc-Clusky, Howard Y. Community development in Malcolm S. Knowles, ed. Handbook of adult education in the United States. Chicago, Adult Education Association of the United States of America, 1960. pp. 416-427.

46. Mial, Dorothy and H. Curtis Mial, eds. Forces in community development (cover title, Community development). Washington, National Training Laboratories and National Education Association, 1961. 106 pp. (Selected Reading Series Four).

47. Mial, Dorothy and H. Curtis Mial. Our Community. New York, New York University Press, 1960. 269 pp.

48. Miniclier, Louis. Social group work in community development programs. Community Organization. National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1960. pp. 117-127.

49. The Outlook for Community Development. Report on symposium held during International Conference of Social Work, Washington, 8 September 1966. New York International Society for Community Development, 1967. 25 pp.

50. Paul, Benjamin D. Health, culture and community: case studies of public reactions to health programs. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955. 493 pp.

51. Poston, Richard W. Comparative community organization, Community Development Review, vol. 8, March 1963. pp. 21-25.

52. Pulver, Glen C., Daniel J. Schler, and Lee J. Cary. The role of the university in community development. (three papers). Columbia, Missouri, School of Social and Community Services and University Extension Division, University of Missouri, 1969. 41 pp.

53. Robinson, Marion O. Humanizing the city. New York, Public Affairs Committee, 1968. 28 pp. (Public Affairs Pamphlet 417). Consensus of speakers at 1967 Annual Forum of National Conference on Social Welfare.

54. Ross, Murray G. Case histories in community organization. New York, Harper, 1958. 259 pp.

55. Ross, Murray G. with B.W. Lappin. Community organization: theory principles, and practice. New York, Harper and Row, 2nd ed. 1967. 290 pp.

56. Rothman, Jack. Three models of community organization practice. Social Work Practice, 1968, National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1968. pp. 16-47.

57. Sanders, Irwin T. The community: an introduction to a social system. New York, Ronald Press, 2nd ed. 1966. 549 pp. (Especially chap. 24, "Community development").

58. Sanders, Irwin T. Community development. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York, McMillan and Free Press, 1968, vol. 3, pp. 169-174.

59. Schaller, Lyle E. Community organization: conflict and reconciliation. Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1966. 176 pp.

60. Schlesinger, Benjamin. Poverty in Canada and the United States: overview and annotated bibliography. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966. 211 pp.

61. Schottland, Charles I. Issues in social planning for the future: implications of the conference. Social progress through social planning - the role of social work (proceedings, 12th International Conference of Social Work, Athens, 1964). New York, International Conference of Social Work, 1965. pp. 117-135.

62. Sherrard, Thomas D. ed. Social welfare and urban problems. National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1968. 210 pp.

63. Sherrard, Thomas D. and Richard C. Murray. The church and neighborhood community organization. Social work, vol. 10, July 1965, pp. 3-14.

64. Silberman, Murray, ed. The role of government in promoting social change (Arden House Conference, Harriman, New York, November 1965). New York, Columbia University School of Social Work, 1966.

65. Spicer, Edward H. Human problems in technological change: a casebook. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1952. 301 pp.

66. Stumpf, Jack. Community planning and development (social work practice in). Encyclopedia of social work. New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1965. pp. 190-208.

67. Sviridoff, Mitchell. A strategy of participation. Community development (organ of the National Association for Community Development), vol. 4, March 1969. pp. 8-9.

68. Turner, John B. In response to change: social work at the crossroad. Social work, vol. 13, July 1968. pp. 7-15.

69. Turner, John B. ed. Neighborhood organization for community action. New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1968. 220 pp.

70. Urban and rural community development, proceedings of the 12th International Conference of Social Work, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1962.

71. Urban development: its implications for social welfare, proceedings of the 13th International Conference of Social Work, Washington, D.C., 1966. International Council on Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1967. 462 pp.

72. Warren, Roland L. The community in America. Chicago, Rand Mc-Nally, 1963. 347 pp. (Especially chap. 10, Community action and community development).

73. _____. Types of purposive change at the community level (papers in Social Welfare, No. 11, Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare). Waltham, Massachusetts, Brandeis University, 1965. 47 pp.

74. Whitford, James R. Toward a more restricted definition of community development. Edmonton, Alberta, 1969 (processed). 19 pp.

75. Ylvisaker, Paul N. Community action: a response to some unfinished business. New York, Ford Foundation, 1963. 14 pp.

76. Youth, 1969. Issue of UNESCO Courier, April 1969. See also publications of:

Canadian Centre for Community Studies (originally Centre for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan). The Centre was discontinued in 1968. Publications available for distribution may be obtained from the Extension

Division, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Canadian Welfare Council, 55 Parkdale Ave., Ottawa 3, Canada; Community Development Foundation, Boston Post Road, Norwalk Connecticut, 06852; National Association for Community Development, 1832 Jefferson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C., 20036.

PERIODICALS

77. Community development journal (quarterly) Oxford University Press, Ely House, 37 Dover St., London W.1.

78. International review of community development. International issue of Centro sociale. One issue (two "numbers") a year. (Rome).

CANADA

79. ARDA condensed reports. A series of condensed versions of research reports. Ottawa, Rural Development Branch, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, 1966-1968. The series includes the following reports, which relate more or less closely to community development: (1) W.M. Baker, The ARDA program in relation to recreation and tourism; (6) L.B. Siemens and D.P. Forcese, Leadership patterns in a Manitoba agricultural-fishing community; (7) Jacques de Guise, Information media in the pilot region: Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé, and Iles-de-la Madeleine; (8) Guy Bourassa, Establishing new regional organizations (BAEQ); (10) Jocelyn Valois and Denise Lemieux, Families and socio-economic changes (BAEQ); (11) J.P. Montminy, An experiment in "animation sociale" among the clergy of the pilot region (BAEQ); (13) Louis Duval, Outstanding features of the inventory (BAEQ); (14) Marc-A. Morency "Animation sociale": the experience of the BAEQ; (15) Gilles Picard and Albert Juneau, A sociological study of agricultural change in the pilot region (BAEQ).

80. Baker, W.B. The relation of welfare and development in Canada's post-industrial society. A progress report on a three-part research programme. Toronto, University of Toronto, School of Social Work, 1968 (mimeographed), 12 pp.

81. Flondin, Michel, Social animation as developed and practiced by le Conseil des Oeuvres de Montréal. Montreal, Le Conseil des Oeuvres, 1968 (processed), 23 pp. and appendices.

82. Bregha, Francis J. Areas of action. Working paper prepared for National Workshop on Community Development, Toronto, February 1969. University of Toronto, School of Social Work, 1969 (mimeographed). 4 pp.

83. Clark, S.D. The developing Canadian community. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962.

84. Community development. 18th Biennial Canadian Conference on Social Work, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 1962, 48 pp. Obtainable from Canadian Welfare Council.

85. Community development. Issue of Anthropologica. See item 17 above.

86. Community development: (1) R.A.J. Phillips. The principles. (2) W.A. Dyson, The programs. In: Canada. Privy Council Office. Special Planning Secretariat. Meeting poverty. (Ottawa, 1965, processed, various paging).

87. Community development in Alberta, by the Provincial Government of Alberta, In: Canada Privy Council Office. Special Planning Secretariat. Meeting poverty Ottawa, 1965? processed - 8 pp.)

88. Community development in Canada. Issue of Journal, International Society for Community Development. vol. 1, July 1966, No. 2.

89. Connor, Desmond M. Rural anti-poverty policy for the future. Canadian journal of agricultural economics, vol. 16, pp. 51-60, 1968, No. 3.

90. Connor, Desmond M. Stimulating rural development in Canada. Ottawa, Development Services Unit, Rural Development Branch, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968 (processed) 24 pp.

91. An external intervention into federal community development programs. Report of a community development workshop, Scolasticat Central, Montreal, 1967. Montreal, Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies, Sir George Williams University, 1967. 21 pp.

92. Gelineau, Pierre, ed. The lower town project. Ottawa, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, 1968. 144 pp. Includes: Eudore Lavoie, L'histoire sociale de la Basse-ville; Aileen J. Hunter, Radio forum and urban renewal; James Lotz, Community development and urban research.

93. The integration of physical and social planning. Report No. 1, with special reference to public housing and urban renewal, Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1967, processed, 89 pp. Report No. 2, with special reference to neighborhood services and citizen participation, Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1968, 73 pp.

94. Lappin, B.W. Community development and Canada's anti-poverty programs. In Benjamin Schlesinger, Poverty in Canada and the United States: overview and annotated bibliography. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966, pp. 40-46.

95. Lloyd, Anthony John. Community development in Canada. Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, Ottawa, 1967, 98 pp. Document No. 1.

96. Lotz, James. Whither community development in Canada? Community development journal, vol. 4, April 1969. pp. 61-67.

97. McEwan, E.R. Community development services for Canadian Indian and Metis communities. Toronto, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1968. 52 pp.

98. National workshop on community development teaching and research, April 1968. Toronto, Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968. processed, 46 pp.

99. Neighborhoods: a target for community development. Canadian Conference on Social Welfare, 1966. Interest Group Papers. Irving Kriegsfield, Neighborhoods - a target for community development; Mrs. M. Mitchell, The story of the Red Door -

an experiment in neighborhood self-help; Robert U. Doyle, Facing community poverty: the Halifax neighborhood center project. Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1968 (mimeographed). 11 pp.

100. Pépin, Pierre-Yves, Life and poverty in the maritimes, ARDA Research Report RE-3 Project No. 15002. Ottawa, Ministry of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968. 230 pp.

101. Phillips, R.A.J. Community development in the Canadian north. In urban and rural community development. Proceedings of 11th International Conference on Social Work, Brazil, 1962 (see item 70) - pp. 111-116.

102. Privy Council Office of Canada. Special Planning Secretariat. Profile of poverty in Canada (Series on meeting poverty) Ottawa 1965.

103. Rose, Albert, Strategies for implementing social change, in Silberman, Murray, ed, The role of government in promoting social change. New York, Columbia University School of Social Work, 1966.

103-A. Second national workshop on community development, February 11-14, 1969 Toronto, Department of Adult Education, Ontario, Institute for Studies in Education, 1969 (mimeographed). 76 pp.

104. Snowden, Donald and Enda Bair. Summary of community development training activities undertaken by extension services of some Canadian universities. St. John's Newfoundland, Extension Service, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1967 (processed). 33 pp.

105. The social significance of the co-operative movement. Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, 1964. 35 pp.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

106. American community development. Preliminary reports by directors of projects assisted by the Ford Foundation in four cities and a state (Boston, New Haven, Oakland, Philadelphia, North Carolina). New York, Ford Foundation, 1963. 48 pp.

107. Beran, D.L. Community development in colleges and universities of the United States. Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, 1967. 46 pp.

108. Biddle, William W. and Loureide J. Biddle. The pastor as an encourager of community development: a case study from San Fernando. New York, Institute of Strategic Studies, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1966. 36 pp.

109. Brager, George, Organizing the unaffiliated in a low-income area. Social work, vol. 8, April 1963. pp. 34-40.

110. Brager, George A. and Francis P. Purcell, eds. Community action against poverty: readings from the mobilization experience. New Haven, College and University Press, 1967. 349 pp.

111. Buck, Roy C. and Robert A. Rath. Community development: problems and prospects. Proceedings of the Commonwealth Conference on Community Development sponsored by Pennsylvania State University, Center for Continuing Liberal Education and Institute of Public Administration, University Park, Pennsylvania, March 1965. University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 1965. 99 pp.

112. Community development in transition. Proceedings of the Division of Community Development, National University Extension Association, 1967. Iowa City, Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1967. (processed) 52 pp.

113. Community development in the U.S.A. Issue of International review of community development. 1959. No. 4.

114. Community resource development: ECOP report. Co-operative Extension Service, Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP). Washington, D.C., 1967. 40 pp.

115. Crisis: the condition of the American city. Prepared for the League of Women Voters of the United States. Washington, D.C., Urban America 1968. 63 pp.

116. Ferman, Louis A., Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber, eds. Poverty in America: a book of readings. Comprehensive account of causes and cures for poverty. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, revised ed. 1968. 669 pp.

117. Hawkinds, Arthur et al. New careerist casebook number three: community workers and research aides. Walnut Creek, California, Contra Costa Council of Community Services, 1967. 66 pp. (No. 114 of a series of technical monographs).

117-A. Hawley, John B. The professional status of community development in the United States. Community development journal. vol. 4, July 1969. pp. 124-132.

118. Hillman, Arthur. Neighborhood centers today: action programs for a rapidly changing world. Report of a survy. New York, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1960. 239 pp.

119. Hillman, Arthur. Neighborhood organization - making American democracy work. (address at National Conference on Social Welfare, 1967). New York, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1967. mimeographed. 28 pp.

120. Hillman, Arthur, Neighborhood organization: rationale for survival: the city, the neighborhood, and common sense (Address at National Conference of National Federation of Settlements, 1968). New York, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1968. 12 pp.

121. Kindelsperger, Kenneth W. ed. Community development and community organization (report of workshop at Brandeis University, 1960). New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1961. 40 pp.

122. Levitan, Sar A. The great society's poor law: a new approach to poverty. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. 348 pp.

123. McKee, Elmore M. The people act: stories of how Americans are coming together to deal with their community problems. New York, Harper, 1955. 269 pp.

124. Mead, Margaret and Muriel Brown, The wagon and the star. A study of American community initiative. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1966. 223 pp. Published by arrangement with Curriculum Resources, which published original edition for distribution by United States Information Agency.

125. Moe, Edward O. Utah community development program. Community development review. vol. 8, June 1963. pp. 61-71.

126. Moynihan, Daniel P. Maximum feasible misunderstandings. New York Free Press, 1969. 218 pp.

127. New dimensions in community development. Proceedings of the Division of Community Development, National University Extension Association, 1966. Iowa City, Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, University of Iowa, 1966 (processed). 72 pp.

128. Northwood, Lawrence K. Urban development in the United States: implications for social welfare. Report of United States Committee to International Conference on Social Work, 1966. New York, The Committee, 1966. 68 pp.

129. Northwood, L.K. and William Key, eds. Social welfare and urban development. Report of Pre-Conference Workshop, Topeka, Kansas, May 1966; sponsored by United States Committee, International Conference of Social Work. New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1966. 64 pp.

130. Perlman, Robert and David Jones. Neighborhood service centers. Washington, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1967. 100 pp.

131. Phillips, Paul G. Trends in community development programs in the United States. Washington, International Co-operation Administration, 1958. 60 pp.

132. Piven, Frances. Participation of residents in neighborhood community action programs. Social work, vol. 11, January 1966. pp. 73-80.

133. Poston, Richard W. Experiment in North Carolina. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina, School of Social Work, 1967. 160 pp.

134. Problems of urbanization. A group of articles in International Review of community development. Nos. 15-16 (one issue), 1966. Includes the following articles with special bearing on North America, and especially the United States: Robert Morris, The social dimension of urban and regional planning: an attempt at definition; Harry Schwartz, An approach to the problems of the American urban slum; Raymond S. Gindroz, A new system of education centers for Pittsburgh.

135. Pruger, Robert and Anatole Shaffer. New careers and community development: the community worker. Walnut Creek, California, Contra Costa Council of Community Services, 1967. 46 pp. (No. 115 of a series of technical monographs).

136. Rural and urban community development in the United States of America. Report of the United States Committee to the Eleventh International Conference of Social Work, Rio de Janeiro, August 1962. New York, The Committee, 1962. 49 pp.

137. Rural poverty and community development. Conference proceedings, National Association for Community Development, September 1968. Washington, National Association for Community Development, 1968. 76 pp.

138. Russell, Bernard. The demonstration cities program. In community planning in public welfare. Washington, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968. pp. 43-46.

139. Schenk, Quentin F. A statewide community development service (Missouri). Community organization, 1961. National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. pp. 66-83.

140. Schler, Daniel J. Needed directions for community development programs in the decade ahead. Address at Conference of National University Extension Association, Miami, Florida. July 1968 (mimeographed). 8 pp

141. Schwartz, Harry. An approach to the problems of the American urban slum. International review of community development, Nos. 15-16 (one issue) 1966. pp. 245-258.

142. Specht. Harry. Community development in low-income areas: its relevance to problems of the Negro community. Walnut Creek, California, Contra Costa Council of Community Services, 1966. 49 pp. (No. 104 of a series of technical monographs).

142-A. Spiegel, Hans B.C. ed. Citizen participation in urban development, vol. I, Concepts and issues. Washington, Center for Community Affairs, NTL (National Training Laboratories) Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968. 291 pp. (Selected Readings Series, No. 7).

143. A symposium on community development in California. Conference at Asilomar, California, 1963. 1964. 48 pp.

144. Urban coalition: turning the country around. Supplement to City (published bi-monthly by Urban America), October 1967. 16 pp.

145. Vermont community development program, 1958-1961. From the final report by Alan M. Walker, Director, to the Schwartzhaupt Foundation. Goddard Bulletin, vol. 29, No. 5, November 1964, Plainfield, Vermont. 32 pp.

146. Warren, Roland L. ed. Community development and social work practice. Report of Workshop at Brandeis University. 1962. New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1962. 62 pp.

147. Weisman, Harold H. ed. Community development in the mobilization for youth experience. New York, Association Press, 1969. 190 pp. One of a series of four volumes on the experience of MFY. The other titles relate to individual and group services, employment and educational services, and justice and in the law.

III. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN SOUTH AMERICA*

Twelve years have passed since the Economic and Social Council approved a definition of community development for members of the United Nations family, and in this way tried to standardize the concept underlying this class of programmes. 1/ The intervening years have seen the remarkable dissemination of this concept to all parts of the world - in both more developed and less developed countries - and its application in countless programmes. Latin America has been no exception. All twenty-three countries in the region have initiated actions of this kind.

Yet at the same time, the concept of community development has undergone a great many modifications. 2/ Agencies, politicians and practitioners have added or removed elements, changed emphasis and proposed new interpretations. Some purported to reject it altogether, reworking the idea and formulating policies or programmes that were said to be fundamentally different. In fact, community development as defined by the Council was accepted in toto almost nowhere in Latin America. Probably in no other part of the world have so many variations of the concept appeared in the years following the Council's statement.

This chapter attempts to analyse current activities in community development in Latin America by using the statement of the Economic and Social Council as a conceptual frame of reference. While the chapter focuses only on Latin American experiences and trends, some of the conclusions reached in it may offer keys to understanding the forms such programmes have taken in other parts of the world. The bureaucratic structure of these countries can be described as "older" - and therefore more complex and rigid in its institutional aspects - than that of the newly independent countries. In due course, the younger countries may encounter many of the problems of organizational structure that have apparently led to such wide experimentation with concepts and forms in Latin America.

I. Methods of surveying Latin American programmes

The first step in studying current trends in community development consists of delimiting the subject of our study. As suggested above, the ambiguity of terminology and the great variation of activities and organizational forms in the community development field make it necessary to define this subject with some degree of precision. When an attempt is made to use the term "community development" as a descriptive or classifying tool, it becomes tautological. In its place a set of technical criteria are needed for analysis. If possible, these should be universal in their application, so that different groups of researchers can agree upon their validity. By applying such criteria, investigators should then be able to set boundaries for including certain types of activity within the field of community development study and for excluding others as subjects of investigation.

---

* Prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America.

1/ See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 4, document E/2931, annex III, "Community development and related services".

2/ For an analysis of the Economic and Social Council's definition of community development and the changes it has undergone, see chapter I above.

How will it be possible for us to formulate such criteria? In a study being made by ECLA, an attempt has been made to do this by focusing on the whole category of local development programmes as the universe of phenomena from which information is to be derived. 3/ Concentrating on programmes as the sources of data about trends in several ways facilitates research. Other theoretical topics - in which community development may be conceived as a process, a technique or a movement - are left aside 4/ and therefore related questions of philosophy or values, about which it is difficult to reach agreement, can also be avoided. In addition, programmes constitute recorded and observable phenomena that can be analysed singly or as a class. Moreover, some aspects of the study of programmes should be quantifiable, and thus facilitate objective comparison. Furthermore, if a method of classifying and comparing programmes can be found, then obviously it should be possible to relate and contrast CD programmes with those of other types.

It is assumed at the outset that among the integral development programmes being carried out at the local level some will conform to the definition set forth by the Economic and Social Council in 1957. Therefore, whatever their name or origin, it is these programmes that are of interest to us in this study.

A. Formulation of criteria for identifying the class of programmes under study

Indeed, there is good precedent for this approach in considering a wide range of programmes and attempting to identify the class to be studied by applying a set of criteria formulated in this way. In 1958 an international working group used a set of five criteria as a basis for identifying community development programmes in the region of Mexico, Central America, Panama and the Caribbean. 5/ Similarly, in 1964, ECLA prepared a study of programmes by applying criteria of popular participation and community development principles. 6/

In both those studies, as in this chapter, the United Nations definition of community development provided a helpful frame of reference for determining the

---

3/ ECLA, "Integral local development programmes in Latin America", Economic Bulletin for Latin America, vol. XIII, No. 2, November 1968.

4/ See Irwin T. Sanders, "Theories of Community Development", Rural Sociology, vol. 23, No. 1, March 1958.

5/ The criteria used in this case included (a) the existence of national plans, (b) an integral approach in the application of national services, (c) administrative organization and co-ordination of the national services, (d) training of personnel, and (e) community participation in the programmes. See Naciones Unidas, Informe de la Segunda Sesión de la Junta Interagencial sobre el Desarrollo de la Comunidad en México, Centroamérica, Panamá y el Caribe, CREFAL, México, 1959, mimeographed. Mention should also be made of an international survey of programmes reported in Social Progress through Community Development (ST/SOA/26), 1955.

6/ ECLA, "Popular participation and the principles of community development in relation to the acceleration of economic and social development", Economic Bulletin for Latin America, vol. IX, No. 2, November 1964.

criteria to be used. In that statement, community development was conceived as an integral approach (para. 18) in which a number of government organizations (para. 19 and part II) take co-ordinated action at the local level (para. 19) in a wide range of programme forms (paras. 23-27). Within each system of activities, moreover, some are directed at motivating, organizing and educating the local groups (paras. 14-16) in such a way that their participation in the development process will be assured (paras. 5-7, 17 and 28-29).

From this statement it may be inferred, then, that any community development programme will consist of a structure of activities that can be broken down by analysis into its constituent substantive elements, which can then be compared objectively. In the Council's definition it is made quite clear that such a programme has no maximal substantive content, that is, a programme may consist of any number of different substantive activities. This substantive complexity becomes a factor in the co-ordination of activities of the different government organizations, but in itself does not differentiate community development from other types of programmes.

On the other hand, the statement implies that community development programmes must include a certain minimum of substantive activities related to the principles and philosophy of community development. Thus for the purposes of the criteria being formulated here, these principles and philosophical postulates become significant only when they are applied as technical methods in specific kinds of activity. It may be concluded that CD programmes can be differentiated from other kinds of local development programmes by the presence of these distinguishing substantive activities. Again using the Council's definition as the frame of reference, it may be established that the total set of substantive activities of a community development programme will consist of (a) one or more activities applying community development principles or philosophy, plus (b) any number of "related" substantive activities "that can make a contribution to this integrated effort". 7/

On this theoretical basis we are now able to formulate the two basic criteria for identifying community development programmes. These may be stated as follows:

1. Minimal participative activities

In order to identify substantive activities in which community development principles and philosophy are applied, particular attention should be given to those whose purpose is widening or assuring participation by local groups in development processes. These participative activities are central to any community development programme. They are generally evident as (a) joint action

7/ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, op.cit., para. 19. The types of "related" substantive activities mentioned there include "agricultural services (including agricultural extension and home economics extension); nutrition services; education (including the role of schools in community development and fundamental education); vocational guidance and training; co-operatives; handicrafts and small industries; social welfare services; housing, building and planning; and health services." This list is not complete. In Latin American multisectoral programmes many other kinds of sectoral activities requiring professional skills have been added.

by people and Government in implementing the programme, (b) the guidance of self-help of local groups in this process, and (c) a recognition of the involvement of these groups in programming the means and ends of action. This last prerequisite is often expressed as a recognition of "felt needs" at the level of communities or local associations in determining the technical activities to be performed.

Three specific kinds of substantive activities are associated with the achievement of participation. These include the motivation, organization and education of local groups as well as of larger regional or national collectivities. 8/ Most local groups are not capable of participating effectively in development until they are able to identify their interests, to agree upon ways of achieving them as goals, and to organize consciously for sustained action toward these ends. For this reason many different kinds of government agency have begun to include these activities in their programmes. This leads us to the second criterion to be used in analysing and classifying them.

2. Substantively complex activities

Although it is theoretically possible to have a community development programme consisting of only one kind of substantive activity, 9/ the Council's definition insists that these programmes should be integral in their effects (para. 18). Hence all community development programmes should be substantively complex, including many different kinds of sectoral activities. This made it necessary for the writers of the document to refer to the role of "related services" as organizations providing this broad front of substantive activities. If it was not clear then, it has become increasingly evident since that programme structure must be differentiated from organizational structure. A programme of many substantive activities can be performed by one or many agencies. Conversely, any agency can perform one or many substantive activities in a programme.

The Economic and Social Council document thus does not make clear how substantively complex activities are to be implemented. An organization engaged in carrying out a sectoral or multisectoral programme may simply decide to add to its activity structure the minimal participative activities mentioned above. When this happens, its programme becomes substantively more complex, but at the same time more similar to or even identical with the programmes of other agencies, no matter what their designation, objectives or "programme mix" may be.

The sum of the substantive activities is relatively unimportant as a criterion of identification. Much more important is the way in which these activities are interrelated in a rational way as elements of each multisectoral programme. A further extension of the field of analysis, as will be mentioned

---

8/ For a sociological definition of the term "collectivity" focused on the participative functions of these macrosocial units in societal decision-making, see Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society (New York, Free Press, 1968), pp. 98 ff. The relation of local groups as sub-units of collectivities is also discussed.

9/ An example is the Community Education Programme of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico.

later, may concern the way in which the activities are executed by one or more organizations acting as units of input-output systems whose boundaries can be defined in terms of space, substantive activities, interorganizational structure and social participation. 10/

3. Significance and scope of activities

For practical reasons of reducing the size of the universe of programmes under study, a third criterion should be added to those mentioned above. In the ongoing ECLA study, local development programmes have been included for investigation only when they represent significant instruments of government policy, and when their scope of activities is broad enough to make an important developmental impact. These programmes are usually executed by major organizations in the public sectors - ministries, autonomous agencies or public corporations - possessing a fund of resources large enough to enable them to cover major areas or population groups. Moreover, such programmes tend to continue in time, and consequently to evidence in their own morphology some of the important trends that appear with the passage of years.

B. Analysis of the programmes

By the application of such criteria it has been possible to identify 110 programmes for study. At least one programme has been selected from each of the twenty-three Latin American countries, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela. This set does not pretend to be complete, nor should it be considered a sample. It is rather a selection based primarily on the availability of information that is sufficient to permit classification and analysis.

In the study, material about programmes and agencies has been gathered to include their history as well as their nature and scope, in order to make possible the identification of trends that have appeared over the years.

This information includes the nature and designation of the programme. At the same time data are obtained about the structure of the executing organization, the legal basis for the programme and organization as an activity system, the date of creation and of subsequent reorganizations, as well as objectives to be attained. With these facts comes much information about the participative activities that derive from community development principles and methods. However, information about modifications of the activity systems is not always easily available: in Latin America changes of Government often bring changes in agency structure and programme goals, but it is sometimes necessary to wait for months before a clear picture emerges of what is happening.

10/ Lawrence B. Moore, "Los programas de desarrollo de la comunidad y la participación social", in Participación Social en América Latina, International Institute for Labour Studies, Geneva, (to be published).

Attempts have also been made to analyse the spatial scope of the programmes, in terms of their national, regional or local application. However, it has proved difficult to obtain accurate data about the size of the physical areas of action or to determine the population reached. It is also deemed significant to note whether the programme benefits rural or urban populations.

In the same way, information has been abstracted about the administrative subdivisions of the operating organizations. These are of course related to coverage being national, regional or local in their hierarchy. Since it is common for planning to be performed by these units, an attempt has also been made to gather information showing whether the sectoral or regional planning has been integrated into national plans, and whether local programming is incorporated into regional or area-wide schemes. Because of the difficulties encountered in gathering data, it has not been possible to analyse the resources - either in funds or personnel - assigned to the programme.

The most interesting area of analysis has appeared in relation to information about the substantive complexity of the programmes and the structure of the operating organizations. Since programme mix reflects policy and also determines intra-organizational structure as well as interorganizational relationships, it becomes the most dynamic factor in producing changes and therefore deserves most careful study. For that reason more attention has been given to this aspect than to any other in the analysis.

Finally, information has also been gathered about the extent to which training activities are carried out as permanent functions of agencies, and the contribution that international organizations have made in this field.

C. Typology of the programmes

It soon becomes evident in studying this large number of programmes that some scheme of classification would be very useful as a means of calling attention to their common features and the way in which these characteristics are likely to change over time or in response to different situations. Such a typology of programmes has been attempted before as a means of identifying trends in community development. 11/

Among the aspects that have been selected for analysis in the study by ECLA, several show different characteristics or varying orders of magnitude that could be used as the basis for constructing a typology. If two or more of these sets of

---

11/ See the three-part typology of programmes introduced by the United Nations Office of Public Administration in the document Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes (ST/TAO/M.14), New York, 1959, where the categories used were "integrative", "adaptive" and "project type". This scheme was applied in analysing community development trends in the region of Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean by Juan Pascoe, "Community development trends in the region", Social Research and Rural Life in Central America. Mexico and the Caribbean Region (UNESCO, Paris, 1966), pp. 151 ff.

variables are correlated by "crossing", it may also be possible to create a model for classifying all the programmes identified at present, as well as any additional ones that may be included in the study in the future.

From an observation of the nature of substantive complexity and organizational structure of the programmes, it was decided that all conformed to one of three patterns. As we have already noted, with few exceptions the programmes are substantively complex, including two or more activities. It was also noted that these activities could be performed by one or more agencies. But the survey reveals that the operational variations in which these combinations appear are regularly as (a) programmes consisting of various substantive activities performed by a sectoral agency, (b) programmes consisting of a wider range of activities executed by a multipurpose agency created especially for such integral actions, or (c) joint action programmes consisting of many activities performed in concert by a number of agencies that may include some of types (a) and (b). The fourth variation, a programme consisting of a single substantive activity of the community development participative component performed by a sectoral agency seems to occur only in the case of the Puerto Rican programme mentioned in foot-note 9/ above. By definition, sectoral programmes of the related services that do not include the "minimal participative activities" fall outside the class under study here.

We thus have a typology based on the relation of organizational structure to substantive complexity. For simplicity of reference, type (a) will be called "amplified sectoral programmes". These have been identified widely throughout the region as including programmes of agricultural extension, fundamental education, community health, housing or co-operative development to which the "minimal participative activities" have been added by the implementing organization. Thus community development principles and methods are integrated into the substantive content of the programmes as activities supplementing those for which the agency was originally established. But once the community development approach is accepted, activities from other technical sectors may also be included in the programme. Such amplified sectoral activities will of course require an interdisciplinary staff, many of whom will be recruited from other sectoral fields.

The reason for the amplification of sectoral programmes in this manner can usually be found in the natural tendency of public organizations to maximize their autonomy by expanding their scope of action, and in this way justifying the acquisition of additional resources, coverage or clienteles. The information available in the study appears to indicate that, in Latin America, amplified sectoral programmes tend to flourish in those countries where government ministries have traditionally been autarchic. A total of fifty-one of the 110 programmes fall into this category.

Type (b) will be referred to here as "integral programmes". Many agrarian reform, rural development, land settlement and Indian integration programmes fall into this class. For their implementation, agencies are often organized as corporations or semi-public bodies in order to endow them with greater autonomy and to avoid many of the administrative constraints that hinder the action of conventional ministerial agencies.

The spectrum of their substantive activities tends to be very wide, including most of the technical services performed by the different sectoral agencies. Both amplified sectoral and integral programmes are thus characterized by multisectoral activities performed by a single organization. Since the substantive activities may be very much alike in both, the difference between the two categories results from the dissimilar origin and authority of the administrative agencies. Some forty-two of the 110 programmes studied are of this type.

In the programmes under study, the type (c) programmes are the most complex and also the most interesting. These "joint action" programmes consist of multisectoral activities performed by a number of organizations acting in concert. Although a distinction between joint action and co-ordination can be made only with difficulty, activity structures in some countries in Latin America appear to go considerably beyond what is usually understood by the term "co-ordination".

The joint programme is based on interorganization relationships of a permanent kind, in which the agencies agree upon formalized patterns of interdependence in their operations, may rationalize their functions so that their activities are complementary, and may also create a joint organization to perform services needed by them to carry out the programme. 12/ Since the differences between co-ordinated activities and joint programmes are matters of degree, an example will be helpful at this point. In the Joint Action Programme for the Integration of the Indian Population of Peru, eleven agencies have formally redefined their substantive activities so that together they carry out twenty-one subprogrammes that are complementary either in content or in territorial coverage. The Government also created a joint organization known as the National Office of Community Development to do funding, programming, co-ordination and evaluation of the joint programme. Only seventeen of the 110 programmes in our selection are of this type.

Having established the usefulness of the categories of amplified sectoral, integral and joint action programmes in a typology, in the ECLA exploration an attempt has been made to go further in using these categories to construct a model based on programme types and territorial coverage. The instrument was created by crossing these two kinds of variables. Each was subdivided into three descriptive grades in the manner described. In the horizontal dimension of "structural complexity" are located the amplified sectoral programmes, integral programmes and joint action programmes. These are postulated as being progressively more complex in the order given. In the vertical dimension of "territorial coverage"

12/ Theoretical aspects of joint programmes, joint organizations and interorganizational relationships are discussed by Michael Aiken and Jerald Hage in "Organizational interdependence and intra-organizational structure" American Sociological Review, vol. 33, No.6, Dec. 1968, pp. 912 ff. Some of the difficulties of distinguishing between co-ordination and joint action are also alluded to by Roland Warren in his discussion of unitary, federative, coalitional and social-choice types of contexts in which community organizations operate in "The Interorganizational field as a focus for investigation", Administrative Science Quarterly, December 1967, pp.396 ff. See also F.E. Emery and E.L. Trist, "The causal texture of organizational environments", Human Relations, vol. 18, No. 1, 1965, pp. 21 ff.

are shown local programmes, regional (subnational) programmes and national programmes. These also show degrees of scope that can be correlated with the number of administrative subdivisions and the complexity of operational factors.

In the nine-cell model presented below, programme structure and spatial coverage can then be graduated from the simplest form of programme in the lower left-hand corner (an amplified sectoral programme having coverage in only one locality), to the most complex type in the upper right-hand corner (a joint action programme having national coverage). The model thus offers a continuum of programme types that can be used for classifying programmes either within a country or among a number of countries.

When the 110 programmes are distributed among the nine types indicated in this model, a very high proportion (ninety-one) are found to be national in scope. Only thirteen are regional, and eight are of purely local scope. Three explanations for this distribution immediately come to mind. Most Latin American countries have unified governmental systems. Even those countries with federal systems (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela) tend to produce highly centralized administrative systems in which the national Governments and the major municipalities provide most public services.

Secondly, the concept of community development proposed in the Council document strongly favours the creation of national programmes. It is difficult to find examples of local multisectoral programmes that have an important impact, especially in countries with weak governmental institutions and relatively few private agencies at the local level. The slightly higher number of regional programmes in the selection probably can be accounted for because provincial, state and regional bodies can command greater resources. Even so, the number appears to be disproportionately low, particularly in view of the growing interest in integral regional development systems in a large number of Latin American countries.

This leads one to suspect, thirdly, that the set of programmes that has been selected in this study is not really representative of the over-all situation. The information obtained probably contains a natural bias because it has been drawn from the agencies to which international organizations have easiest access. In the future more effort must be made to select programmes of regional scope, and thus assure that a more accurate sample of all programmes is obtained. Local activities, especially in urban areas, also deserve more attention; however, even when the organization of programmes is localized in its structure, the stimulus very often comes from national agencies, as in the case of the joint programmes of several large Colombian, Mexican, Peruvian and Venezuelan cities.

II. Characteristics and trends of the programmes

A comparative study of the descriptive information that has been compiled suggests a number of generalizations on two important questions - the nature and scope of the programmes, and their relationships to each other within the context of national development.

An outstanding characteristic of such programmes in most countries is their number and variety. The exhuberant plurality of the programmes was already noted in the earlier studies of community development programmes mentioned above.

TYPES OF COMMUNITY AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Degree of structural complexity of programme and organization		
Amblified sectoral programme type	Integral programme type	Joint action programme type
Amplified sectoral programmes having national scope, usually covering zones and regions throughout many parts of the country, as in the Cultural Missions of the Ministry of Education, Mexico	Integral programmes of national coverage, such as agrarian reform, rural development or Indian integration agencies having broad authority, as in Corporation of Agrarian Reform, Chile	National joint action systems of ministries and organizations of the integral-programme type, often having a joint action organization or where the Presidency or national planning office serves for this purpose, as in Joint Action Programme, Peru
Amplified sectoral programmes covering a number of local areas within a single region. state or province, as in the ABCAR System of Credit and Extension, Brazil	Integral programmes having regional scope, most frequently structured as a regional development corporation executing its own programme with little or no direct participation by other agencies, as in Regional Corporation of the Savannah of Bogotá, Colombia	Joint action systems at the level of regions, states or provinces, especially where regional development or state bodies function as the joint organization for co-ordinating and rationalizing the activities as in Departmental Community Action Council, Antioquia Colombia
Amplified sectoral programmes limited to a single local area, such as a city or a rural pilot project as in the Coco River Pilot Project, Ministry of Education, Nicaragua	Integral programmes of multipurpose organizations confined to a single locality, found usually in urban areas and rarely in rural ones, as in Committee for the Rehabilitation and Urbanization of Barrios Suburbanos, Guayaquil	Joint action structures at the local level, particularly found in official coalitional urban programmes in which the municipality serves as joint organization as in Bogotá and Medellín, Colombia

Another obvious feature of the programmes is their wide territorial and substantive distribution. They appear in both rural and urban areas. They are carried out by all kinds of agencies in both the public and private sectors. A high proportion of programmes is concentrated in sectoral technical services at the national level. The widespread emergence of sectoral programmes of either an amplified or an integral kind in the fields of agriculture, education, social welfare, health, labour, public works and co-operatives seems to be especially characteristic of Latin American countries. Of equal interest - and perhaps directly related to the interest of sectoral agencies in creating their own internal multisectoral activities - is the accelerating rate of programme reorganization and the creation of new kinds of activity structures in the past several years. About one-half of all the programmes studied have been created, modified, or reorganized since 1963.

The information available also reveals that the kinds of programmes, the types of agencies administering them, and the legal authority for their creation are extremely varied. No one policy can be discerned. Instead, the decision as to when to create or reorganize, and what form the new instrument of action should take seems to reflect a large number of different policies quite unrelated to each other. Programmes are set up on the basis of presidential decrees, acts of parliament, ministerial decrees, agency fiat or administrative disposition. Behind these varied and sometimes contradictory decisions appear many kinds of motivations or objectives.

The programmes are predominantly rural in their coverage. This should not be interpreted as indicating that more resources exist for rural action. In fact, it may mean quite the opposite, that combined shortages of agency resources and relative ease in mobilizing local community resources have led to a more rapid extension of programmes to rural areas. It also can be interpreted as evidence that the national agencies, which have in the past failed to extend their services to rural areas, now wish to enlarge their territorial coverage without having obtained (or as a means of obtaining) a commensurate allocation of funds. Such agencies have a legal basis for assuming a national scope but are unable to begin new or amplified activities in the entire country. The expansion takes place gradually by adding operating units in scattered areas. Coverage is rarely complete throughout the nation.

As the agencies offer broader services, they tend to emphasize local participation and to apply community development methods. It is common to find agencies with similar activities working in adjacent local areas, having reached a "gentlemen's agreement" to keep out of each other's way.

When viewed against the physical and socio-economic features of the countries, the programmes reveal patterns of coverage that are generally similar throughout the continent. The dispersed rural population has been neglected, as wide expanses of semi-arid or tropical regions are hardly touched by technical services. Where the opposition of landowners impedes work, the agencies rarely attempt to provide services on haciendas, plantations or large commercial farms unless the lands are affected by agrarian reform. The patchwork coverage by many agencies may be found concentrated among smallholder populations (owners of minifundios) and the low-income shantytown dwellers (marginal populations) of urban areas. Mexico, Venezuela and Chile have made notable efforts to provide more balanced coverage of most rural areas.

In spite of the rapid shift of populations to urban areas and the grave social and economic problems that have appeared in relation to urbanization and industrialization, urban programmes are not keeping pace with the expansion of rural ones. The material available indicates that there are fewer new urban programmes, and that the total coverage of populations in urban areas by integral activities remains relatively limited.

This, rather strangely, has occurred in spite of the fact that rural programmes cluster in regions with urban growth centres that serve as bases of operations for work in rural areas. One concludes that rural and urban activities are almost totally dichotomized: an agency engaged in either of the two rarely ventures into the other, in spite of the fact that most agencies are eager to amplify the interdisciplinary or substantive scope of their work. Hence the number of agencies having both rural and urban coverage is very small, even though the need for local action programmes in the smaller cities (many of which are also "exploding") is very great.

Urban programmes generally concentrate on substantive activities related to housing and urbanization. Standard social services - well established in primary cities, with their own facilities, personnel and clientele - see no need for integrating or co-ordinating their activities in joint action systems. Some urban agencies for ideological and other reasons are little disposed to resort to self-help activities and the mobilization of popular participation, even as a "cheap" means of increasing their resources; however, the mounting problems of shantytowns and marginal groups are making it imperative to develop suitable self-help techniques within the urban context. Although considerable experimentation has been done in Lima, Caracas, Mexico, Guayaquil, Cali, Bogotá, Medellín, Santiago and Montevideo, a standard formula or "model" has not yet emerged in Latin America for integral local programmes in urban areas. The most effective work is often done by housing and urbanization agencies having amplified activities. These may include related efforts in community organization, the development of community infrastructure and equipment, leadership training and adult education. The economic problems of urban marginal populations present the greatest substantive challenge: relatively few effective activities have been attempted in vocational education or in the development of employment opportunities, small industries and crafts, savings and loan co-operatives, or production co-operatives.

Administrative organization and levels of planning of the programmes remain conventionally centralized. It is quite clear that national planning has had little effect on the functional co-ordination of the ministeries and agencies that carry out multisectoral activities in local areas - except in Venezuela. In most countries planners have not considered the regionalization of development activities as joint programmes to be undertaken by multiple agencies. Little attention has been given to the integration of sectoral activities in national planning. In most cases the sectoral programmes are packaged into separate volumes of a "plan" with very little substantive relationship to each other. A few integral or multisectoral programmes have been included in the plans when their activities did not interfere with or duplicate many of the sectoral programmes, but most of the programmes of local integral action are not included at all.

Theoretical discussions of community and local development programmes usually being with two basic assumptions. First, village communities are considered a predominant and widely distributed social module for local development activities. Secondly, it is taken for granted that the various technical services at the local level can be most effectively provided by an integral programme centred in a single agency to which other sectoral activities may be related in some way. From these premises organizational and methodological guidelines have been derived, as observed above.

In most underdeveloped regions, such programmes are implemented by a number of technicians and multipurpose village-level workers, animateurs or leaders. The essential difference in approach between organizations in Latin America and those in other parts of the world lies in the rejection of the use of the multipurpose village worker. 14/ As we have seen, Latin American agencies are willing to accept the need for a wide range of comprehensive technical activities, but they prefer to carry out activities through the use of an interdisciplinary team of professionals or technicians, all of whom are qualified to apply the community development methods as practical skills for working with local groups. When it is necessary to amplify the substantive content of the sectoral programmes, the agencies add personnel from other professional disciplines to their staff. Thus the methods used and the nature of the skills required together directly influence intra-organizational structure. Amplified and integral types of programmes are usually broken down into sectoral subprogrammes, each having its own professional and auxiliary personnel, for all of whom community development methods are regarded as a body of supplementary professional skills. The training of personnel for these activities usually has followed the pattern of teaching some of the substantive skills used in sectoral services (each of which corresponds to a profession), in addition to the concepts and methods of community development.

The substantive content of these methods is tending to become increasingly complex. Consequently, a new profession is beginning to emerge, based on these skills. In many countries the community development technician has become indispensable in agencies implementing multisectoral programmes at the local level.

In addition to the content mentioned in connexion with the Council's definition of the community development approach - and which includes motivational activities, community organization and community education - new tasks are gradually being identified with this community development methods component. These vary a good deal among countries, but appear to include especially the formulation and execution of social survey analyses, microplanning (programming multidisciplinary activities at the local level), the improvement in communications between agencies and community groups, the identification and training of local leaders in connexion with community education, and evaluation and review of programmes.

However, it would be erroneous to infer that this methods component has begun to solidify into a coherent and formalized body of skills. This cannot happen until the methods become the object of professional delimitation, standardization

---

14/ Only one programme, that of the Agricultural Extension and Community Development Service of the Ministry of Agriculture in Bolivia, has been found to train and employ village-level multipurpose workers.

and transmittal through education. For the reasons indicated in the first part of this paper, it will probably be some time longer before the substantive dimensions of this new profession crystallize. However, in Latin America there has been a rather clear divergence of community development as an emerging body of formal skills away from the social work profession. Many of the schools of social work are adding community development to their curriculum as a new field parallel to social case work and social group work. But outside the social work field, CD methods are gradually coming to be seen as an interdisciplinary field within the social sciences, in particularly close relation to sociology. The emphasis in training has also swung away from the intersectoral eclecticism of former years: at present the view appears to be gaining favour that community development methods are to be added to the sectoral disciplines within a coherent programme, and do not represent merely a potpourri of techniques drawn from other disciplines. If this is so, then one may conclude that the trend in the creation of a set of methods identified specifically with community development concepts has begun to move in the direction of those substantive activities identified above as relating to participation and mobilization. During the past several years, these have been given particular attention in several theoretical papers relating community development to national development. 15/

B. Organizational structure and interrelations

Study of the trends in structural changes as revealed in the typology of programmes above indicates that in the future the sectoral agencies will continue to be the preferred instruments for the execution of local development activities. Many of the sectoral agencies have only begun to work actively in such programmes. The current ferment in the creation and reorganization of programmes represents an effort of these agencies to modify their territorial and substantive coverage so that they can contribute more effectively to national development through the mobilization of populations, institutions and resources at the local level.

As these agencies within the ministries amplify their substantive activities, they tend on the one hand to eliminate the reasons for the creation of additional integral programmes executed by special-purpose agencies (community development, agrarian reform, rural development, Indian integration), while on the other they strengthen the bureaucratic bases and the complexity of operations of the central government ministries.

15/ See Venezuela, Oficina Central de Coordinación y Planificación (CORDIPLAN), La Participación Popular como Recurso del Desarrollo e Instrumento de Integración Nacional, Caracas, 1967; ECLA, op.cit.; Rubén D. Utria, Desarrollo Nacional. Participación Popular y Desarrollo de la Comunidad en América Latina, CREFAL, Patzcuaro, México, 1969; Carlos Acedo Mendoza, Desarrollo Comunal y Promoción Popular, Fondo Editorial Comun, Caracas, 1968.

Yet while there appears to be a growing resistance among policy-makers to the creation of more autonomous agencies, the total number of programmes designed to promote development at the local level is manifestly increasing. There are a number of reasons for this tendency. The physical and administrative composition of Latin American countries requires that programmes be fitted both substantively and structurally to various conditions. The concept of development regions has been gradually crystallizing as a new focus in global economic and social planning. A number of planning organisms are now engaged in the regionalization of plans and programmes. 16/ This new approach in national planning will lead eventually to the creation of additional programmes with area or regional dimensions.

Moreover, political changes in Latin America have provided an important incentive for the creation of new programmes in the past, and can be expected to continue to do so in the future. In 1958 a newly installed Government created Acción Comunal in Colombia. In 1959 the new political generation of Venezuela initiated the Community Development Programme of CORDIPLAN; again in the same country ten years later a new régime is installing a programme called Promoción Popular. In 1964 political success by a new party in Peru led to the organization of Cooperación Popular, while in the same year the new Government of Guatemala initiated the Joint Action National Programme of Community Development. Chile began its experiment with Promoción Popular in the same year, and reorganized the Rural Development Institute and the agrarian reform programme. In 1966 the inauguration of a new Government in Colombia led to the establishment of Integración Popular as a modification of Acción Comunal. Many other examples can be found.

The significance of these happenings is that they point toward a trend of growing programme complexity in both territorial and substantive dimensions, and that this tendency therefore demands organizational structures that are also more highly articulated. In the foregoing analysis, it has been shown that in a number of countries attempts have been made to bind some agencies having common community development activities into a joint programme. For the present the trend appears to be away from the creation of more multipurpose agencies, and toward the expansion of activities through interorganizational structures.

Not too much should be made of this. If there is an observable trend in this direction, it is still a weak one. But the tendency receives support from current thinking in public administration, where systems analysis is replacing the older line-and-staff concepts so closely tied to organizational hierarchy. It also receives support from the community development concept in which all of the organizations acting at the local level are considered to be part of a common effort. Yet there is some evidence that the planners and agency executives are more willing now to innovate and experiment with new patterns of organizational structure. In the past several years, significant advances have been made in this direction in Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guyana and Peru at the national level, and in the Lerma region of Mexico and the Department of Antioquia in Colombia.

16/ These include planning units in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela.

Of course there are many difficulties to be overcome. Where advances have been made in the establishment of such interorganizational structures, they may also be undone by political changes. Nevertheless, many of the barriers to interagency joint activity have been broken down - either as a result of the personal interest of presidents of some countries in creating interagency programmes, or as an outgrowth of the mounting conflict among agencies already performing programmes of an amplified or integral type. Some are finding that the best alternative to conflict is co-operation.

III. Conclusions

The foregoing examination of the heterogeneous community and local development programmes of Latin America has made it possible to identify a number of trends. Broad patterns of substantive and organizational structure can be found by employing analytical tools that break the programmes down into their constituent activities. It has been possible to develop an instrument for classifying the broad category of integral local development programmes into which community development concepts and methods have been assimilated.

It seems probable on the basis of this analysis that the proliferation of such programmes will continue, but that multisectoral autonomous national agencies will tend to become less important in Latin America in years ahead, while combinations of amplified sectoral and regional activity systems will increase. At the present time it is difficult to foresee how the existing dichotomy between rural and urban programmes may be overcome; however, the information available clearly indicates that insufficient attention is being given by Governments to urban community development programmes. It may be expected that the continuing urban explosion of most Latin American countries will bring pressure upon Governments to devote more attention to the cities and that programmes having urban or regional coverage will multiply in the future.

It can also be concluded that two particular policy issues will attract the attention of theoreticians and practitioners during the next decade. One of these can be expected to grow out of the trend toward the definition of community development as a body of professional skills. This in turn will require the delimitation of the specific substantive activities that specialists will perform in the context of multisectoral programmes. The professionalization of community development is needed, but if it is to occur, a much greater effort will have to be made by Governments and international agencies in refining its methods through action research. There is sufficient experience in the transference of concepts and techniques in this field to indicate that the methods should be perfected indigenously, and not imported as finished products from other regions of the world.

Consequently, it may be expected that greater emphasis will have to be given to the establishment of interagency training institutions and interdisciplinary study centres in universities. These institutions would have an important research role to play, and would have to provide some leadership in the development of the new profession.

Secondly, it appears that interorganizational structure will become one of the chief policy issues in the years immediately ahead. Evidence has been accumulating that the introduction of the community development concept into Latin American multisectoral programmes has been a factor contributing to changes in the organizational environment. The idea of the integral programme at the local level has reinforced the natural interest of the sectoral agencies in broadening the coverage and the content of their activities. At the same time it has enhanced the likelihood of interorganizational conflict on the one hand or co-operation on the other. Much of the information gathered in the study points to this conclusion.

As the agencies amplify their activities in various substantive fields, the organizational environment within areas or regions gradually becomes "saturated". This situation may be said to exist when conflict among agencies leads to inefficiency, the elimination of some organizations to make room or provide resources for others, or to the positive response of seeking solutions to the problem of saturation through co-operation. At this point the community development approach has a unique contribution to offer, for it has been postulated on the necessity of co-ordination or joint action by organizations working in a given locality, region or country.

By using the insights gained from the classification of programmes in the model presented above, it is possible to propose that organizational interdependence can lead to the rationalization of complex activities at the different spatial levels. As a coherent matrix for relating programmes to each other, each of these levels represents a defined organizational environment. In regard to these different levels, some principles can be derived that should be applied in planning and policy-making. They may be stated as follows:

(a) Any number of programmes within a local area, a region or a country may be considered as a set when they have the common substantive elements that characterize community and local development actions;

(b) All programmes within this set may have some relationship to each other as they expand and evolve. These relationships can be either conflictive or harmonious;

(c) Any number of local or regional programmes can be complementary so long as they do not overlap territorially;

(d) Within a local area or region the programmes of a set can be harmonious and efficient only if the substantive activities of the several programmes of the community and local development category are complementary;

(e) It follows from the assumptions offered above that amplified sectoral programmes and integral programmes will be conflictive if they cover the same territorial and/or the same substantive activities. Resolution of the conflict can be achieved by rationalizing the substantive content of programmes in order to make the technical activities complementary, by rationalizing the territorial coverage of the programmes to prevent overlapping, or by a combination of the two.

(f) The formulation of a policy regarding the creation or expansion of any programme either territorily or substantively should be a subject of planning; moreover, from the analysis in the model, it is apparent that the only inter-organizational solution to this problem lies in the creation of some kind of joint programme.

When these propositions are accepted, the creation of joint programmes and interorganizational structures should become a major objective in the future evolution of community and local development programmes in most Latin American countries, in view of the large number of existing activities that need to be co-ordinated there.

IV. SOME ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN *1/

In the recent past four former British colonies 2/ in the Caribbean attained full independence, and the constitutional status of some of the Leeward and Windward Islands was changed, making them Associated States to the United Kingdom. 3/ Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles are integral parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

All the Caribbean countries had been exposed the western rule and influence for over three centuries, during which period certain unique relationships with the respective metropolitan countries developed. These have left their imprint on the nature of economic development, pattern of production and trade, and characteristics of social development in the Caribbean. By and large, all the countries in the Caribbean are producers of primary commodities for export to the metropolitan centres and are heavily dependent on the latter for imports of manufactured goods and even basic foodstuffs. The respective metropolitan country offers special preferential arrangements on the exports (mainly sugar, fresh fruit and spices) of the Caribbean countries, which in turn accord preferences to the metropolitan countries for the whole gamut of imported items.

The abolition of slavery ushered in a new phase of social relations, mainly owing to the exodus of the freed slaves from the plantations and the supply of new labour from outside the region, particularly from India. These factors led to the evolution of a rich cultural diversity in the Caribbean countries and to a conflict between the peasant and plantation systems of production. 4/

I. SOME COMMON REGIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING RURAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

An important factor favourable to community and rural development of the region is the prevalence of a considerably high degree of literacy which, together with prolonged exposure to western influence, has resulted in a general receptivity on the part of the rural population to innovations and new ideas.

---

* Prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America.

1/ The term "Caribbean" is used here to denote only the English-speaking countries in the Caribbean. Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles.

2/ Jamaica (August 1962), Trinidad and Tobago (August 1962), Guyana (May 1966) and Barbados (November 1966).

3/ The West Indies Associated States are Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts Nevis-Anguilla, and St. Lucia. The other two islands in the Leeward/Windward group, Montserrat and St. Vincent, are yet to attain associated statehood.

4/ For a fuller treatment of this theme, see Lloyd Braithwaite, "Social and political aspecgs of rural development in the West Indies", Social and Economic Studies, vol. 17, No. 3, September 1968. (Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies).

Secondly, the levels of aspirations of the rural people are quite high owing mainly to the facilities of communication between the urban and the rural sectors. Also, as it has been said, "the integration into the western world has produced a typical peasant mentality in which the 'community' and 'tribal' and group loyalties were minimized because of the predominantly economic orientation." 5/

Thirdly, community development, 6/ as a means of accelerating economic growth and social advance, has found acceptance by all the Governments and it generally enjoys the support of top political leadership. There are, however, certain factors of constraint which are of special concern to community development in the region.

Despite the need - both from the economic and the social points of view - for developing intensive and diversified peasant farming, there is, owing to historical reasons, a widespread bias against agriculture among rural populations. Thus there is the phenomenon of what is termed "agricultural communities which do not like agriculture", whose attitude has been prejudiced by the archetype of the rural proletariat of the past, the plantation worker. There is also the paradox of the simultaneous existence of two strong pulls, "land apathy" engendered by socio-psychological factors and "land hunger" generated by economic factors. The situation has been worsened by outmoded systems of land tenure in many countries in the Caribbean.

Experience in different developing countries has shown that community development can be an effective means of mobilizing manpower resources for diverse productive and essential projects that would both provide gainful employment for local manpower and result in the creation of production assets and infrastructure facilities. In the Caribbean, however, efforts in this direction tend to be impeded by the prevalence of unduly high wage rates both in the public sector and in the private sector, notably in the petroleum, sugar and bauxite industries. This results in another paradox, namely the existence of a labour shortage and massive unemployment in the same region.

Another factor that causes concern is the growing migration to the metropolitan areas. There is an urgent need for a well-planned, composite urban community development programme for the metropolitan areas. 7/

5/ Ibid, p. 265.

6/ By this is meant certain fundamental principles inherent in the concept of community development, like an integrated approach to development and the attendant provision of extension and technical services to the communities in a co-ordinated way, the correspondence of local development activities to the needs of the communities, the implementation of local development projects on a basis of partnership between the Government and the communities, and stress on local initiative and popular participation.

7/ The Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government, held in March 1968, drew pointed attention to this and also suggested a programme pattern in this behalf. See "Report of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government" (E/CN.12/L.37), pp. 15-17.

Shortage of vocational skills, particularly among the younger elements of the working force, inhibits their becoming effective participants in economic development. As in other parts of Latin America, the youth population in the Caribbean is rapidly growing. Persons in the age-range 0-14 constitute 46 per cent of the population in Guyana, 45 per cent in Jamaica, and 42 per cent in Trinidad and Tobago. A disturbing aspect of the youth phenomenon in the region is the very sizable number os school drop-outs at the conclusion of the primary stage. The result is that most youngsters in their teens who have not had an opportunity to enter secondary school and whose elementary school education was geared primarily to the academic preparation for the grammar school, enter the working force without skills and very often without the educational and attitudinal base conducive to the acquisition of skills. The debilitating effect of the prolonged unavailability of employment opportunities - even in the unskilled field - and their lack of qualifications for skilled jobs create in the youth an unwholesome attitude towards society.

Finally, the historical fact that social welfare measures in the Caribbean based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1938, were introduced as an immediate palliative to relieve the social unrest then prevalent in the region - without an organized and sponsored effort to bring local groups and institutions into the picture - still hinders popular participation and institution building.

II. EXISTING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES[8/] IN THE REGION: AN OVERVIEW

The Caribbean Regional Workshop on Community Development and Local Government held in March 1968 reviewed the existing position on community development in the different countries of the region, based on statements presented by the delegates. The salient points in the review are as follows:

(a) The community development approach has been generally accepted by all the Governments in the region;

(b) Except in Jamaica, where there is a geographic selectivity, in all other countries the programme is nation-wide in coverage. However, as regards sectoral emphases (in terms of fields of activity), the position differs in various countries in the region;

(c) Though the programme pattern, content and emphases vary from country to country, there is a noticeable trand in most of the countries towards strengthening the economic content of community development programmes;

(d) Though an organized and set programme of urban community development is yet to evolve, there is common awareness of the need for such a programme in the region; in some countries, steps have been taken to introduce schemes of a community community development nature in urban areas;

8/ This term is used to cover specifically designated community development programmes, which go under that nomenclature, and other multisectoral programmes that bear the strategy and characteristics of community development.

(e) In most countries, there is a separate field staff for community development (as distinct from the headquarters staff) with a specified geographical area to cover. In some cases, however, there is a need for augmenting the complement of staff;

(f) Supervision and guidance by the senior staff are provided to the field functionaries mostly through periodic staff conferences and a review of the diaries and itineraries of the field personnel. There is, however, a case for further strengthening and refining the reporting system;

(g) Co-ordination - at both the central and the field levels - with ministries and agencies dealing with different sectors of development, is generally effected through informal contacts and ad hoc meetings and conferences. Two Governments are considering a proposal to set up a formal interministerial co-ordination committee. Another Government has already taken a decision to establish a committee at the field level consisting of (i) all the field officers of the ministries concerned with rural development, (ii) representatives of village community development committees in the area (iii) select local persons interested in development to be nominated by the Government, and (iv) the field level community development officer;

(h) There are arrangements in all the countries for training community development officials and voluntary leaders, including members of community development committees, youth clubs etc., though there are variations in the content, pattern and duration of the training courses. Training arrangements need to be further intensified, streamlined and refined;

(i) On the whole, there is no formal link between the community development agency and the local government body; but in some countries local government institutions and ad hoc community development committees and councils are beginning to meet for mutual consultations. 9/

A statement giving a comparative picture of certain aspects of community development in three principal countries in the region, namely Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, may be seen in the annex to this chapter.

III. EMERGING TRENDS

A noteworthy feature of community development in all countries in the region has been the growing and more pointed attention devoted to youth development. Jamaica has had the youth camp programme for a little over a decade and Trinidad and Tobago started these activities in 1964. In Guyana, a similar project was started in 1968 and the Associated States are contemplating a schemem to have youth camps on a subregional basis to serve eight countries. In Trinidad and Tobago, an expanded scheme of National Youth Service, the broad aim of which is "the provision of basic education as well as civic and vocational training for unemployed young men and women between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one" 10/ has been formulated.

9/ See "Report of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government" (E/CN.12/L.37) pp. 7-8.

10/ Government of Trinidad and Tobago, Draft Third Five-Year Plan: 1969-1973, p. 384.

With regard to priorities and emphases in formulating programmes, there is a growing awareness that the economic content of community development schemes should be given particular attention.

As regards programming techniques, there is an increasing recognition of the need for securing a closer blending between community development and over-all national planning effort. There is a widespread realization that while community development aids national development programmes by a consistent and continuous generation of conditions favourable to economic and social advance at the local level and by enabling the local communities to visualize their needs and projects in the broader framework of the national plan, the different sectoral programmes of the ministries dealing with rural development provide opportunities and incentives for the communities to participate in development. 11/

Perhaps the most significant trend is the general acceptance of the approach of planning and carrying out CD programmes in regional units. Participants in the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government commended this technique, stating that "in the context of the social structure in the region, the concept of a 'self-sufficient' village community is not realistic." 12/

One of the three areas of study of the Workshop was the prerequisites for local planning. It proposed a framework of survey of the area as a preliminary to the formulation of area plans, both of the potential needs, and physical characteristics of the area and of the typology of the communities 13/ living in it. The Workshop made a specific suggestion that in drawing up area plans, the possibility of identifying what could be called "focal points and growth" in the area and designing special measures for the development of these centres should be explored. It is interesting to note that the Draft Third Five-Year Plan 1969-1973 of Trinidad and Tobago contains in it a specific strategy for regional planning. The central planners of Trinidad and Tobago visualize regional planning as a means of "properly integrating" development activities of both national and local significance. They also propose to follow the concept of "growth poles". 14/ The adoption of this strategy will lead to detailed research in the spatial consequences of social and economic change. 15/

11/ The Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government held in March 1968 recommended that the central planning units should include a social planner, besides an economist and a physical planner and that central planners should involve top Community Development Officers in the different stages of formulation of the sectoral components of the national plan. See "Report of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government" (E/CN.12/L.37).

12/ Ibid., p. 10.

13/ The scheme suggested by the Workshop was a modification of Dr. Robert Redfield's scheme of folk-urban continuum based on his anthropological research in Mexico.

14/ Government of Trinidad and Tobago, Draft Third Five-Year Plan: 1969-1973, p. 10.

15/ A plea for such a study was made by Mr. G.E. Cumper in the Third West Indies Agricultural Economics Conference held in April 1968. See his "Non-economic factors influencing rural development planning", Social and Economic Studies, vol. 17, No. 3, September 1968 (Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies).

Another important factor in the Caribbean is the intensification of efforts by the countries in the region in the past few months towards greater and closer economic co-operation among themselves. They have recently signed the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement. An important provision in this Agreement is the Agricultural Marketing Protocol which has been devised as a positive instrument for encouraging intraregional trade in agricultural products. The envisaged reorientation of the Caribbean economies within the framework of a formula for regional economic co-operation will engender far-reaching "non-economic" changes, especially in the fields of specialization of roles, community organizations, labour relations, occupational and geographical shifts and local institutional structures. Social and community development in the region would, in this process, assume greater complexity and wider dimensions. 16/

There has been intensification and better systematization of training programmes in the Caribbean. Indeed, the objectives of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop included a review of the existing training programmes in different countries and the formulation of a common basic framework of orientation and job training that could be adopted by all the countries in the area. Following up the recommendations of the Workshop, training programmes at the country level are being conducted. As the next step from this Workshop there is a proposal to hold another regional workshop on integrated rural development, taking in participants from ministries concerned with rural development and with central planning. There is also a suggestion mooted by the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago to hold a seminar at the ministerial level from which may evolve "a co-ordinated policy in community development for Caribbean progress, oriented towards the improvement of the human resources of the region as a means of complementing the economic unity which is now imminent." 17/

16/ It is noteworthy that the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago visualized an onerous role for community development in the task of preparing the "community at large to adjust itself to the new environment and to the technological and regional changes which are taking place at break-neck speed around us". See "Report of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government" (E/CN.12/L.37), p. 58.

17/ Ibid.

Annex

SOME ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN THREE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

Country	Programme areas	Current emphases and priorities	Geographic coverage	Apex agency responsible	Training arrange-ments
GUYANA	Self-help projects in the fields of agriculture (e.g. reconditioning of farms); education (e.g. construction of school buildings a/ and teachers' quarters); communications (e.g. construction of air-strips in the interior) water control (e.g. sea and river defence schemes); health (e.g. construction of health centres); recreation (e.g. construction of community centres); cottage industries and handicrafts; nutrition education and youth development	School construction, agricultural projects and youth development	Country-wide coverage	Community Development Division in the Prime Minister's Office b/	Pre-service training (Orientation and generic courses) and in-service training including "refresher conferences"
JAMAICA	Crafts, home economics, literacy, co-operatives, sports and arts and youth development	Crafts and youth development	Programme in operation in 100 selected villages, the coverage to be expanded gradually c/	Ministry of Youth and Community Development: and within the frame-work of the Ministry's responsi-bility, the Social Development Commission, a statutory body d/	Induction training for the village officers (the front-line workers) and refresher courses including periodic staff conferences) and in-service training for village officers and the supervisory staff
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	A broad-based adult education programme (including home economics and agricultural education in community centres constructed with self-help); the Better Village Programme; a special works programme aimed at once at village improvement and provision of employment, handicrafts and youth development	Adult education programme, handicrafts and youth development	Country-wide coverage	Community Development Division of the Ministry of Planning and Development headed by a Minister of State (responsible to the Prime Minister) who is in charge of Finance and Planning and Development e/	Pre-service training for front-line workers, recurrent in-service training for all categories of staff and periodic conferences, workshops and seminars

a/ The self-help school construction programme in Guyana is implemented with assistance from the World Food Programme. An interim appraisal of the project was conducted in November 1967 by a UN/UNESCO/WFP Team.

b/ There is a Parliamentary Secretary in charge of Community Development.

c/ In addition, the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board, which was set up to utilize the funds derived from a tax on sugar exports for welfare measures and programmes for improving the living conditions of sugar workers and their families, operates a multisectoral programme of community development in the nineteen sugar areas throughout the island. These areas are excluded from the purview of the 100-Village Programme.

d/ There are four separate agencies in the Commission - The Social Development Agency, the Youth Development Agency, the Craft Development Agency and the Sports Development Agency, each under the charge of a Director.

V. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE*

I. BACKGROUND AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES

To describe community development is an interesting but by no means simple matter. This is especially true of community development in western Europe because of the major differences in economic and social structure and their stages of development among the countries that make up this region. The potential use of community development in developing regions has been known for ten to twenty years but, although the first major United Nations publication on the subject was issued in 1953, the application of CD as a new instrument of policy has taken time. Adapting its basic principles and working methods to the situation and problems of communities in western Europe has taken even longer. Moreover, only slowly do administrators and executive staff in different fields learn the value and implications of community development. As a result, training for community development is of even more recent date and has taken place in but a few countries. As far as literature on community development is concerned, western Europe has, until very recently, been dependent on the experience and knowledge gained in other parts of the world.

Few regions derive unity from geography alone. The countries they include usually differ widely in administrative, economic, social, climatic and other respects. The distance from the North Cape in Scandinavia to Sicily, off southern Italy, is great, not only geographically but qualitatively, in the variety of economic structures and ways of life it covers. There are vast differences between the mountain farmers in the Alps of France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Austria and those in the low countries of north-western Europe. The Mediterranean fishermen live and work in quite different circumstances from those of the Baltic, where fishing is an industry. Where cities are concerned, each town has its own history and its own identity, and a specialty that puts its imprint on the structure of the urban agglomeration and the way of life of its population.

There are great differences not only between the countries but also within the countries themselves. Even where regions are incorporated in the administrative whole of a country, this does not mean that their social, economic and political structures and the way of life of their inhabitants are likely to be uniform. For instance, there are significant differences between communities situated in the Po Plain of Italy and those in the area of the "Fund for the South" (Cassa per il Mezzogiorno). Even in small countries such as the Netherlands and Belgium, we see dissimilarities in the way of life of communities often no more than 100-200 kilometres apart. Similarly in the more highly industrialized countries there are often notable contrasts between the industrial and rural areas.

---

*Gradus Hendriks, Director General for Social Development, Ministry for Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Affairs, Government of the Netherlands, The Hague.

In view of these factors, any comment on community development can only be of a general character. Western European society is dynamic: nearly all its States are undergoing rapid social change. In addition to this, there has been a considerable degree of economic integration and of organization - on a limited scale - of European political bodies, for the most part with advisory and deliberative powers. Community development is regarded more and more as having a function in promoting the well-being of the citizens, and therefore CD policy is - or should be - directly concerned with people. Such policy can be made and applied without the direct involvement of the individual - and yet he is involved. He can activate the process, keep it moving and change it. Community development as a dimension of the process of local administration implies that it is considered a steering instrument in promoting a better functioning of the community.

The structural changes of most countries in western Europe have taken place over an extended period of time. Social institutions are functioning comparatively effectively and individual attitudes have been modernized and adapted to continuing change. Utilitarian values have replaced dogmas, and motivation for work comes from the understanding of the cause-and-effect relationship. In virtually all the countries of the region the process of development is well advanced and has become self-propelling. The growing prosperity of the highly developed countries is benefiting increasingly large sections of the population. Highly organized Governments draw up plans for economic and social development and regulate their implementation. There are, in addition, many voluntary organizations active in every sector. Why, then, community development?

From those same positive factors listed above arise many problems, some of which community development could help to solve. For example, rapid technological and economic progress results in greater economic prosperity, increased purchasing power and more leisure time. Economic prosperity for its own sake can never be the sole objective of a country or a people. The ultimate goal can only be greater general prosperity or, more specifically, the promotion of the economic, social and cultural welfare of the population. But the progress of social and cultural welfare often fails to keep pace with economic development. This is known as social and cultural lag. Though a Government can do much to further social and cultural welfare, it is, in the final analysis, the individual, the group - in short, the population itself - who must put it into practice. Often, too, the population will have to shoulder the responsibility for the content and development of welfare activities.

If the object is to obtain a balanced development of society, economic and social development will have to be synchronized. Planning for what is needed for social development will have to take place in close consultation with the population; the population will also have to play an active part in plan implementation. So, in a dynamic society, economic and social development depends to a large extent on the efforts made by all sectors of the population. Ideas may come from the individual and he, either together with others or on his own, must give them form and content. Large-scale development in the economic, social and cultural spheres thus begins simply in the form of ideas on the part of one or a few individuals. Local action of this sort forms an essential complement to the general facilities already in existence. These general facilities can never cover all needs, but must be supplemented and differentiated by the local population.

The starting point of community development in western Europe is not, as in some other regions of the world, to be found in low-income, subsistence farming

areas, but rather on the fringes of a highly organized market economy with great economic and social mobility. In this environment, characterized by industrial development, urbanization and specialization, the local community as a living entity is endangered. In such cases, services can be provided better and more equitably distributed by common action. In such fields as education, health, child care and youth organizations, society cannot rely solely on private entrepreneurs engaged in the sale of these services. Civic coherence, community spirit, voluntary effort must fill the gap, and it is not merely a coincidence that the origins of community development may be found in the countries where these attitudes have traditionally been strongest. 1/

Thus community development has become a method or approach applied to specific purposes. For example, the structure of the service for education, of agricultural extension, soil conservation or erosion control, of credit and co-operatives, of youth care and of many other social services can be organized on the basis of the principles of community development.

The reasoning behind this approach or method is simple but effective - community development is flexible, adaptable to circumstances and people's moods. It promises great results by the release of internal resources and correspondingly requires only limited resources from outside. The next step, still in the context of modern society, is the adaptation of community development principles to problem areas - such as urban slums or backward river valleys, where the application of large-scale outside resources is necessary. Here, too, as in the programmes and services mentioned, output can be enlarged by the release of moral, physical and financial resources from among the benefited population. There will be in addition assistance (also moral, spiritual, organizational) from the outside. In all these cases, one could look upon community development as an accessory to the continuing processes of modern society.

II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PROBLEMS IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A. General trend in the social structure

In many areas of western Europe the development of economic, social and cultural life has resulted in both a rapid expansion of urban areas and structural changes in rural districts. In addition, technological developments have brought about the improvement and extension of communication media. This has contributed to a widening of the horizons of life and, in turn, to an increase in the mobility of the population. In rural areas in particular this has led to increased migration to the cities and to a greater concentration of the remaining population. The two processes may be called urbanization and "enlargement of scale".

In extent and speed the process of urbanization displays many differences not only from country to country of western Europe, but also from area to area within the same country; the same is true of enlargement of scale. The results are, however, similar: an increased concentration of the population in urban areas,

---

1/ See E. de Vries, International Review of Community Development, 1960, No. 5, p. 107.

and at the same time the "urbanizing" of rural districts. Both these processes may have serious social effects, such as those that can arise from the depopulation of the rural districts. This may necessitate a reconsideration of the distribution of the population and a reappraisal of economic, social and physical planning.

The process of urbanization is closely related to the purpose and function of the urban community and the ways in which individuals and groups live together. Both these aspects are related to the ever-increasing industrialization of society and the individualization of man, processes which have attained their greatest measure of development in urban communities.

B. Institutionalization

A characteristic feature of western European societies is the large number of non-governmental and governmental services. The task of the Government has assumed much greater proportions than in the past and, as a result, its machinery has grown rapidly, both in size and complexity. In many fields, expert officials plan and implement measures and activities. Although municipal (local) government, elected by the population, is ultimately responsible for this work, both quantitatively and functionally the representation of the population in the municipal government is on such a narrow basis, and communication with the population on the preparation and implementation of measures is frequently so limited, that the individual citizen has ceased to have any sense of being personally involved: he no longer feels that he can identify himself with any organized body. His influence on decisions and programmes appears to him to be either very small or entirely non-existent.

The same applies to the large number of private organizations in the various fields. In most cases they were originally set up by a small, active group from among the population for the fulfilment of certain perceived needs. As a result of continuing urban growth, the dynamic nature of social life and other factors, they are losing their contact with the population. In addition to the problem of contact, there is also that of the relevance and efficiency of these institutions. Each organization tends to deal with only one aspect of human welfare (for example, recreation, social work, youth welfare work etc.) and hardly knows what other organizations in the same and related fields are doing. As a result, there is not only a certain amount of overlapping but, in the functioning of this complex system, there are also lacunae which are difficult to detect. Moreover, organizations frequently cling too long to certain objectives and traditional methods, without due heed to changing conditions in urban society.

In other words, traditional organizational forms, whether governmental or non-governmental, are not flexible enough to meet the actual needs of individual citizens. And yet, formal public and voluntary institutions are essential for the proper functioning of society. The main question then is how to promote greater flexibility in the large institutions and to increase their systematic contact with the population or, to put it differently, how to transform formal democracy so that it becomes a living social democracy. Conscious participation of the population in the development of their own community and readiness to share responsibility in the community are essential if that transformation is to take place.

C. Individualization

In most western European countries, prosperity has increased and education has been emphasized. This has had a considerable influence on the emancipation of the individual and on his acquiring a feeling of independence. All kinds of organizations and societies have been created to further a variety of causes. These institutions served as the starting points for action in which their members played an important part. But in recent years, there has been a general complaint that many of these organizations fail to gain the support of their members and of the population. Public apathy towards these associations and organizations is a consequence of increasing individualization, the segmentation of the community into various sub-cultures, and centralization, which has weakened individual activity and created a number of professional officials to whom career interests are of primary importance.

The average citizen, having gained his economic and civic independence, avails himself of these organizations only according to his own personal needs; and he chooses his personal contacts on the same basis. As a result, personal relationships in urban areas have taken on a largely haphazard and informal character. The intricate patterns of these relationships in urban areas have not been sufficiently investigated. Consequently social needs are not properly taken into account in the organization of such activities as planning new urban districts or in the implementation of social welfare programmes and the building of social facilities.

D. Complexity and change

Owing to the complexity of social life in the urban areas, all kinds of needs - both of individuals and of groups - are inadequately served. A crucial problem in this connexion is the defective communication between non-governmental and governmental agencies. Moreover, their real and frequently highly differentiated needs can only be met more adequately if there is greater popular participation in the planning and execution of measures designated to meet those needs. Therefore, both communication between the organizations and participation of the population have, in urban areas, become essential requirements for an effective promotion of the citizens' well-being. Besides the complexity of social life, the dynamic character of the whole of urban development considerably affects human well-being. As a result of the rapid process of change, urban social structure is never static or complete, but is constantly undergoing change. Man no longer lives amid a small number of well-defined fields of action, but among a confusing multitude of widely separated ones. In such situations of complexity and change, certain sectors, particularly in the social fields, tend to lag behind over-all economic development.

E. What is meant by popular participation?

The basic concept of western democracy is the electoral system, whereby the people indicate their choice of representatives in national parliament and local councils. Political parties are organized for the purpose of achieving certain aims based on a common ideology. It is then the responsibility of the elected

representatives and the people to realize these aims through legislation. To the extent to which this is accomplished, representative institutions may be said to reflect the wishes of the people. It is particularly important therefore for the people in a parliamentary democracy to take an active interest in politics.

There are a number of important objections to this view. Many issues arise for public discussion and much action remains to be undertaken in the public interest, outside the scope of parliament or municipal councils. Electing representatives to the local council, for example, is only one of the ways in which democracy keeps alive. Indeed, the freedom of people to organize and to act on their own initiative is itself one of the hard-won achievements of democracy.

There is another objection, of quite a different kind, to equating public participation completely with political democracy. Experience in western democracies has shown that very considerable numbers of people feel themselves to be only very marginally concerned with the development of society as envisaged by their elected leaders. Among the indications of this are the small percentage of voters who are members of any political party, the limited attendance of members at meetings of their own party, and the number of people who do not vote in elections. It is therefore an illusion to imagine that the possible values of popular participation are completely exhausted through having representation on the official legislating bodies of a democratic society. On the other hand, this does not detract from the value of doing everything possible to encourage popular participation in democratic government. The problem touched on here is exceptionally complicated. It demands some fundamental thinking, not only in the political parties but in society as a whole. Above all else, ways must be found of encouraging the participation of the people in their own society by a wide variety of means. For, if the opportunities for people to act on their own initiative and for private citizens to take a larger share in the development of their own society are extended, interest in local government and political democracy may well increase at the same time.

The importance of thus stimulating local initiative and participation by the general public has only slowly come to be realized; indeed factors can also be discerned in western European society that are actually working against it. Some of these underlying factors have already been discussed: here we are concerned to emphasize their significance in relation to popular participation.

F. Negative factors

The Government's span of control at central and local levels is increasing over an ever-widening range of activities. This is not necessarily undesirable, as long as the administration and government officials have a positive attitude towards popular participation. There is often, however, a tendency among them to keep matters of planning within their own departments and to implement plans on their own. The increasing ramifications of the Government machine make it difficult for the limited group of administrators to pay sufficient attention to contact and consultation with the people. It is essential for information to be issued systematically both by local administrators and central government officials. 2/ Any attempt to monopolize the power obtained through social

2/ See "Report of United Nations Seminar on Public Relations in the Social Services, Arnoldshain, Federal Republic of Germany, October 1968" (SOA/ESDP/1968/1).

progress can only lead in the long run to a form of petty dictatorship and to a widening of the gap between the elected leaders and the electorate.

The spread of the great conurbations also makes it difficult for both voluntary organizations and government to keep in touch with the people.

The growth of institutionalization and professionalization in society undermines the ability of those concerned with social welfare to identify themselves with the lay public. Both government departments and voluntary bodies should try to decentralize their work geographically and systematically and to find ways of attracting the interest of the local population to their work. Many of the traditional or centralized forms of organization and methods of working are no longer in tune with the actual needs of an increasingly large part of the population.

G. Factors that encourage popular participation

There is a growing realization that popular participation has an important educational effect in itself. It is essential for the man in the street to be kept in touch with social developments, and to this end various groups among the public should be systematically informed of topical issues. An educated and emancipated citizen finds it more attractive to do things himself and to accept responsibility for any particular matter than merely to read about it, hear about it, or look on. By the application of the social sciences, methods have been evolved of consciously promoting popular participation. Examples of this are: inviting the co-operation of the public in social surbeys (self-surveys); holding public discussions of public issues; soliciting public participation in both planning and executing; giving individual and group instruction to enable the citizen to find his place in the community more quickly. The general level of education has risen so that large groups of people are potentially qualified to take part in all sorts of activities. Leisure time is also increasing because of the shorter working week. A sizable section of the public is adopting a more critical attitude toward authority and the existing social structure. The development of the mass media (radio and television) has opened up opportunities for making listeners and viewers associate themselves much more closely with current social problems. This is a field where new approaches must be sought to interest, instruct and inspire both adults and young people.

The importance of a social climate favourable to participation

The encouragement of local initiative and participation are often used as slogans. The ideas catch on very quickly because people think that the frequent use of such terms shows how democratically minded they are. Sometimes, however, the slogans are used to conceal a high-handed attitude or protect a position of power. Genuine participation by the general public is often begun at far too late a stage, when plans are already far advanced, if not complete.

Campaigning for local initiative and participation, and its haphazard encouragement, has very little point if its importance is not generally recognized in the community. It is the nature of the relationship between Government and people that really determines the climate for initiative and participation by the public. Is the Government receptive to initiative from members of the public

and to their participation, or is it indifferent or hostile? Is the public attitude active and critical or passive and acquiescent? The relationship between the Government and the people does not depend on the forms of democratic leadership alone; contact and participation can be promoted and encouraged in various everyday ways, both at the local level and at provincial and national levels. In a country where such a climate does prevail it will be found that the conditions are right for encouraging local initiative and popular participation.

Education and training should devote more attention to what is expected of the ordinary citizen in society. Children can be brought up to be more independent, to develop a capacity to judge for themselves and to be co-operative. The ordinary citizen needs a better understanding of his part in the wider context of the community and a readiness to play that part. This kind of civic preparation can be included in the upbringing of children within the family and in all forms of education. In addition, greater opportunities for keeping up to date with social developments and for knowing what is expected from the individual in the way of active participation can be offered even to those who are no longer receiving full-time or part-time education.

III. HISTORY AND PRACTICE

A. The beginning of community development in Europe 3/

Community development has, for the most part, emerged as an empirical process, adopted because it appeared to be effective for dealing with certain specific problems and because it seemed "to make sense" in certain situations for which there were no traditional precedents. Thus, the Government of the Netherlands, having designated some "problem areas" in Holland and having undertaken an economic survey, proceeded in 1954 to undertake an inquiry into social needs in nine of these areas, to plan and improve the social-cultural infrastructure and to introduce community development methods. As a consequence, a meeting was held at Baarn in 1955 4/ under the auspices of the United Nations, at which the relevance of community development was discusses in its relationship to family welfare and to the needs of European "problem areas", that is, those areas where the standard of living was below the average level for the country of which they were part.

Up to this time community development had been used to describe a process of attempting to raise the standard of living of people only in the most severely under-developed areas of the world, for example, in parts of Asia and Africa and Latin America, where vast populations were subsisting at a level enormously below that accepted as normal by many of the peoples of western Europe and North America. But it became clear that there were large and, from a social and moral point of view, often unacceptable variations within Europe itself and within individual

---

3/ This section is based on Peter Kuenstler, "Community development in Europe", No. 2 in series of Papers of the European Study Group on Community Development, held in Ireland 1962 (Tipperary, Ireland, Muintir na Tire Rural Publications, 1963).

4/ See "Report of Expert Group of Community Organization and Family Welfare in European Problem Areas, Baarn, Netherlands, 2-8 October 1955" (TAA/EG/Rep/2).

European countries. Moreover, the approach and techniques of community development were seen to be applicable and suitable in these cases. Thus, the next United Nations sponsored meeting on the topic, the Palermo Seminar of 1958, on the subject "Social research and community development in European problem areas" was able to consider material based on the practical work carried out not only in the Netherlands, but also in Sardinia under the auspices of the European Productivity Agency (now the Organization for European Co-operation and Development (OECD)); by the Fund for the South (Cassa per il Mezzogiorno) in Italy; and by the Greek Government, in co-operation with the United Nations, in the district of Chryssoupolis in north-eastern Greece. This material served to illustrate the broad principles of community development which were put before the meeting in the following, refreshingly simple terms. 5/

> "Improvement of people's standards and levels of living cannot come from government alone any more than it can be left to the initiative of the people alone: both are needed...
>
> "You can push people around, but you will not get them to work with you unless you go out to get their good-will and co-operation and you will not get these just for the asking, you have to work for them...
>
> "One way to get their active co-operation is to make sure that a particular development plan meets some of the needs which people actually feel in their local communities, so that they see in it an answer to their needs and thus identify themselves with the plan and become willing to go out of their way to make it a success...
>
> "Over-all development plans are necessary, but as a rule there ought to be direct, i.e. personal or human contact with the individuals and groups of poeple affected by them, and these people should be involved in the taking of decisions which concern them...
>
> "What matters is not only the apparent and rapid success of a project, but the long-term changes which take place in people's attitudes. Such changes have to be embodied in suitable institutions, if they are to last...
>
> "People's local organizations are generally good things in themselves. A central ministry should never undertake anything which people can do just as well by themselves locally...
>
> "There will be no effective local self-government or co-operative or any other form of local action merely by passing a law. People have to be educated in the use of their institutional opportunities, especially if they are faced with new situations and are being asked to do things they have never done before...

5/ See "Report of European Seminar on Social Research and Community Development in European Problem Areas, Palermo, Sicily 8-18 June 1958" (TAA/SEM/1958/Rev.2).

"Central authorities may have to help people to tackle tasks on a larger scale and within a wider community in instances where their needs cannot be met by small-scale local action...

"Economic changes produce social changes, whether they are foreseen or not; in this way the nature of communities is changed whether that change is intended or not...

"If it is right to plan for economic development, it is equally right to plan for social development. The fact that social planning, both in its goals and in its methods, is, or may be, closely bound up with value judgments, should not be a deterrent. The very existence of the United Nations is based on value judgements...

"Community development is not one service but a composite of all the various services needed - agricultural extension, adult education, small-scale industry, health education, supervised credit, aided self-help housing, supervision of local government etc."

B. Developing the idea

In addition to rural areas, attention was paid to urban agglomerations. A United Nations Seminar was held in Bristol (England) in 1959, devoted to the principles and methods of community development in urban areas. 6/ Two years later, training for community development was discussed at a similar seminar held in Greece. 7/

Subsequently, as planning at local and regional levels began to be undertaken more or less systematically in several countries of western Europe, the question of the relationship of local and regional planning to community development arose. For example, in rural areas where agricultural reconstruction plans were being prepared and carried out, it was realized that the programming of these projects could not be done without the participation of the population itself. Elsewhere, the economic structure of many regions was often changed by industrialization promoted by the central Government. In such cases the need was felt to adapt the social structure and the way of life of the population concerned to the changed conditions. The rapid expansion of urban agglomerations created the need in several municipalities to strengthen the communication with and participation of the population in making and implementing plans.

Although the systematic application of the basic ideas of community development is by no means generally accepted in western Europe, ideas and information about it have certainly contributed to facilitating and extending popular participation and to giving local populations greater responsibility in developing their own social and physical environment.

6/ See "Report on European Seminar on Community Development and Social Welfare in Urban Areas. Bristol, England 12-22 September 1959" (UN/TAO/SEM/1959/Rev.1).

7/ See "Report on European Seminar on Training for Community Development, Athens, 17-26 September 1961" (SOA/ESWP/1961/2).

The literature on community development has grown and includes the reports of the United Nations seminars, which have been widely circulated. In addition, both the International Review of Community Development, 8/ founded in 1956, and the Community Development Journal, 9/ founded in 1966, have published a number of articles which provide a basis for studying the progress of community development in both developing and developed countries.

In the Netherlands, the Government has continued its pioneering work by financing the establishment of a national institute, as a centre for collecting information, undertaking studies and research and publishing bulletins. In 1967 the Netherlands Institute convened a meeting of those concerned with training for community development in Europe on which occasion it was agreed to establish a European clearing house for literature relating to community work and to expand the exchange of experience and material in the field of training. In 1968 a study on community work with special reference to training was published in the United Kingdom. 10/

Parallel with the growth of interest in training has been the interest in community development stemming from the comprehensive approach to the physical and social planning of the big western European cities. In particular, the decentralization of facilities and activities to the residential areas of these agglomerations has paved the way for a more widespread application of principles and methods of community development. Progress in this field has been especially marked in the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. 11/ At the same time, in these same countries, there has been a growing interest in the application of community development methods to projects of regional and zonal development covering both urban and rural areas.

Two separate but related subjects, one dealing largely with training and the other with planning on a comprehensive basis, came up for discussion at the 1968 European Seminar on Rural Community Development, 12/ Chief among the themes that emerged were: the role of community development in the economic and social planning of rural areas; phases of community development with specific reference

---

8/ Published from Piazza di Cavalieri di Malta 2, Rome, Italy.

9/ London, Oxford University Press.

10/ Community Work and Social Change (London, Longman's 1968), (Report of a study group set up by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation).

11/ See reports of the following European seminars:

(a) Seminar on Urban Development Policy and Planning, Warsaw, Poland, 19-29 September, 1962 (SOA/ESWP/1962/1-ST/ECE/HOU/9):
(b) Seminar on Problems and Methods of Social Planning - Kallvik, Finland, 3-12 August 1964 (SOA/ESWP/1964/3):
(c) Seminar on the Social Aspects of Regional Development - Toulouse, France, 2-11 September 1964 (SOA/ESWP/1964/4):
(d) Seminar on Planning and Co-ordination of Social Welfare Programmes at the Local Level - Namur, Belgium, 17-27 October 1965 (SOA/ESWP/1965/2):
(e) Seminar on the Planning and Co-ordination of Social Welfare Programmes at the Local Level - Lysebu, Norway, 21-31 August 1966 (SOA/ESWP/1966/2).

12/ See "Report of European Seminar on Rural Community Development, Madrid, 21-28 April, 1968" (SOA/ESDP/1968/4).

to institute building; development of human resources in relation to programmes of community development; and training of personnel required for community development programmes.

C. Rural community development

Where community development practice has been adopted as one way of meeting the problems of the rural areas, the structural approaches have varied according to the traditions of the country. Thus, in Ireland a non-governmental body took the initiative of encouraging the creation of local committees based on the individual church parish, often with the active leadership of the parish priest. In Italy, the approach adopted emphasized the creation of new structures focused on the development needs of a particular area or region, which were to some extent independent of the traditional administrative pattern. In the Netherlands the Government initiated a programme concentrating on depressed or backward regions and subsidized organizations and foundations at the provincial and regional levels to supplement the work of the existing local authorities. In Sweden and Norway, programmes have been formulated to strengthen the capacity of the local unit or commune to provide a higher level of welfare facilities and more employment opportunities. Efforts to increase employment have centred on promoting tourism and industrial development through subsidies or tax exemption incentives provided by the Central Government. Similar programmes may be found in some of the less developed cantons of Switzerland, for example, Valais. In the United Kingdom, rural community councils have sought to stimulate and assist rural industries, to work with and strengthen the parish councils and to provide and improve village halls.

This experience while far from complete reveals a variety of approaches to community development practice appropriately adapted to local, cultural and administrative traditions. Growing importance is being attached, moreover, to planning in the regional level which could provide a more viable framework than the small town or village on the one hand and the nation on the other for dealing with the problem arising from economic and social development. The problems of the countryside and small town are no longer treated in isolation from those of the city. This points to a growing recognition of the rural urban continuum as a suitable framework for purposes of development. There is growing favour in a number of countries in western Europe - including France, Italy and the United Kingdom - for a regional approach to development.

Such a regional approach, despite the relatively small-scale distances typical of western Europe, has also inevitably emphasized the impossibility of treating the rural community in isolation. In some instances this has led to an acceptance of the need to consider the rural-urban continuum as a physical entity; elsewhere, as for example in Spain, where rural community development is frequently part of regional projects of land consolidation, the facts of rural migration have had to be squarely faced and appropriate measures (of training, for example) included in the programme.

D. Urban community development

Two aspects of community work in urban areas have become paramount: that of public administration and that of social welfare, in particular the growth of "community care". Most countries have suffered from a malaise in their municipal administration, in particular in that of the capital cities and other vast conurbations. Amid ever-increasing public discussion there have been governmental commissions and reports on the reform of local government and on the restructuring of the social welfare services. Under the heading of public administration come problems of the proper representation and the effective participation of the average citizen, and of the need for a more realistic appreciation of the role of "the techbical man as a community worker". In this context the technical man may be an official in, for example, the general administration, in public health, physical planning, social welfare, educational services, the police or the housing department.

Under the heading of social welfare come the attempts to increase community care and correspondingly to diminish the amount of treatment in residential institutions divorced from the community. The spheres of social welfare in which this change has begun, especially in the United Kingdom, include the care of children deprived of normal family life and the care and treatment of the backward and mentally ill. In addition, there has been, for example (again in the United Kingdom), some recourse to community development methods and the employment of community development workers in certain "problem" or "twilight" areas of racial conflict, arising mainly from the immigration of non-European workers. Similar programmes have been established in other countries of northern Europe to meet the problems arising from large numbers of foreign workers from southern Europe who have been recruited to provide industrial manpower.

Some countries have continued to develop bodies at the district or country levels, on which both the statutory organs and non-governmental groups can together provide a more comprehensive coverage in social welfare and allied fields than would be possible if each side were restricted to its own particular area of interest. In the United Kingdom, some 190 councils of social service exist as independent bodies to help the local government authorities and to give subsidies for both general administration and specific programmes. In the Netherlands, government funds are available for the establishment of welfare organizations in the larger municipalities, for the creation of community centres and for the employment of social information officers and community consultants.

Only slowly is the concept and contribution of community development to the fundamental urban problems of western Europe being recognized and analysed. The United Nations Report of 1959 contained some indications of the directions that could usefully be taken:

> "Community development and the administration
>
> "The rapid and extensive growth of urban areas has both produced and put into relief certain problems of administration which affect the machinery of central and local government. Administration should be a means of efficiently bringing about the implementation of decisions taken by governments which are representatives of the people themselves. There is, therefore, in principle, no contradiction between the basic principles of administration and

of community development. The best administrators have always been aware of the need to encourage public participation in planning, decision-making and implementation. However, the larger the unit (i.e. size of territory and density of population) for which they are responsible, the more difficult it is to put this ideal into practice.

"Decentralization of the administration

"This points to the need for the 'decentralization' of administrative bodies. While, however, this is desirable from the point of view of Community Development and good administration, there are many factors which make it difficult to achieve. Among these are:

"(a) The large number and the complex pattern of long-standing administrative structures;

"(b) The demand for and expectation of a high standard of services (transport, education, health, welfare, etc.) at the most economic cost of actual money, manpower, etc;

"(c) The steadily increasing number of services which are regarded as 'rights' or 'needs' which must be supplied; this greatly increases the difficulty of getting co-ordination between these services. These are all centripetal forces in administrative practice, and they are reinforced by the tendency towards centralized economic planning and the preparation of a central budget;

"(d) The actual increase in the size of cities themselves, which has meant that communication or 'face to face' contact between the people involved, whether as users or providers of different services, seems difficult, if not impossible.

"Functional and technical decentralization

"There are various ways in which the decentralization of administration may take place since it is part of the intrinsic method of Community Development.

"(a) That it should be on a scale which is comprehensible and meaningful to the people involved;

"(b) That it should be on a scale which allows of clear lines of communication between the people and the administration;

"(c) That it should be a multi-purpose and comprehensive approach to social problems.

"Some form of territorial decentralization seems advisable where the urban conglomeration, i.e. by the establishment of specialized sections or departments with a degree of autonomy can also facilitate and encourage participation by the general public and the two methods can be used simultaneously."

"Participation in social welfare

"In the specific fields of social welfare, the most valuable form of participation is at the level of actual practical service, either in the form of 'self-help' or in the form of services for the welfare of others.

"Community care

"The concept of 'community care' is an important one with both a moral and an economic basis. It provides within the framework of organized social services a means whereby we can discharge our duty to our handicapped 'neighbour'; it is also a means of mobilizing economically vast resources of skill, manpower, and care which it would be beyond the financial capacity of any community to engage on a paid basis. Moreover, this form of treatment and care within the open community is more efficient, as well as being more humane, for dealing with many cases which in the past have been confined to 'closed' institutions and deprived of contacts with the community. This is true of the field of mental health, old age, child care, the physically handicapped etc.

"Voluntary social service organizations

"Voluntary (non-governmental) organizations can provide a useful framework at all levels, (Local, regional and national) through which the participation of large numbers of people can be mobilized. While the great majority of these work with volunteers, it is necessary to have a number of highly skilled professional workers so that the standards of work are maintained, and there is proper co-ordination with other organizations, both governmental and non-governmental. Provided a high standard of work is maintained, it is desirable to have a legal and administrative system sufficiently flexible for there to be the closest possible relationship between statutory and voluntary organizations (i.e. delegation of duties, sharing of duties, grants-in-aid etc.)

"The danger of bureaucratization

"As with statutory administration, so too in non-governmental bodies the danger of 'over-institutionalization' and 'bureaucratization' should be foreseen and prevented. People who wish to associate themselves actively with voluntary social service in a variety of capacities may be discouraged, or, indeed, obstructed by such things as the desire of:

"A power-conscious élite to keep central authority in their own hands;

"An over-emphasis of class, cultural or ideological separation;

"The exclusive hyper-professional attitude of highly-qualified social workers who distrust the ability of laymen." 13/

13/ Community Development and Social Welfare in Urban Areas, Report of a European Seminar, Bristol, 1959, UN/TAO/SEM/1959/Rev.1, pp. 46-49. See also for further discussion of urban community development in the non-European context: the reports of the United Nations Asian Seminar on Urban Community Development, Singapore, 1962 and of the United Nations Inter-regional Seminar on Development Policies and Planning in relation to Urbanization, Pittsburgh, 1966 (ST/TAO/SER.C/91).

IV. THE TASK OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A highly dynamic society is constantly making new demands on the structure and functions of the community. It cannot do without activities consciously aimed at developing community life. Among the requirements for an efficiently functioning community are:

(a) That its members should possess a reasonable measure of knowledge and understanding of their social environment;

(b) That they should be ready to engage in independent social action and social intercourse;

(c) That there should be some exchange of ideas between them, and also a certain degree of joint action;

(d) That there should be organizational forms within the community through which, under the joint responsibility of all members of the community concerned, various tasks can be undertaken to promote communal welfare;

(e) That discussion and co-operation should take place between groups and organizations situated within a certain area;

(f) That there should be deliberation and mutual adjustment of activities on the basis of assessment of need and with a view to establishing adequate provision of welfare; and

(g) That provision should have been made in the physical environment for all the above requirements.

These then may be taken as some of the tasks of community development.

In the western European countries, community development practice has taken various concrete forms including:

(a) Community development in geographical units, for example, neighbourhoods, residential areas, regions (urban and rural);

(b) Community development in specific situations, such as urban renewal and rehabilitation;

(c) Community development for special categories of the population, for example, the introduction or acculturation of foreign persons and groups (migrants, foreign workers);

(d) Facilities for orientation, service and action in a programme of community development, for example, settlement houses, youth centres, cultural centres, social centres, community centres;

(e) General techniques to inform the public and enlist participation, for example, through social information, social extension and social action.

In the neighbourhood, working in the smallest local unit, a wide field of activities may come up for attention, for at this level there are usually few, if any, separate organizational forms to deal with specialized activities. Neighbourhood work, therefore, is a form of community development that affords the citizen an opportunity to find his bearings in a wide field of welfare activities. From this, all manner of independent forms of welfare work may in due course result. In district development, that is working on a rather larger scale, the emphasis is rather more on co-operation between organizations than between individuals and informal groups. In order to ensure real participation at this level, it becomes necessary to take systematic measures to ensure that the district agencies are fully representative and that the general public has a say in affairs. For community work at the regional level, particular attention has to be paid to communication and co-operation between different organizations. Further, a special feature of regional community work is its close relation to problems of physical planning and economic development. One of the special features of community development in old urban districts is the attempt to elicit participation from the unorganized residents, and to associate them with the contemplated changes in the physical environment and the social and economic infrastructure. Community work for socially backward families or groups comprises, in addition, the provision of aid and services where there are special psycho-social difficulties. The idea of community care calls for the active participation of the community, through the family, the neighbourhood and both formal and informal organizations, in both preventive and therapeutic aspects; and for this to be effective there has also to be appropriate adjustment of the various forms of services in the social, educational and recreational fields. All these types of community work serve to emphasize the importance of promoting social awareness and readiness to participate in community activites. It thus becomes unrealistic to treat information services, education and action campaigns in the social field as sectors unconnected with the mainstream of community development activity.

Conclusion

It has been suggested that community development as a separate concept and practice has been inherited by western Europe from Africa and Asia. While in a sense this is true, the underlying principles have for long been implicit in the organizational forms of voluntary or private action by citizens and the administrative and political structures of Government in many European countries. Those countries with highly centralized systems of administration have felt the need of community development most acutely as a means of decentralization, but at the same time have found it most difficult to adapt its techniques to their existing system. On the other hand, where decentralized local government has long been normal practice and continues to work well, the community development process is taken for granted and is scarcely recognized as having an authentic or separate form of existence.

Given the basic high level of economic activity and benefit, it was primarily in the field of social welfare, cultural and recreational activities that community development put down its first roots in a sporadic and random fashion. Governmental intervention arose later and more recently has followed two lines: to meet the special needs of depressed or backward areas, both urban and rural, and to promote the needed co-ordination of the ever more elaborate provision of social welfare services. Meeting the needs of depressed areas gave rise to an interest in the

possible economic benefits of a community development approach, and this interest has been accentuated with the increasing emphasis on regional development as an essential element in national economic and manpower plans. For with this emphasis has come the recognition that it is important to secure popular participation, more especially in the cases where there is no traditional apparatus of political representation at the regional level.

Semantically, in addition to the problem of conveying the flavour of a concept that is based on a tradition of pragmatism, there are certain difficulties about arriving at a common understanding of the possible differences between "community development" and "community organization". The latter phrase has to some extent been inherited from the North American world of social work, to describe a third method or approach in addition to social case work and social group work. It is concerned with intergroup relationships and the strengthening of co-ordination among public and private social agencies. To resolve this difficulty of language, there is a tendency now to use the comprehensive term of "community work" 14/ and to leave its precise definition and boundaries deliberately somewhat vague.

It may be surprising to find that most of the principles and ideas underlying community development in western Europe are so much the same as those that have been the basis of community development in the developing regions of the world. The specific programmes have, of course, been in very different fields and at very different levels but, with this exception, the similarities are perhaps more impressive than the differences. It seems that the need to stimulate and foster the active participation of people at the grass-roots level and to strengthen their capacity for self-help and for securing governmental support and facility for their action, is much the same irrespective of whether there is a paralysing weakness or complete lack of administrative and institutional structures - and complaint of most developing areas - or an equally paralysing growth in scale and bureaucratization of these structures - the complaint often voiced in Europe. Tactics and techniques have to be adapted to find the most suitable means of intervention in each case. The principal objectives remain those of increasing the sense of personal responsibility, of improving communication between individuals and groups and of establishing and strengthening flexible institutions within the community as a means of enabling people to fulfil their aspirations for economic well-being and social justice.

14/ See for example, Community Work and Social Change (London, Longman's, 1968), and R.A.B. Leaper, Community Work (London, National Council of Social Service, 1968).

VI. INSTITUTIONS PARTICIPATING IN RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN POLAND AND THE ROLE OF THE AGRICULTURAL CIRCLE*

The Agricultural Circle has been the main form of mutual assistance among Poland's farmers since 1956. The characteristics of this organization, highly particular in many respects, and its growing importance for rural community development - expressed in its programmes and conceptual perspectives - are considered below. But the Agricultural Circle is only one of the institutions operating in the rural communities. Each of these institutions plays a certain role in community development: the more or less traditional ones like the school and the parish as well as those which have more recently emerged as a result of the modernization and professionalization of agriculture, such as farmers' professional organizations associations of sugar-beet cultivators or livestock breeders' circles, for example. Under given conditions and in certain local communities these may become leading or directing organizations, that is they may initiate, co-ordinate and control the activities of other community institutions. Before discussing the Agricultural Circle, it is therefore necessary to describe other local institutions in order to establish, among other things, what is essential and new about the Circle. The most important of the other institutions is rural local self-government which, by definition, concerns itself with all the affairs of its area of jurisdiction, notably the working out of local development plans and their fulfilment.

Rural local self-government

Poland's administrative structure is based on a system of People's Councils. The lowest unit in this system is the rural council composed of a group of villages. There 40,000 villages in Poland. The government administrative representative in the village is the elder or bailiff. The village has no representative organ. Several villages, on the average eight, form an administrative unit called a gromada, of which there are 5,000 in the country. The next higher administrative unit is the county (a total of 317) consisting of a group of gromadas. The next in order is the voivodeship (province) of which there are twenty-two. The governmental organ involved on all these levels is the People's Council, which combines representative, self-government and executive functions. It carries out the directives of the central State organs (the executive or presiding bodies of the People's Councils, particularly on the higher levels, have departments which run parallel to the various ministries to which they are subordinate). This dual role of the Councils - as self-governments and as agencies - has its origin in the structural principle of the social system, namely, democratic centralism. The organizational dualism is resolved by the fact that the presiding bodies of the People's Councils fulfill an executive function as the field agencies of the State organs, while the Councils themselves, particularly their commissions, exercise a representative and self-government function. Of course, the lower the level, the lesser the division of tasks between the presiding bodies and the Councils as such

---

*Boguslaw Galeski, Polish Academy of Social Sciences, Warsaw.

(and their commissions). Thus the activity of the gromada People's Council (the lowest level) may be distinguished as follows:

(a) The Councils (or more strictly their presiding bodies) [illegible] official activity as units of the State administration. They receive [illegible] allowances and are controlled by their superior governmental bodies.

(b) The Council presidia co-ordinate the work of institutions [illegible] within their areas but not directly subordinate to them. However, they [illegible] wield a certain amount of authority or have the possibility of exerting [illegible] pressure on such institutions.

(c) The Councils organize the public activity of the inhabitants of their areas either on the basis of donated unpaid labour or of money [illegible] collected from them. But it must be added that spontaneous public activity by the inhabitants is a rare phenomenon and that in most cases the Councils exercise obligations legally levied on the population.

An examination of the activity of the gromada Councils in the field of community development indicates that they have considerable power. For instance, in connexion with its official function, the Council determines the [illegible] and exercises direct control of the smaller communal service enterprises. It thus determines the disposition of handicraft and trading activity of [illegible] and may, with its own resources, establish cultural institutions (libraries, [illegible] of culture, village cinemas), invest in local road-building, electrification, [illegible] transportation and communications. In the broadest sense, the People's Council is the governmental authority in the countryside. Of course, its budgetary [illegible] are generally modest (from 0.5 to 1 million zlotys annually).1/ After covering the maintenance costs of the administrative apparatus, it can only [illegible] an extremely modest range of activity. When it does undertake some [illegible] project in this area, it is rather in the nature of supplementing the [illegible] allotted by the higher-level administrative units. In relation to institutions [illegible] that are not directly subordinate to it, the People's Council disposes of rather informal means of influence. Thus, in meeting its responsibility with regard to schools (providing teachers with housing, light, heating), the Council may [illegible] participation from the teachers in some public educational or cultural activity in the locality.

In reference to trading co-operatives (as a rule the strongest financial centres in the countryside) the Council has the power to require the [illegible] of some retail, service, catering or cultural outlets (press and book [illegible], for instance) in the area. Since the president of a trading co-operative is as a rule a member of the local People's Council and since the attitude of the Council presidium to the co-operative may greatly help or hinder it, the wishes of the Council have a good chance of meeting with success - the more so, if they are realistic and moderate. The Council's ability to influence the activities of the larger institutions located in its area is more limited. These are usually government or co-operative institutions. Farms, State machinery [illegible] repair

1/ The average budget of the Gromada People's Council amounted to [illegible],000 zlotys in 1965 and 950,000 in 1966. $1 equals 24 zlotys.

bases, small factories, are normally independent of the Council co-operating with it, only to the extent that their employees reside in its area.

In relation to the role of the Gromada People's Council as the organizer of public activity in its area, it was observed above that this involved spontaneous activity only to a small degree. To a greater extent it is a matter of organized activity of the rural inhabitants, who for a long time have been obliged to carry out certain functions which in the cities are basically the responsibility of certain municipal institutions. The building of local roads and bridges, or of sanitary and health facilities, have in the main been accomplished by the rural population's contribution of unpaid labour. Each family is obliged to contribute a certain number of days' work, depending on the size of the family farm. In 1958, the obligatory labour charge was replaced by its equivalent in money (although part of the obligation may still be discharged by labour, the farmers rarely take advantage of this; in recent years, the proportion of the obligation discharged in that manner has not exceeded 2 per cent on a nation-wide scale), while the Gromada People's Council was given relative freedom to fix the size of the charge. (As a national average, this amounts to 2.5 per cent of the individual farmer's income, but in some regions is as high as 6 per cent). The Council was also empowered to manage the accumulated fund.

This fund satisfies primarily all needs in the field of road communications, which absorb 50 per cent of the fund, with 13 per cent going to the repair and renovation of production and service enterprises under the management of the People's Councils. 2/ In most gromadas this repair fund amounts to about 30,000 zlotys annually. Another kind of public activity is the so-called social incentive contribution 3/ which, by decision of the Council, takes the form of either a donation of money or the promise to devote a certain number of hours of free labour (to the extent of not less than 50 per cent of the value of the public investment involved) to finance some local project - again for the most part road-building. The extent of these obligations is decided by the People's Council.

With such wide powers, the Gromada People's Council (being at the same time an administrative organ and a representative body of the population) possesses every possibility for broad planned activity in the field of community development. Actually, these Councils adopt five-year and annual development plans. These are only in part elements of the plans of the higher-level Councils, connected with the specific needs of the given communities. In part, however, these plans are a sort of codification of community aspirations - locating industry, establishing centres of tourism, making important cultural investments etc. These goals are often difficult to fulfil, as they depend on decisions at higher levels and sometimes at

---

2/ In 1966 the Gromada fund amounted on the average to 235,000 zlotys per Gromada, allotted as follows: 50 per cent for local roads; 37 per cent - communal, cultural, educational facilities and fire-fighting; 13 per cent - renovation of production and service establishments. See J. Pawłowski and A. Wyderko, "Fundusz gromadzki, służy portrzebom wsi" (The Gromada fund serves the village) in Wieś Współczesna, no. 1/131, 1968, p. 98.

3/ The average value of public contributions amounted to 200 zlotys per inhabitant in 1956-1960 and to 547 zlotys in 1961-1965. See GUS (Central Statistical Office) Statystyka regionalna (Regional Statistics), notebook 3, Czny społeczne PRL (Social Emulation Deeds in the Polish People's Republic).

the central level. There are, moreover, plans for administering the budgetary and extra-budgetary resources (the public fund and the fund deriving from the social incentive contribution) at the Council's disposal.

However, although rural local self-government is conceived to be the basic institution for undertaking community development programmes, there remain certain differences between the two. Community development, to a certain extent, rests on the voluntary activity of the population according to the principle of "going it alone" or keeping to itself, 4/ in contrast to government, which in the final analysis secures compliance with its laws through the implicit threat of coercion.

There are various factors that limit the activity of rural local self-government in different fields. The first is connected with the nature of the community. The gromada has been referred to above as a community, not in the sociological sense of the word, but as a social group integrated on the basis of a number of neighbourly and local ties and resting on its members' identification. This character is displayed by the Polish villages, which can with justification be called a social group, 5/ whereas the gromada, established relatively recently (in 1954), is nothing more than an administrative unit. It often groups villages of different ethnic and social origin (for instance, peasant and petty-gentry villages), which historically were frequently rent by conflict, 6/ with their economic ties in different non-local centres and occasionally with religious ties to different parishes. Although this differentiation should not be over-stressed since it has been eliminated, yet the borderlines of the hamlets are still to a great degree administrative rather than social 7/ borderlines, distinguishing one group from another. In this situation, the organization of public activity on the gromada level is more difficult since it lacks a natural foundation in the shape of social groups such as the village.

Another characteristic militating against the development of the Councils' activity in the field of community development is the fusion of the representative and self-government functions with that of administration. This combination fulfils the requirement of democratic centralism, for self-government. The fact is that about 200,000 people, as members of People's Councils, participate directly in the exercise of State power (120,000 people are members of Gromada People's Councils). But elements of excessive institutionalization may appear. This kind of negative phenomenon needs to be properly counteracted.

4/ S.C. Mayo, "An approach to the understanding of rural community development", Social Forces, 1958 (No. 2), pp. 95-96.

5/ B. Garyga, Gmina, gromada, społeczność wiejska (The Commune, the Gromada and the Rural Community), Roczniki Socjologii Wsi, vol. iv, 1965, pp. 80-87.

6 M. Biernacka, Wsie drobnoszlachekie na Mazowszu i Podlasiu (Petty-Gentry Villages in Mazowsze and Podlasie), Warsaw 1966.

7/ L. von Wiese, Das Dorf als soziales Gebilde, Munich-Leipzig, 1928, p.3.

Much space is devoted here to local self-government because the structural principles of this institution predispose it to play a leading role in community development. The possibilities of other rural institutions and organizations are more limited. But many examples attest to the possibility that these may also become centres of public involvement in the countryside. As indicated in the introduction, the institution with the greatest possibility in this field is the Agricultural Circle. But before considering this form of organization, some attention must be given to other rural institutions that have traditionally fulfilled the role of initiator and leader in rural community development. Historically, these institutions have been the school, the parish, the fire brigade and later the rural co-operatives, the political parties and youth organizations.

Other institutions operating in the rural community

The priest and school teacher were the traditional authorities associated with any public activity in the rural community in the past. For various reasons the roles of school and parish are weaker today. As distinguished from the priest, who most often concentrated his attention on the well-to-do and conservative strata of the population, the teacher was the bearer of rational and progressive ideas and based himself primarily on the poorer or more enlightened groups. The rural schools' educational programme was in opposition to many values traditionally acknowledged in the village (for instance, it kept the child away from work). Education created conflict between the instilled aspirations and the real conditions of rural life by disseminating among the peasants knowledge considered unnecessary in conservative quarters. 8/ The teacher, therefore, was forced to seek support among the more enlightened groups for his educational programmes. This drew him into social activity and, since he was better educated than the sometimes illiterate rural population, he was often the one to appear before the government authorities as the representative or spokesman for the village. This is a situation, however, that belongs to the past.

The universal values acknowledged today are to a considerable degree the same as those of the urban population. They penetrate the village not through the school but mainly through the mass communications media. The intellectual gap between the teacher and the farmer has been greatly reduced and the former is in no position to act as adviser on most questions (for example, agrarian legislation); nor is he the only representative of the lay intelligentsia. In addition to the teacher, there are the veterinary, the agronomist, the doctor, and other specialists familiar to the farmers through television. Finally, in Poland, a socialist State, progressive ideology is widely diffused and rests upon the mass political organizations, and not so much on the teacher.

The apostolic role of the school and the teacher has undergone a change. Besides his work as a teacher, the latter is the bearer of enlightenment and the initiator of cultural activity. His participation in various public actions is still immeasurably greater today than that of other professionals employed in the rural areas. Although there are no rural community programmes without

8/ J. Chałasiński, Młode pokolenie chłopów (The Young Generation of Peasants), Warsaw 1935.

teacher participation, these projects are nevertheless too complex to allow the teacher to continue to act as the main force. 9/

The matter is different with the rural parish. There were cases in Poland where the priest played an initiating role in what we call today rural community development programmes. Thus, for example, before the Second World War, the priest Blizinski in the village of Lisków founded, over a period of several years, a number of economic and cultural institutions and initiated many communal facilities, raising the levels of education and agrarian culture.

The changed social and political conditions in post-war Poland created new instruments for arousing and setting public initiative into motion. This pertains not only to the initiative of individuals organized for public activity, but to the drawing of broad sections of the masses into the movement. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility of involving charitable and church-education groups also. 10/

The fire brigade has retained its traditional importance in the countryside. 11/ In the past, it played an exceptionally important cultural role. The firehouse was most often the first public building erected by the rural community. It served as a house of culture, club house, cinema and lecture hall, and the fire brigade was often at the same time an amateur artistic ensemble (musical, vocal, theatrical). Around it also revolved all parades, festivals and public commemorations. By serving as a centre of cultural affairs and as a point of concentration for rural activity, the fire brigade was in many cases the actual, though silent, initiator of more complex programmes. Its vitality lies in the fact that it is a purely voluntary organization on the village level and hence rests upon a genuine local group. Poland has today more than 20,000 volunteer fire brigades (one for every other village) with a total of 700,000 members. The public functions undertaken by the rural population which are inspired by, or for the benefit of, the fire brigades, net annually about about 100,000 zlotys. But while continuing to fulfil important tasks (considerably in excess of the direct activity indicated by its name), the fire brigade can lay no claim to involvement in basic matters, above all economic matters, which may determine the rural community's adaptation to industrialization and urbanization.

Another institution directly called into being by economic progress and which is itself engaged in that field, is the rural co-operative. 12/ Here a distinction should be made between trading, processing and production co-operatives. There is no space, or for that matter any need here to go into the agricultural producers' co-operative, which in any case plays a marginal role in Poland. The

---

9/ This is confirmed by all sociological investigations conducted recently in Polish villages. See, for instance, B. Galeski O niektorych determinantach zmian społecznych na wsi (Some Determinants of Social Change in the Rural Areas), Studia Socjologiczne, No. 2, 1961, pp. 30-55.

10/ See E. Ciupak, Kulture religijna wsi (Rural Religious Culture), Warsaw, 1961.

11/ R. Darczewski, Ochotnicże straże pozarne (The Volunteer Fire-Brigades). Ich funkcje (Their Functions), Roczniki Socjologii Wsi, vol. VII, in print.

12/ In 1964 there were 1,291 agricultural producers' co-operatives in Poland with 29,000 members (20,000 families of which 12,000 engaged in farming). They embraced 1 per cent of the arable and provided 1.2 per cent of agricultural output for the market.

processing co-operative 13/ (dairy, gardening etc.) lost contact rather quickly with local co-operative life. While playing an essential role in the vertical process of agricultural integration, the processing co-operative cannot be considered today as a force in rural community development, although in the past the dairy co-operative was the starting-point for the activation of the inhabitants of some villages. Today it is generally a strong, outside economic institution with members and an agency (the milk collecting depot) in the local rural community. But it does not form any organization on the village or even the gromada level.

On the other hand, the rural retail trade co-operative maintains strong contact with local co-operative activities. 14/ In the post-war period this type of co-operative has come to occupy a dominant place in the turnover between city and country (in many fields it actually holds a monopoly position). It exists in almost all gromadas and has outlets also in many individual villages. Its members (more than 4 million) are almost all farm owners. Naturally, its rapid numerical growth, dominant role in the rural market, mass membership etc., could not but influence its character. The rural trading co-operative no longer rests on the efforts of local groups of farmers to protect their common interests, as was the case in the past. It is now a highly centralized institution subject to prevailing economic conditions.

Although the rural trading co-operatives do not represent the local community but rather conduct trading agencies there, they are involved in public activity, primarily cultural and educational, in the gromada area. They participate in working out regional plans, and undertake communal activity in a number of fields. Their activities and general membership meetings exert influence on shaping attitudes which often determine the success of certain projects. Though they cannot today play a leading role in community development programmes, their participation in them is indispensable.

Among organizations which are equipped to play and which actually do play a decisive role in initiating and realizing community development programmes are the political parties and their closest collaborators, the youth organizations. Under Poland's social system these are not competing organizations (the Polish United Workers' Party and the United People's Party function in the rural areas). 15/ Since they have a common general programme and political line, their direct activities are harmonized. Since the political organizations are composed of people who occupy key posts in the basic rural institutions, they are in the best position to co-ordinate activity and to initiate and plan long-range community development. And such is very often the case.

13/ There are 633 dairy co-operatives with 852,000 members and 139 fruit orchard co-operatives with 252,000 members.

14/ There are more than 2,500 branch trading co-operatives (Samopomoc Chłopska, "Farmers' Self Help" organization) with about 4 million members.

15/ The Polish United Workers' Party has about 250,000 members in the rural areas (15 per cent of the total membership) and the United People's Party about 350,000 members.

But what constitutes the strength of political organizations is at the same time a source of weakness. Thus, in some rural political organizations, several different public functions may devolve on one member. 16/ Fulfilling so many important functions and being responsible for various rural institutions and organizations, while at the same time carrying out the directives of superiors, creates a difficult problem for the members of rural political organizations. They can hardly undertake any activity outside the above framework, that is, non-institutionalized activity based on simply appealing to the goodwill, convictions and enthusiasm of the inhabitants. Furthermore, the political organization - in so far as the rural areas are concerned - operates as an institution primarily on the gromada level and is a leading force in relation to rural self-government on that level. Political organizations also have branches in the village, but their activity is primarily non-institutional there: they work mainly as members of Agricultural Circles, fire brigades or various informal groups, or are involved in specific projects (electrification, water-main construction, hedge-planting etc.). Although the members of political organizations undoubtedly play an initiating role in such organizations and informal groups, they do not function as Party representatives on this level. The same applies to youth organizations. 17/

There is one rural youth organization in Poland - the Union of Rural Youth. It is politically associated with the two main parties and its attention is mainly directed to cultural and educational matters (including agricultural education). One of its recently developed forms of activity is the youth club in the shape of a combined coffee shop and newspaper reading room, 18/ which has become the centre of cultural activity in many villages as a base for introducing cultural innovations. The youth organization has every possibility of being, and often is, the most active social force in the countryside.

It is nevertheless difficult for the youth organization -since it does not represent the farm operators -to play an active role in resolving the communities' basic economic problems. (Involved in the latter are the modernization of agriculture, the introduction of industrial forms and methods in agricultural production and in rural life.) Nor is the youth organization able to influence activity decisively in order to create new occupational opportunities - as a result of modernization and industrialization - which would help to resolve the problems of small farming and the relative over-population in some regions. These matters are handled primarily by the farmers' professional organizations on the basis of co-operation with mutual assistance, hence mainly through the Agricultural Circle and the corps of specialists connected with it (sugar beet planters, animal breeders, tobacco growers etc.), as well as the so-called Rural Women's Clubs.

In concluding this section, it may be well to underline certain common tendencies which appear to affect the current activities of all these various institutions. It is first of all necessary to note the growth in the number of

---

16/ A. Mariańska, Wiejskie organizacje PZPR w działaniu (Activity of the Polish United Workers' Party Rural Organizations), Roczniki Socjologii Wsi, vol. VII in print.

17/ The Union of Rural Youth has about 750,000 members.

18/ There are more than 5,000 Coffee Shop-Clubs conducted by trading co-operatives jointly with the Union of Rural Youth.

[illegible] organizations and the specialization of interests connected [illegible] traditional village was in contact with State, religious [illegible]. Although these had distinct fields of activity and [illegible] tasks took on complex problems of development of the community, [illegible] its immediate spheres. For many important questions in the [illegible] traditional patron, no organization concerned with them. Today, [illegible] concerned with virtually every field of rural life and [illegible]. The growth in the number of organizations and [illegible] with a tendency of each to be exclusive, that is, to [illegible] only under its jurisdiction and not to overstep the bounds [illegible]. Elimination of the narrowly delimited activity of individual [illegible] with all the affairs of given areas, has become one of the [illegible] institutionalization and specialization. In Poland this is [illegible] local self-government, which is simultaneously the [illegible] power.

[illegible] tendency partly connected with the first is the [illegible] of public activity. This tendency is most visible in the [illegible] community. From the social movement which it once was, [illegible] representing the interests of the local community in its [illegible] outside world, it has been transformed into a strong and [illegible] with its agencies in the local community, representing the [illegible] whole. The same tendency may be observed in the activities [illegible], as indicated above. This is a general tendency which [illegible] political organizations based on ideological ties and therefore [illegible] politicization processes.

[illegible] general tendencies connected with the process of economic [illegible] emergence of contemporary industrial society, certain particular [illegible] and which have essentially changed the activity of [illegible] institutions and organizations. In the past, each rural [illegible] under its field of interests, had to concern itself with two basic [illegible] (a) the general question of national independence and (b) agrarian [illegible] social question of the peasantry. The first was realized in [illegible] with the Second World War. The second was implemented in 1944 [illegible] and the radical peasant parties took power. The radical [illegible] of the fundamental social change accompanying the emergence of [illegible], removed the foundation of the main class conflicts. [illegible] rural policy adopted in 1956 (abandonment of collectivization) [illegible] lasting in that period between the administrative [illegible]. To this situation (with the stabilization of the social [illegible] political-party conflicts), the main problem in the [illegible] of economic development and a general rise in the level [illegible]. Hence the relatively increased importance of (a) rural [illegible] functions involved in these tasks and (b) the re-orientation [illegible] (including political parties) toward the problems of [illegible].

Agricultural Circles and other professional associations

Agricultural Circles existed in Poland before the First World War. 19/ They were equivalent then to the farmers' club going under that or other names in most western European countries. Then they were mainly occupied with the diffusion of agricultural knowledge, the introduction of more profitable crops, selected seed or pedigree livestock, with the purchase of larger agricultural machinery etc. The Agricultural Circle was thus the organizer of mutual assistance and co-operation among farmers.

After the Second World War, with the agrarian reform and later collectivization, there was no need of favourable conditions for that type of activity, since no one expected a prolonged existence for the individual peasant farm. But such conditions reappeared in 1956 with the change of the general line of agricultural policy and the perspective of the long-term existence and development of individual farming. The Agricultural Circles were rapidly reinstituted then, mainly on the farmers' own initiative, 20/ and soon embraced most villages and the greater number of family-sized farms. 21/

In their initial period, the Agricultural Circles undertook a wide range of activities, 22/ both those of the traditional kind and new ones arising from changing social conditions. Much attention soon began to be centred on mechanization. The basis for this was the establishment by government decision

---

19/ In 1918-1923 there were about 10,000 Agricultural Circles in Poland.

20/ Of the founders of Circles in 1957-59, 69 per cent were farmers, 15 per cent - agricultural agencies, 3 per cent - political organizations and 9 per cent - county Agricultural Circle executives. See A. Romanow, Agricultural Circles, Peasants' Organization, Institute of Agricultural Economy, Studies and Materials, vol. 148, Warsaw, 1967.

21/ In 1964 the 31,800 Circles (in 77 per cent of all villages) had a combined membership of 1.5 million.

22/ A 1950 poll of 493 Agricultural Circles (see B. Gałęski and A. Romanow, Rzeczywistiśćkółek rolniczych w świetle ankiety (The Agricultural Circles in Light of a Poll), Wieś Współczesna, no. 9, 1959, p. 41) shows the following distribution of activity:

Activity	Numbers involved	
	Circles	Participants
Machine pools	188	6,000
Melioration	7	273
Electrification	5	346
Afforestation	7	189
Road repair	25	873
Building (renovation) houses of culture	9	624
Managing clubrooms and libraries	17	1,100
Excursions and performances	71	3,800

(Foot-note continued on following page)

in 1958 of the Agricultural Development Fund. Moneys of this kind are derived from the decision to retain obligatory deliveries (of grain, meat, potatoes) to the State in order to assure market stability for agricultural produce, but to return to the village the difference between the prices paid by the State on the obligatory delivery quotas and free market prices (strictly speaking, on free government purchases). This difference, (calculated for each village and amounting to a total of 4,000 million zlotys) 23/ is placed at the disposal of the Agricultural Circles on the basis of each village's share and is used to cover the cost of co-operative productive investment, above all the purchase of machinery. The creation of this Fund gave direction to the activity of the Agricultural Circles but ti also lent them elements of functioning as an enterprise. Of late, the Intercircle Machine Bases, engaged in the purchase, use and conservation of farm equipment (mainly tractors), have started to operate like independent enterprises. However the Agricultural Circles as such are public organizations concerned with the broader aspects of agricultural modernization in relation to the concrete needs of the given village. 24/

22/ (continued)

Activity	Numbers involved	
	Circles	Participants
Contests, exhibitions	51	533
Agronomic education	284	9,000
Other education	13	342
Conveying fertilizers	220	5,000
Providing seeds	263	3,500
Experimental plot	111	656
Seminal blocks	9	118
Vegetable contracting	25	522
Meadow teams	29	659
Garden teams	29	430
Breeding material	73	476
Livestock contracting	38	2,500
Raising feed	25	420
Animal breeding sections	24	418
Raising chickens	31	422
Purchase of fuel	4	370
Purchase of building materials	25	315
Purchase of other materials	49	271

23/ The Agricultural Development Fund amounted to 4,000 million zlotys in 1964.

24/ The present directions of the Circles'activity is shown in the chart below based on sociological research among 100 Agricultural Circles (see A. Romanow, op. cit., p. 10.):

Type of activity	Percentage of Circles involved
Common farming	47.8
Common use of machines	100.0
Agronomic Education	34.4
Experimental plots	12.2
Supply of fertilizers	24.4
Supply of seeds	15.8
Press and periodical subscription	56.7

Besides mechanization of agricultural production, which remains their chief interest, the Agricultural Circles concern themselves with the following matters of importance to the Polish villages:

(a) The transportation of produce;

(b) The cultivation of state-owned parcels of land in some villages which are too small to turn into state farms; 25/

(c) The use of the Agricultural Development Fund for land improvement and, sometimes electrification, local road repair etc.;

(d) The role of intermediary between processing plants and farmers for the conclusion of contracts for certain agricultural products;

(e) Together with agronomists the conduct of experiments on insecticides or for improving methods of production (some of which require agreement of neighbours with adjacent fields);

(f) The organization of agricultural exhibitions, lectures, contests etc.

The purpose of these activities was the modernization of agriculture, conducted by the Circles in co-operation with professional farmers' groups. Sometimes such groups become formal sections of the Circles. 26/

The peasant family farm, as a production system, is closely identified with the domestic family economy. The activity of the Agricultural Circles is supplemented by the associated Rural Women's Clubs. 27/ These concentrate on the modernization of the household economy and show an equally imposing growth. The Rural Women's Clubs also participate in production - in those branches still the exclusive domain of farm women (the raising of poultry, production of eggs, butter, etc.). Their main task however is to make available mechanized household facilities, to carry on propaganda for sanitation and hygiene, to organize courses in cooking, dressmaking and the like.

The chief value of the Agricultural Circle lies in the fact that - alongside the fire brigade - it is the only organization operating on the village level. For as noted above, the Polish village is a genuinely integrated society in which personal, face-to-face contact is maintained. It is this that makes the Agricultural Circle the natural representative of the community in relation to society as a whole and to non-local organizations.

25/ In 1964, 4,339 Circles conducted team farming on 131,000 hectares. The Circles possess 36,000 tractors, 30,000 threshing machines, 30,000 engines.

26/ For example, sections of cultivators of oleaginous plants.

27/ There are 22,000 Rural Women's Clubs with 0.5 million members.

The results of a recent study indicate that the Agricultural Circles bring together the professional élite of the farming population, 28/ that is, the more efficient farmers of a higher educational level and greater awareness of what is going on outside the village. And since research further establishes that professional status is the main basis of authority in the local rural group, the Agricultural Circle enjoys the greatest opportunity to shape opinion, hence of exerting informal influence.

The power of this organization is based on its informal as well as its formal functions. Through its administration of the Agricultural Development Fund the Agricultural Circle is in a position to act in the name of the community. While this factor leaves a village with little choice but to organize an Agricultural Circle, the latter still remains a genuinely voluntary organization. Furthermore, as a local organization acting in the name of the entire community, the Agricultural Circle performs functions outside those prescribed to it by law. 29/ Thus the Circles are influential in securing changes in the purposes for which the Agricultural Development Fund may spend its money. One such reform permits expenditures on village needs other than agricultural modernization in the strict sense of the term. 30/ Its combination of formal and informal activities as well as its powers to provide benefits to persons not affiliated with it are among the factors responsible for the vitality of the Agricultural Circle. In the final analysis the vitality of the Agricultural Circle depends on the support and active participation of the main groups of village inhabitants. 31/

The characteristics enumerated above predispose the Agricultural Circles to take the lead in rural community development programmes. In recent years a considerable number of Circles have worked out plans independent of the gromada and State plans, 32/ to emphasize village economic and social development. These plans, generally developed in collaboration with agronomists, depend exclusively on the ability of the Circles to mobilize local resources. While the essence of the plans is agricultural modernization as the basic task in the village, they are usually not limited to that. They go beyond farming activity by providing for the establishment of service and handicraft enterprises and the creation of new jobs in the rural areas. They also go beyond strictly economic endeavours to concern with the founding of cultural centres, the construction of rural electrification projects etc.

28/ The correlation of affiliation to the Circles and education, social activity and size of farm is confirmed by many investigations. See, for instance, A. Romanow, op. cit., pp. 8-9).

29/ J. Marek, Badania nad spoeczymi implikacjami mechanizacji rolnictwa (Research on the Social Effects of Agricultural Mechanization) Roczniki Socjologii Wsi, vol. IX, 1968, in print.

30/ The latest regulations permit to a greater degree the use of the Agricultural Development Fund for other communal purposes also.

31/ This is proved by a number of rural pools conducted by the Public Opinion Poll Centre.

32/ For these rural plans see J. Bielec, Zmiany w planowaniu gromadzkim na 1968 (Changes in Gromada Planning for 1968), Gospodarka i Administracja Terenowa, no.4/79, 1967, p. 39.

While a high value is put on the Agricultural Circles and much hope is placed in them, certain dangers should be pointed out. The risk of the Circles' being turned exclusively into machine-lending enterprises or into firms operating machinery on the peasants' farms has already been indicated. This, to a certain extent, is unavoidable, for the farm equipment purchased by the Circles with the Agricultural Development Fund must be effectively and economically used. There is also the need for a transport enterprise, to improve transportation for the rural population, and for an agricultural enterprise on State lands that would assure the proper exploitation of the soil and help meet the feed requirements of the peasants' livestock. There is in fact such a multitude of needs in every village that the temptation is strong for the Agricultural Circles to be transformed from initiators and organizers into enterprises, thus losing sight of the complex development of the peasant farm and of the village as a whole. 33/

This tendency could also convert the Circle into a kind of government bureau. With the Agricultural Development Fund at their disposal and the advantage of a number of government-assured prerogatives, the Circles could easily assume the functions of village-based government agencies. They would then cease to be a movement based on public activity. Their funds would be distributed among various subordinate rural enterprises and they would be converted into an agency handling contracts between farmers and service and processing enterprises.

Another danger is the limitation of the Agricultural Circles to economic-agricultural activity. At present about 1 million peasant families in Poland have supplementary earnings from employment off the farm. 34/ Assuming that agricultural modernization would reduce the labour force indispensable in direct production, then it should be expected that the need for new places of work would grow in the rural areas as would the proportion of rural inhabitants employed outside agriculture. By limiting its interest to economic and agricultural matters, the Agricultural Circle would therefore cease to attract those sections of the inhabitants who would certainly be considerably active in programmes of expanding communal services. Of course, economic and agricultural questions will continue to occupy the Circles' chief attention as long as agriculture remains the foundation of the existence of the families inhabiting the rural community, hence as long as the basic differences between the urban and the rural community persist.

At present the Agricultural Circles in Poland are very elastic organizations and are little formalized or bureaucratized. They constitute a social movement devoted to the solution of the basic questions of economic development of individual villages, while at the same time they have some of the characteristics of agencies and enterprises. What they will be in the future will be determined primarily by the socio-economic needs of the Polish village, which also determine the future pattern of the rural community. 35/

33/ The recently emerged Intercircle Machine Bases are becoming separate from the Agricultural Circles as enterprises undertaking total machine services.

34/ Economists estimate the number of farms run by part-time farmers at more than a million.

35/ There is a discussion current in Poland on the transformation of the village which deals with the perspective image. See O socjalistyczny rozwój wsi (The Socialist Development of the Countryside) (Warsaw, 1964), vol. II, (Warsaw, 1963).

VII. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ROMANIA*

I. CONDITIONS AND CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ROMANIA

A. The essence of community development

In international usage, the term community development[1] means the activities and processes by which the people voluntarily combine their efforts with those of government to improve their economic, social and cultural conditions and more effectively to integrate their communities into the life of the nation, thereby contributing fully to national progress. At the same time, community development is as much a process of education as of organization, a process which encourages large sections of the population to take decisions at the local level and which promotes their effective participation in the formulation and implementation of decisions.

Romanian communities have tried various forms of organization and action to solve problems of common concern. In rural communities, special forms of co-operation serve certain common interests within a non-institutionalized framework, such as mutual assistance at harvest time or in the construction of houses, the joint purchase and use of certain agricultural implements, the communal use of pasture-land, and common grazing.

Old forms of community organization and action are being improved upon; new forms are appearing which encourage the extensive participation of the masses - and of a wide range of experts - in the solution of problems affecting the life and activity of the entire Romanian nation.

In the twenty-five years since the war, the participation of the people in the national life and in urban and rural community life has increased steadily and has led to the formation of organizations by an ever-growing number of workers, peasants and intellectuals of all ages and from all national groups within the country.

The question of community development arises in a different context from that of other nations. In Romania the whole population is taking part in the construction of a socialist society in accordance with a programme drawn up, in co-operation with the masses, by the Romanian Communist Party, which provides for the present and future needs of the entire national community. In consequence, there has been constant improvement in the methods of directing and organizing the political, social and cultural life of the State. The figures given below are an indication of the progress made since the Second World War.

B. Economic development in Romania

In the past twenty-five years, there have been fundamental changes in the economic, social and cultural development fabric of the country and in the pattern

---

* Ovidiu Badina, Directeur, Centre de recherches sur la jeunesse, Bucharest, Romania.

/...

1/ Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 4, document E/2931, annex III.

of mass participation in national and local affairs. Production of industrial and agricultural goods along with services have registered impressive gains.

Using 1938 as a base year (the pre-war year showing the highest volume of production) the social product in 1968 had risen by 535 per cent and national income had increased by 519 per cent. Over the same period per capita income had increased more than fourfold. In 1968, industry accounted for 54.2 per cent of the total social product, followed by agriculture 26.2 per cent, construction 9.2 per cent, transport and communications 4.3 per cent and distribution of goods 3.5 per cent. In 1968 the volume of over-all industrial production was more than fourteen times greater than in 1938 and 917 per cent higher than in 1950, representing an annual growth rate of 13.1 per cent (1951-1968).

C. The Territorial administrative organization of Romania

Pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution and the Act on administrative organization, the administrative territorial units in Romania are the department, the town, the municipality and the commune.

The capital of the Socialist Republic of Romania is the municipality of Bucharest (Bucuresti), the principal political, economic, social, cultural, artistic and scientific centre of the country.

The principles underlying the present territorial administrative organization of Romania include the following: (a) closer co-ordination between the central administration of the State and lower administrative units; (b) the provision of specialized assistance and practical support to the departments, towns, municipalities and communes; (c) the simplification and rationalization of local administrative organs; (d) the consistent application of national policies to ensure the full equality before the law of all citizens without distinction as to national origin.

D. The State and its organs

The Constitution states that the Socialist Republic of Romania is a sovereign, independent and unitary State composed of the working people of the towns and villages; its territory is inalienable and indivisible.

In Romania, all power belongs to the people who exercise it through the Grand National Assembly and the People's Councils, bodies elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

The State is the embodiment of the political power of all citizens of the country; its organizational structure and the processes of exercise and implementation of its power ensure the active participation of the masses in the management of public affairs in every field of activity.

The main organs of the State constitute a unitary system of government. These comprise the organs of State power, namely, the Grand National Assembly, the State Council and the People's Councils; the organs of State administration, namely, the Council of Ministers, the ministries and other central organs, the executive committees of the People's Councils and the specialized local organs of

/...

State administration; the judicial organs, namely, the Supreme Court, the departmental courts, the courts of first instance and the military tribunals; the organs of the Procurator's office, namely the Procurator General's Office, the Procurator's departmental, local and militia (police) offices. Each category of State organ is responsible for the following specific type of activity: (a) the exercise of State power; (b) executive activity; (c) judicial activity; (d) law enforcement activities.

All organs of the State operate in accordance with the following principles: the sovereignty and independence of the Socialist Republic of Romania; socialist democracy generally and consistently applied; socialist humanism; the equality of rights for all citizens without distinction as to sex, nationality, race or religion; collective decision making and socialist legality; democratic centralism - a principle whereby centralized leadership is allied with popular creative initiative.

1. The exercise of State power

This activity consists of directing the entire life of the State through organs composed of elected representatives. According to the Constitution of Romania, the supreme organ of State power is the Grand National Assembly. This legislative body, whose members are elected for a period of four years, has the following functions: it approves the State plan and budget· it elects and dissolves all the other supreme organs; it exercises responsibilities in the field of international relations; it ensures that provisions of the constitution are upheld; it defines obligatory norms of social conduct and approves and amends the constitution. The deputies maintain continuous contact with the electorate by submitting periodic accounts. The electorate may recall a deputy before the expiration of his term of office.

As the work of the Grand National Assembly is organized in sessions, the State Council was established to ensure continuity in the exercise of State power at the highest level. The Council is elected for the duration of the legislature by the Grand National Assembly from among its members, who remain in office until the election of a new State Council. The State Council is in permanent session and is responsible to the Grand National Assembly, to which it reports.

The People's Councils are the local organs of State power in the territorial administrative units in which they are elected. They are composed of deputies whose term of office is four years. The People's Councils, which are subordinate to the Grand National Assembly and the State Council, are responsible for managing State and public affairs at the local level with a view to promoting popular participation. They have some standing commissions which take an active part in stimulating popular participation in their work. Each standing commission forms a working group consisting of workers, technicians, housewives, representatives of mass organizations and so forth.

2. Executive activity

According to the size of the territory for which they are responsible, the organs of State administration fall into two categories: central and local organs; depending on the particular nature of their responsibilities, administrative organs may have general or specialized terms of reference.

/...

The supreme organ of State administration is the Council of Ministers. It is made up of a president, vice-presidents, ministers and chairmen of other central organs of State administration, provided for by law. The Council of Ministers is elected by the Grand National Assembly at its first session, for the duration of a given legislature, and carries out its duties until the election of a new Council of Ministers by the next legislature. The Council of Ministers issues regulations and takes measures in any field of State administration; its decisions are adopted by majority vote, after collective deliberation.

The ministries and State Committees, as central organs of State administration, are responsible for different branches of political and economic activity. The local organs of State administration are the Executive Committees of the People's Councils, which are elected by the latter from among their membership to ensure continuity of work between sessions of the Council. The Executive Committees of the People's Councils function in accordance with the principle of collective decision-making and collective responsibility. Like the People's Councils, the Executive Committees rely on broad popular participation in carrying out their activities.

3. Juridical activity

The judiciary in Romania comprises the Supreme Court (a body elected by the Grand National Assembly), the departmental courts, the courts of the first instance and the military courts.

The Supreme Court exercises general supervision over the judicial activity of all the courts and judges within the framework of the rules prescribed by law.

The Romanian Constitution sets forth the fundamental principles on the basis of which the judicial bodies are organized and operate.

4. Law enforcement

The specialized body in the field of law-enforcement is the Procurator's office. All the procurators are subordinate to the Procurator-General elected by the Grand National Assembly. Broadly, they are responsible for ensuring compliance with laws.

E. Mass and civic organizations

Among the constitutional rights enjoyed by Romanian citizens is the right to organize trade unions, co-operatives, youth and women's groups, social and cultural organizations, creative artists' unions, scientific, technical and sports associations, as well as other civic bodies. The right of association is of particular importance to the development of Romanian society, since each organization can make its own contribution to the activity of the State.

Mass and civic organizations have the right to nominate candidates for the office of deputy, a right guaranteed under the Constitution to all workers' organizations. These organizations, whose activities will be discussed later on, include the Socialist Unity Front, the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, the National Union of Agricultural Production Co-operatives, the Union of Communist Youth, the National Council of Women, the creative artists' unions and the councils of workers of the different nationality groups.

/...

II. TRENDS AND FORMS OF MASS PARTICIPATION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF STATE AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The principle of popular participation has achieved widespread application in Romania. That principle is applied in various ways including public discussion of important pending legislation and conferences with senior officials on a broad range of economic, constitutional and other matters. There was wide-scale popular participation, for example, in discussions of the draft constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania. In the economic sphere, the draft directives concerning the present five-year plan (1966-1970) and the 1970-1975 five-year plan, and draft directives regarding the management and planning of the national economy, were widely discussed by the public. The people also participated in the discussion of bills, later adopted by the Grand National Assembly, regarding the retirement pension, education, conservation and use of agricultural land etc. In practice, all citizens are informed on any proposed draft legislation relating to the country's domestic and foreign policy by the press, radio, television and public assemblies. The people may offer suggestions to their representatives, who are obliged to give their constituents an account of their actions. Discussions among workers, peasants and intellectuals on economic and social problems are often carried on in the presence of Government and party officials who maintain close contact with the people through periodic visits to the various departments, towns and communes and social and economic centres.

Another way in which the community participates in the management of State and public affairs is through civic central groups. These groups are composed of persons from the various occupational, professional and age groups who are elected by trade unions, civic and mass organizations. They are responsible for overseeing the managerial activities and working conditions in industrial enterprises, territorial health units, health resorts and rest homes. It is expected that the competent authorities will act on their findings and recommendations.

A. Participation by the population in the formulation of social and economic development plans

The present territorial-administrative division of Romania has proved to be effective in promoting maximum economic development and in reducing disparities among different regions of the country.

National economic development is guided through centralized planning, as set forth in the country's five-year and ten-year plans, which in principle determine the basic propositions for the development of the national economy and the territorial distribution of the forces of production. Involved in the process of formulating long-term plans are all economic basic units as well as specialized bodies on the local and central levels. This process is initiated at the basic economic level through the submission of proposals with the assistance of a large number of specialists.

The extent to which the people participate in the preparation of long-term plans is shown, inter alia, by the fact that at the territorial level alone approximately 160,000 specialists helped to draw up the preliminary proposals for the 1970-1975 plan.

/...

The system for financing and approving investments for the various branches or activities of the national economy, at various levels, clearly reveals the role of the people in the development process at the level of communes and towns. In Romania, investment is mainly financed by centralized State funds. Part of the investment is financed from local budgets, that is, from the resources of the towns and communes themselves and the funds of enterprises and other economic units.

The people are also involved in the planning of socio-economic development through the activities of the Trade Unions which, as representatives of workers, enterprises and institutions, take part in the management and planning of the national economy, working in close co-operation with the State organs. The Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania participates in the person of its Chairman, in the deliberations of the Council of Ministers, whose recommendations are subsequently submitted to the Grand National Assembly.

B. Participation by Citizens in the Life of Urban and Rural Communities

The share of the people's voluntary contributions in the construction of social-cultural and technical-municipal buildings is important. The amount of the contribution and the allocation of funds are approved by the people's assemblies. In this manner, in the last few years it has been possible to build a number of schools, cultural centres and maternity homes, or to provide water supply facilities and instal electricity in rural areas. Where the local economic situation does not yet warrant the construction of such facilities, subsidies are provided from the central funds.

Since the departmental People's Councils have their own plans and budgets, they are empowered to approve investments (below a certain value) and the location of projects. It should be noted that the departmental, urban, and communal People's Councils are authorized to decide on the location of local industry, communal administration, housing construction, general education, local construction enterprises, service units, cultural and artistic bodies etc.

The opinion of the People's Councils is sought on a wide range of issues of an economic, social and cultural nature - they express their views for example on such matters as the location of industrial enterprises, the withdrawal of the land from agriculture, procedures for ensuring water for private and industrial use, electric and thermal power, the deployment of labour and environmental protection.

Mass organizations and civic organizations play an important role in community life, since they ensure the organized participation of the workers in social and economic development. A common form that this takes is participation in patriotic or voluntary labour. In this regard, in 1968, young people improved and constructed 2,618 recreational centres and thirteen tourist centres; they improved nearly 4 million square metres of parks and green spaces; helped to repair and maintain more than 4,000 kilometres of roads and 510 kilometres of pavements; built 154 schools and 118 cultural centres; and assisted in a large number of projects aimed at improving the material and spiritual conditions of community life.

The interests of the rural community are considered by young people within the context of national interests. Thus, in 1968 young people restored to agriculture 3,700 hectares of arable land and improved 30,000 hectares of meadows and natural pastures.

/...

Almost 1 million citizens are involved in the activity of some 185,000 civic committees. In the field of rural electrification, for example, publicly elected civic committees played a considerable role between 1961 and 1966 in the electrification of more than 7,000 villages.

C. Participation by the workers in the activities of enterprises

The workers take part in the direct management of the general economic, social and cultural life of the country, and in the management of the activities of the enterprises and institutions in which they work. Besides the civic control discussed above, mention should also be made of the general assembly of employees of enterprises and institutions (composed of manual and professional workers) which is, in the major enterprises, the body to which the management committees must submit quarterly reports, present for discussion the methods used in implementing their plans, and submit at the end of the year a balance-sheet of enterprise activities. The general assembly of employees has thus become a social institution which ensures that the workers in each unit participate in the formulation of the economic plan and the economic, technical and organizational measures for implementing the plan; it also ensures their participation in the exercise of control and enables the collective opinion to have an impact on economic life.

A further form of workers' participation in the conduct of enterprises is ensured by the composition of management committees. In addition to the technical and economic managers of the unit concerned, the management committees include representatives of various civic organizations elected by the employees. All members of the management committee have an equal voice and the decisions are taken by majority vote.

D. Participation by the peasants in the life of the co-operatives

Co-operative farming groups, which the peasants join of their free will, are organized and conducted along democratic lines. The general assembly of co-operating peasants is responsible for all aspects of co-operative production. It is competent to deal with various matters including the utilization of co-operative land and equipment; investment in physical and social infrastructure; the distribution of income (in cash and in kind) among the co-operative farm members; allocations to the various co-operative funds, such as the reserve and social funds (the latter being used to assist members who can no longer work because of their age); the election of management bodies to oversee the various aspects of co-operative activities.

The State provides assistance to the economic and organizational development of agricultural co-operatives. It allocates credit, makes available technical and material facilities, and is responsible for the renewal of long-term contracts for agricultural production.

The agricultural co-operative production unit has created the organizational framework required for the economic and social activities of the peasantry, the harmonious merging of the interests of the peasantry with those of the people as a whole, and the organic integration of co-operative agriculture into the process of development of the economy as a whole.

/...

E. Education: development and management

The development of education in Romania after the war can be illustrated with the aid of some statistical data: for the academic year 1938-1939, there was an average of eighteen pupils and students per 10,000 inhabitants, whereas for the academic year 1967-1968, there was an average of 167 pupils and students per thousand inhabitants. The number of pupils in secondary schools has increased tenfold since 1938. In Romania education is free at all levels and is compulsory for the first eight years of schooling.

General education is entirely in the hands of the People's Councils, which are responsible for both the management and administration of the units in their network and for the necessary construction and supply of equipment. It should be noted that, in the rural areas, most of the school buildings and boarding-schools for the purpose of general education are provided through voluntary contributions and the labour of the people. As already noted the people themselves determine and approve the amount and distribution of that contribution at the general assemblies in the communes.

As regards the involvement of the community in teaching activities, the following features may be noted:

Youth organizations (students associations in the higher educational establishments, the Communist Youth League and the Pioneer Organization at the other levels of education, take an active part in the organization of recreation and holiday activities and of medical treatment and care of pupils and students;

Representatives of youth organizations participate in the work of the university senates or academic boards as members with the right to speak and vote. In this manner, the representatives of young people have an opportunity to express their opinion on problems concerning the life and activities of pupils and students, curricula, time-tables and the organization of extracurricular activities.

Representatives of youth organizations participate in the work of scholarship commissions, their votes having the same weight as those of the other members.

Supervision in student centres and canteens is exercised by groups or by individual students, who have the right to refer matters to the administrative or managing bodies of the educational establishment in question.

There are parents' committees which work in connexion with secondary schools and schools of general education and co-operate with school authorities in educational and administrative matters.

F. Cultural Life

The specialized body dealing with cultural activity is the State Committee for Culture and the Arts, this body collaborates directly with creative unions and associations and other civic organizations in regard to artistic and professional matters.

The presidents of the Union of Writers, the Union of Artists and the Union of Composers and the representatives of the central council of the General Union of Trade Unions, of the National Union of Agricultural Production Co-operatives and the central committee of the Union of Communist Youth are members of the executive bureau of the Committee and have the right to speak and vote. This structure is also maintained at the local level to ensure participation at all levels in the development of cultural activity.

The ever-growing participation of the people in the cultural process is illustrated by the growth of urban and trade union houses of culture, cultural centres, reading-rooms, clubs and the amateur artistic movement. The number of houses of culture increased from 85 in 1955 to 186 in 1967, while that of clubs and trade-union reading rooms rose from 2,902 in 1948 to 4,400 in 1966. In addition to these figures, by 1967 the number of cultural centres and reading rooms had reached 11,000 and there were 31,500 amateur artisitic groups in existence.

Books are one of the most important vehicles of culture and it should be noted that 2,417 titles (approximately 52 million copies) were published in Romania in 1949 and 5,301 titles (approximately 74 million copies) were published in 1968. Over the same period the volume of publications by number of printed pages almost tripled. Romania is thus one of the leading countries in the publication of books. The members of the different national groups also contribute to the enrichment of the country's intellectual life, combining tradition and innovation, within the framework of the new socialist society. In Romania, there are now twelve State artistic institutions which act as guardians of the cultural heritage of these groups. More than forty newspapers and magazines and approximately 3,300,000 books and pamphlets are published each year in the languages of these groups.

In the course of almost five decades of activity, the cultural centre, as an organized form of cultural activity meeting the needs of the village, has continued to develop. The cultural centre has combined amateur artistic activities, libraries, reading facilities, basic and specialized training and constitutes a veritable "peasant school".

This institution has developed since the Second World War, enlarging its sphere of activity, becoming the centre of local cultural and artistic life and assuming the task of co-ordinating the activities of all the other rural cultural and educational institutions (libraries, cinemas, village museums, local radio-relay stations, etc.) Thus the amateur artistic movement may be seen as one of the main forms of mass participation in the establishment and enrichment of spiritual values.

G. Community participation in the maintenance of law and order

In the process designed to safeguard the maintenance of law and order, an important role is assigned to the community - in addition to the bodies specializing in this field. The community participates through the following representatives:

1. People's assessors, who are elected and who participate in the courts of the first instance;

2. Judgement commissions (comisii de judecata) which are civic bodies, functioning in enterprises, economic organizations, State institutions and other State organizations, agricultural production co-operatives, crafts co-operatives and other civic organizations with at least 100 employees or members. Commissions of this kind also operate in connexion with the executive committees of the People's Councils of municipalities, towns, communes and the sectors of the Municipality of Bucharest. The members of the judgement commissions are elected at the same time as the general assembly of employees or at the time of the sessions of the People's Councils;

3. The judgement councils, which are required to deal with certain cases involving breaches of the social rules (when they have been committed for the first time), with labour disputes and minor offenses committed at one's place of work and in civil cases involving sums of not more than 5,000 lei.

The establishment and functioning of these commissions and the transfer to their jurisdiction of an increased number of lawsuits, settled according to a simplified procedure of justice, increases the community's role in the maintenance of law and order.

VIII. ISSUES AND TRENDS RELATED TO RURAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN SELECTED COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST*

In an earlier paper issued by the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut, 1/ a preliminary assessment was made of the community development efforts in the countries under study, based on the limited information then available on the subject and on related issues.

The purpose of the present study is (a) to assist the Governments of the countries of the Middle East in evaluating their work on rural and community development and (b) to contribute to the global effort of the United Nations to clarify policy issues concerning the future evolution of community development.

The paper relies to a great extent on the findings of recent research on demography, urbanization, human resources, social welfare, development planning and regional development. For a proper perspective and greater clarity, community development efforts, whether in the form of official programmes designated as such, or programmes using the concepts of community development without being labeled as such, are viewed in the broader context of rural development.

I. THE CONTEXT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Demographic and settlement trends

From a demographic point of view, a distinction may be usefully made between the northern tier countries of Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon and Syria and the southern tier countries of Saudi Arabia, South Yemen and Yemen. Population density in the northern group averages twenty-five persons per square kilometre, while in the southern countries the average density comes only to four. However, if desert areas are excluded, the density in the North rises to forty-six. In that same northern group of countries one country, namely Lebanon, has an exceptionally high density of 234. The density is high even in the strictly rural areas of Lebanon - Bekaa, for example, has about sixty people per square kilometre.

---

* Prepared by the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut, this chapter covers the following countries: Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Southern Yemen, Syria and the Republic of Yemen.

1/ "A Preliminary Review and Assessment of Community Development in Various Countries of the Middle East", presented to the Advisory and Inter-Agency Committees of ASFEC, Cairo, May 1967.

The following table gives population estimates for the year 1966, the area of each country and the population density:

Table 1. Geographical Distribution of population and density in selected countries in the Middle East, 1966

Country	Absolute number	Area (in square km)		Density	
		Total	Non-desert	Total area	Non-desert area
Iraq	8,492,000	444,442	235,733	19	36
Jordan	1,978,000[a/]	90,185	22,019	22	90
Kuwait	501,000	16,000	9,000	31	56
Lebanon	2,374,000[a/]	10,150	-	234	-
Syria	5,451,000[a/]	185,180	142,740	29	38
Saudi Arabia	4,600,000	2,253,355	728,400	2	6
Southern Yemen	1,146,000	287,683	...	4	...
Yemen	5,000,000	195,000	...	26	...

Sources: Estimates by the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut; United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967; Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Central Planning Organization, Economic Report 1388-1389, Riyadh.

a/ Palestinian refugees included.

But since demographic pressure is better gauged by considering the ratio of arable land to agricultural population, the data in the following table may be enlightening:

Table 2. Settled agricultural population and density per square kilometre of arable land, 1964

Country	Settled agricultural population a/	Area b/		Density of population per sq. km of arable land
		Arable area	Irrigated area	
Iraq	3,600,000	74,960	36,750	48
Jordan	580,000	11,400	600	51
Kuwait c/	20,000 d/	10	...	2,000
Lebanon	1,100,000	2,960	610 c/	372
Syria	2,700,000	66,540	4,890	41
Saudi Arabia	3,200,000	3,730	1,600	858
Southern Yemen	730,000	2,590	...	282
Total	11,930,000	162,190	...	74

a/ Food and Agricultural Organization, Production Yearbook, 1966, vol. 20. Nomadic population has been excluded from the estimate of agricultural population as given by FAO.

b/ Ibid.

c/ 1965.

d/ Estimated by the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut.

In the north the ratio of population to arable land varies between forty and fifty persons per square kilometre, with Kuwait (almost totally urban) and Lebanon standing out as exceptions. In the south, however, the pressure on arable land is high (especially in Saudi Arabia where it reaches 858), considering that settled agricultural populations are concentrated mostly in scattered locations.

Rural and urban populations

While urbanization has been growing, rural populations are still in the majority except in Kuwait and Lebanon, as the following table shows:

Table 3. Distribution of rural and urban population and relative importance of capital cities in relation to total population

Country	Year	Urban population[a/]	Rural population[a/]	Capital cities
		(percentage of total population)		
Iraq	1957	39.2	60.8	13.6
Jordan	1961	47.4	52.6	14.4
Kuwait	1965	75[b/]	25[b/]	63.2
Lebanon	1964	57	43	39.8
Syria	1960	37.7	62.3	11.7
Saudi Arabia	1962-63	...	...	4.0
Southern Yemen	1964	...	...	20.2
Yemen	1965	...	...	13.3

a/ Urban and rural population as defined in the national censuses.

b/ Estimate

Obviously Iraq and Syria, among the countries under discussion, have the largest rural population. The distribution in Saudi Arabia, South Yemen and Yemen is not known, but it appears that, apart from a few large towns, urbanization is in its early stage in these three countries; their predominantly rural and nomadic character is unmistakable.

Nevertheless, increasing urbanization in all the countries discussed is a factor of great importance. A significant feature of this trend is the rapid growth of capital cities, none of which has shown a rate of growth of less than 4 per cent. Amman and Damascus have actually been growing at a rate of about 6 per cent, Riyadh at over 8 per cent and Kuwait at about 18 per cent. While the contribution of rural out-migration to this growth has often been stressed, the demographic growth generated within the cities should not be underestimated. In all capital cities, except Beirut, birth rates are at their maximum level and death rates are at their minimum, the latter varying widely from country to country according to differences in the social and health environment.

Settlement pattern

The heavy concentration of populations in the capital cities is only one of the noteworthy features of the settlement pattern in the countries under study. Another feature, one of great relevance to the issues of rural development, is that of the widely scattered rural populations. The rural population of Iraq is distributed among over 14,000 villages, many with populations of less than 500; in Jordan, half the population lives in about 1,000 villages of less than 5,000 persons each; Saudi Arabia counts some 6,000 settled places, and of these 5,000 had less than 500 people, while only 145 had as many as 2,000 people; and in Syria there are no less than 4,400 settlements with less than 500 persons each.

B. Agricultural trends

The demographic characteristics discussed above raise many issues related to the appropriate strategies for rural development, among which are the following:

1. The effect of future urbanization and industrialization trends upon the rural areas and rural populations;

2. The agricultural policies to be pursued (in spite of growing urbanization the demographic pressure on cultivable land is not likely to abate in the near future); the economic and social policies needed to modernize agriculture and to improve agricultural productivity;

3. The most suitable institutional devices needed for the stimulation of rural development (in view of the scattered settlement pattern prevailing in the majority of the countries under study); the way to distribute social services to greatest effect; deliberate policies and measures (if these exist) for effecting a favourable change in the settlement pattern.

Of these issues, the questions related to the future of agriculture are of greatest relevance to this chapter. While it is recognized that other economic sectors such as industry and services have a role to play in the future development of rural areas, the countries of the Middle East covered in this chapter assign high priority to the development of agriculture, a sector which for many years to come will provide the main economic leverage for rural development.

In Iraq, the contribution of agriculture to the gross domestic product represented 17 per cent of the total in 1964 (or ID 173,560,000). Agricultural employment engages about 65 per cent of the population (and 55.8 per cent of the male labour force). 2/ Current trends in agriculture include efforts to extend irrigated lands, reclaim new lands and resettle farmers. These often take the form of large projects in specific areas, for example, the greater Mussayeb project (reclamation of 335,000 mesharas of land and settlement of some 2,800 farm families). Another important trend is reflected in efforts at making agrarian reform work. This will be discussed in more detail in a later section of this paper.

In Jordan, agriculture plays a vital role in the economy in spite of the country's generally arid territory. The value of its products was JD 33.4 million in 1964, amounting to 24 per cent of the gross domestic product for that year. One of the vital developments of agriculture in recent times, representing a departure from traditional practices, was the implementation of the East Ghor Canal project, resulting in the regular irrigation of 140,000 dunums 3/ of land near the Jordan River. The contribution of this project is indicated by the fact that net income per dunum has increased from JD 2.2 in the pre-canal year of 1959 to

---

2/ ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1967.

3/ In this chapter, the land area equivalents are as follows:
2.47 acres = 1 hectare = 10,000 square metres = 10 dunums (Jordan, Lebanon and Syria) = 25 dunums (Iraq) = 1 meshara.

JD 13.6 in 1965. An interesting feature of this project was the application of special land tenure arrangements, providing for maximum and minimum size for each farm holding. Agriculture's contribution to employment is indicated by the fact that 44 per cent of all economically active males were employed in agriculture in 1961.4/

In Lebanon, agriculture contributes a relatively small share of the national income, amounting in 1964 to 11.9 per cent of the gross domestic product (which was LL 3,200 million) and in the following year to 11.6 per cent. These figures by themselves should not, however, be used as a gauge of the extent of rural life in Lebanon. Even the demographic data indicating a high level of urbanization should be read with caution. It is true that the capital city of Beirut and its suburbs account for about 40 per cent of the total population, but the urban populations in South Lebanon and Bekaa valley represent only 25.6 and 22.6 per cent respectively of the total population of those areas. Another fact to be kept in mind is that village life in Lebanon is not totally dependent on agriculture, since tourism and "summer resorting" play a vital part in the provision of employment and income. Even so, the manpower engaged in agriculture is estimated at 54 per cent of the total manpower. 5/

Of all the countries discussed in this study, the role of agriculture is most prominent in Syria. While climatic conditions affect agricultural production from year to year, the following figures from "typical years" indicate the importance of agriculture to the national economy. For the years 1956/1957 the annual average contribution of agriculture to net domestic product amounted to 35.8 per cent, and in 1963/1964 to 31.7 per cent. Its contribution to employment is also substantial, judging by the fact that in 1960 the active males engaged in agriculture represented 53.8 per cent of the total.6/

An important element of agricultural policy in Syria is the effort towards greater exploitation of regions possessing substantial potential in land and water resources. An earlier example is the development of the Ghab-Asharneh plain, which aimed at the rehabilitation of some 50,000 hectares. More dramatic in its effects in the next decades will be the developments connected with the Euphrates Dam project (now in early stages of execution), which will eventually bring under irrigation some 600,000 hectares of land.

The revenue from agriculture in Saudi Arabia is relatively small, and is dwarfed by revenue derived from other sectors, especially oil. In 1960 it was estimated at 9 per cent of that year's gross national product of SR 4,220 million. But the importance of agriculture to Saudi Arabia derives from its future potential in view of the country's avowed aim to reduce its dependence on oil revenues. The cultivated area is estimated to be 245,000 hectares representing only 0.13 per cent of the total area of the country. While the agricultural holdings amount to about 4.5 million dunums, only 1.5 million dunums are actually cultivated. For agriculture to become a meaningful economic sector in Saudi Arabia several major problems have to be solved, chief among which is the severe shortage of water. To this end a fifteen-year programme for the survey and identification of water resources was adopted (in 1965/1966, for example, SR 119,220,000 was allocated for this purpose).

4/ Ibid.

5/ "The Middle East and North Africa 1967-1968" (London, Europa Publications Limited), pp.431-466.

6/ Ibid.

As can be seen from the following table, relatively small as the agricultural sector is, it nevertheless engages a considerable part of the labour force, although admittedly with a low output per worker compared with workers even in non-oil sectors.

Table 4. Comparative value of annual output per worker in different sectors, 1960

Sector	Income produced (SR millions)	Number of workers (thousands)	Output per worker (SR)
Oil	1,917	13.4	143,000
Government	624	96	6,690
Private non-Agriculture	1,097	339	3,240
Agriculture	316	200	1,580
Nomads	84	165	516

Source: Saudi Arabia - C.P.O. An Economic Survey, December 1965, p.155.

A problem closely linked with agricultural development in Saudi Arabia is that of sedentarization of the nomadic bedouins, who constitute about one fifth of the population. Projects such as the Harrad (King Faisal) Project in the Eastern Province, which aims at the immediate reclamation of some 4,000 hectares for settlement by some 1,000 bedouin families, are now underway, but their success will depend on the nature and extent of the agricultural development of these lands.

In Southern Yemen, the potentially cultivable land amounts to only 1 per cent of its 112,000 square mile area. But the area actually cultivated has never exceeded one fifth of the arable land (in the record year 1964/1965 an estimated 190,875 acres were cultivated). At present, agriculture contributes no more than 15 per cent to the gross domestic product.7/ Many factors including difficult terrain, meagre rainfall and poor development of underground water resources combine to explain the low productivity of the land. Agricultural planning for the utilization of the full potential of the country is still in its very early stages and faces major difficulties.

By contrast, the picture of agriculture in the neighbouring country of the Yemen Arab Republic is much brighter, and is the main source of livelihood for almost 90 per cent of its population (estimated at about 5 million). The potentially cultivable land is about 6 million acres, of which not more than 5 per cent is actually under cultivation. Land reclamation schemes such as the scheme in the coastal area of Tebama, which is expected to put from 9,000 to 10,000 hectares under cultivation, are among the measures undertaken by the Government to correct this situation. Investments in major agricultural

7/ Republic of Southern Yemen, Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, "Towards the development of the agricultural sector in Rural Areas", 1968, p.12 (Arabic).

enterprises, however, have for the time being to compete with other vital needs such as the development of major infrastructural works: roads, harbours, airports and telecommunications. A favourable factor is the keen interest a large segment of the population takes in agriculture, and a lack of disdain for manual work. This brief review of the agricultural sector in these countries, and its problems and prospects, is meant to give some indication of the material base on which rural development must depend. But what about the rural human resources on which the translation of these agricultural potentials into reality will eventually depend? What is the level of education, health, skill and motivation at present? To a large extent, the future development of rural areas revolves around this question.

C. Social services and administrative development

The situation with respect to social services in the rural areas of the countries discussed is no exception to the prevailing pattern in most developing countries. In all these countries, the rural areas are, without exception, the most backward. Whether one measures the differences between rural and urban areas on the basis of development indicators: literacy rates, doctors per population, hospital beds per population ratios or nutritional standards etc., or on the basis of statistics describing the spread of social services, the disadvantageous position of the rural areas becomes clear.

But this situation is not uniform for the countries discussed: generally speaking the northern tier countries of Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait and Syria have made greater progress in the spread of social services in rural areas than the southern group of countries: Saudi Arabia, South Yemen and Yemen. This is more evident with respect to educational services.

In Iraq, the distribution of educational facilities undoubtedly favours the large urban centres: in 1965 Baghdad area contained 24 per cent of all primary schools (and 33 per cent of all pupils) and 34 per cent of all secondary schools in the country. But the great efforts made by Iraq in the last decade have resulted in a more even distribution of elementary and intermediate education throughout the country, thus benefiting the rural areas. But many problems remain: the scattered population in remote villages (see earlier discussion on rural settlement pattern) cannot be easily reached; the enrolment of female pupils lags far behind that of boys. Currently 36 girls to each 100 boys are attending schools in the country as a whole, but in some rural areas it is less than 30 per 100; 8/ and the quality of school buildings and teachers is rather inferior.

Using adult literacy as a yardstick, it may be observed that in Jordan, while adult literacy rates in urbanized Amman area reach 41.0 per cent, in the rural areas of Blaqa and Karak they go down to 22 and 18.6 per cent respectively. But in terms of formal education, Jordan has succeeded in spreading elementary education to almost every village in the country.

In Syria the partition of school enrolment at all levels (except higher education) by district parallels closely that of the district population ratios, indicating a fairly even distribution of educational facilities between districts. This information is shown in the table overleaf.

8/ Republic of Iraq - Central Department of Statistics, Educational Statistics for the year 1955/1956.

Table 5. Syria: population and school enrolment statistics in Syria by mohafaza, 1966

Mohafaza	Population by mohafaza	Percentage	Enrolment in primary schools by mohafaza	Percentage	Enrolment in preparatory and secondary schools by mohafaza 1966-1967	Percentage
Damascus (city and Mohafaza)	1,089,215	19	159,447	24	38,986	25
Duncitra	147,613	3	15,953	2	3,489	2
Homs	569,426	10	66,970	10	16,582	11
Hama	480,008	8	63,700	10	15,006	10
Aleppo	1,263,292	22	118,715	18	24,371	16
Idleb	402,477	7	47,958	7	11,067	7
Lattakia	714,341	12	88,894	13	20,516	13
Deir-ez-Zor	304,390	5	25,657	4	6,060	4
Raqqa	137,994	2	12,702	2	1,712	1
Hasaqeh	260,974	5	30,111	4	5,980	4
Dara'a	221,805	4	25,707	4	5,318	3
Swida	169,814	3	19,501	3	4,947	3
Total	5,761,349	100	674,315	100	154,034	100

Sources: Syrian Arab Republic, Ministry of Planning, Directorate of Statistics, Statistical Abstract for the Year 1966 (Damascus, Government Printing Press, 1967), pp.23-24; Syrian Arab Republic, Ministry of Education, Directorate of Statistics, Educational Statistics for the School Year 1966-1967, pp.3, 125, 175.

It is certain, however, that in Syria (as well as in Iraq and Jordan) a detailed examination of each district will reveal that their most urbanized segments (that is, district capitals) are much more greatly favoured compared to their predominantly rural segments.

Of the southern group of countries, Saudi Arabia is exceptional for the great efforts it made with respect to the extension of education. From 1957 to 1966 the number of boys in public elementary schools grew from 91,787 to 212,675, in intermediate schools from 3,253 to 17,939 and in secondary schools from 1,123 to 4,573, implying rates of an average annual growth in the order of 13 per cent, 64 per cent and 31 per cent respectively. Education for girls, however, is still in its early stages: its ratio to that of boys does not exceed 20 per cent.9/

While no data are available for rural areas separately, observation and the fact that (even with the great efforts expended) only 20 per cent of the age group six to fifteen are actually enrolled in school, would indicate that the rural areas lag far behind with respect to general education. Here again the extremely fragmented pattern of distribution of rural population presents a great difficulty in the extension of educational facilities.

In the Republic of Southern Yemen comparative figures over a period of years are not available, but it is known that in 1967/1968 the ratio of pupils enrolled in schools to the total population was 4.6 per cent (3.6, 0.8 and 0.2 per cent for elementary, intermediate, and technical education respectively). The urbanized Aden area (the First Province) however, receives a major portion of the benefits; here is concentrated 30 per cent of all elementary pupils, 40 per cent of the intermediate, 80 per cent of the secondary and 70 per cent of all female pupils. But statistics aside, the fact remains that existing rural schools in the hinterland away from Aden are of the backward traditional type (kuttab) with unqualified teachers.

The latter type of school was the prevalent form of education in the neighbouring country of the Republic of Yemen until a few years ago. Modern forms of education were recently introduced, and by 1966 there were 977 primary schools enrolling 69,139 boys and 3,118 girls (the latter largely in the two cities of Sana'a and Taiz). This total represents about 10 per cent of the age group from six to sixteen. Owing to the recent origin of these schools it is not surprising to find that there were in the same year only eight intermediate and three secondary schools for the whole country, with an enrolment of 1,859 students. In addition, there were twenty-four "religious institutes" in 1964/1965 enrolling 1,898 students.

While some progress is being made in spreading the benefits of modern education to the rural areas, the disparity in health levels between the urban and rural segments is much more obvious. Low health and sanitation levels are the general rule in rural areas. However, some important progress has been made in the control of some major endemic diseases such as malaria and trachoma. The following table reflects the current situation in health as gauged by some key indicators:

9/ Educational statistics derived from: Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, Guide to Educational Statistics, 1386-1387 A.H.

Table 6. Selected development indicators related to health services

Country	Population per physician (1)	Population per hospital bed (2)	Population per nurse (3)
Iraq (1964)	4,760	470	10,640
Jordan (1966)	4,077	597	7,003
Kuwait[a/]	745	140	1,323
Lebanon (1963)	1,320	250	2,359
Saudi Arabia[b/]	13,000	1,200	6,717
Syria[c/]	5,000	973	6,961
South Yemen (Estimate 1969)	33,000	1,500	...

a/ Col.(1) 1966; Cols.(2) and (3) 1964.

b/ Col.(1) estimate 1964; col.(2) 1965; col.(3) 1964.

c/ Cols.(1) and (2)1966; col.(3) 1963.

In Iraq the current plans in the health field include the construction of eighteen regional hospitals and 136 subregional health centres in addition to mobile health units to serve remote and scattered rural locations. However, because of many difficulties, this programme remains largely unimplemented. The Government hopes also to double the number of physicians from 1,436 in 1964 to 2,987 in 1969, but whether this will improve their distribution in the country, and especially in the rural areas, remains to be seen. Past experience in Iraq and other countries indicate that this happens too slowly.

In Lebanon, where the national level of health services looks more favourable in comparison to the rest of the countries discussed (see table above), widespread complaints are frequently voiced about the uneven distribution of health facilities and personnel. Generally, these are heavily concentrated in the capital city of Beirut and to some extent in the district capitals of Tripoli, Sidon and Zahle.

In Saudi Arabia the health facilities provided free of charge to the population have grown somewhat in numbers over the last decades, as the following table indicates:

Table 7. Saudi Arabia: Growth in health facilities, 1958-1967

Health facilities	Years				
	1958	1964	1965	1966	1967
Hospitals	33	67	80	80	80
Beds in hospitals	3,000	5,552	5,952	5,952	5,952
Dispensaries	49	157	196	205	205
Health centres	51	239	303	303	303

Source: For year 1958, Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Report 1963; for remaining years, Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency, Annual Report 1386/87 (1967), p. 43.

The exact pattern of dispersal of these facilities is not known, except for the fact that most of the facilities exist in the Western and Eastern regions, and largely benefit the urban and semi-urban agglomerations. The problem facing Saudi Arabia is the speedy development of trained manpower for health services, a problem now partially alleviated by the employment of expatriate health personnel. But until more personnel are appointed it is not realistic to expect any major improvement in the extension of health services to rural areas and to nomadic populations scattered widely in the vast expanse of Saudi Arabia.

In the Republic of South Yemen at present there is one hospital functioning in Aden, while five so-called hospitals, scattered over the rest of the country, function at a low level of efficiency, and are difficult to reach for most villagers. At independence, with the withdrawal of most expatriate doctors and nurses, it was estimated that the country had one physician for every 33,000 people.

Administrative structures

The distribution of political and administrative power in a country affects the capacity of various segments of the population to participate in the development efforts and to share in their fruits. The administrative structures in the countries under discussion show a remarkable similarity (understood in relation to historical developments). Power is highly concentrated in the hands of a central Government and the administrative subdivisions (liwas, mohafazat, etc.) are limited in their exercise of authority, in their fields of action and in their financial ability.

In recent years, however, attempts have been made to move in the direction of decentralization of Government and increasing the powers of government units at the district and lower levels. The following points give an indication of the extent and nature of these actions:

1. District government jurisdictions are being expanded beyond the traditional sphere of maintaining law and order to such areas as agriculture, education, health, and the development of physical infrastructures.

2. Central government departments (ministries, etc.) have begun to establish district and sub-district offices, and these are being given increasing powers ...

with respect to the implementation of programmes. In theory, at least, the district administrator is given powers of co-ordination over the different services.

3. In most countries discussed, a Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs has been established with the main objective of strengthening the abilities of the local populations to govern themselves. A remarkable increase in the number of incorporated municipal and village councils has been observed in recent years.

4. Attempts are being made to provide the subnational levels of government with competent personnel through training and incentive schemes.

It must be noted, however, that these developments are still in their early stages, and the contemporary picture is one of highly centralized authority, even over minor and trivial issues.

II. THE FOCUS ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Past rural development policy

The relatively inferior position of the rural populations described above does not in fact adequately highlight the plight of rural areas. Numerous studies of rural and village life made by sociologists and psychologists, paint a sombre picture of stagnation in economic and social life in the vast majority of the rural areas, and describe graphically the isolation and dreariness of life there. This stagnation has undoubtedly contributed to the large rural-to-urban migration observed in most of the countries under study. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the issue of rural development has been very much on the conscience of public officials and private citizens alike (and the subject of much exhortation in newspapers and in intellectual circles). But what actions have followed, and what in fact is rural development? A discussion of these questions is the object of the remainder of this chapter.

All the countries reviewed, whether or not they have adopted planning as an instrument for national development, have discernible rural development policies. Elements of these policies include:

(1) A high priority to agriculture and its basic requirements such as water development (this issue was discussed earlier in this paper);

(2) Agrarian reform as a necessary pre-condition for successful modernization of agriculture, as an incentive for a broader base of participation in agricultural development, and as a way of achieving a measure of social justice. This was adopted in several countries (for instance, Iraq and Syria);

(3) The introduction and expansion of new institutions deemed most suitable for the widespread distribution and use of modern agricultural inputs, material and human, such as agricultural extension, co-operatives and credit facilities; and

(4) The extension of basic social services for rural areas and experimentation with procedures aimed at stimulating the rural population to harness their resources and energies for accelerated development of these areas.

Rural development then, pragmatically speaking, is a combination of policies, actions, and programmes undertaken at the national, district and local level, which aim at improving the productivity of rural areas and the living standards of the rural population. A corollary of this achievement would be the reduction of the disparities between rural and urban areas.

This definition makes clear the interdisciplinary nature of this endeavour, requiring the co-ordinated participation of many governmental and popular bodies.

B. Reform and modernization

Agrarian reform was initiated in Iraq over ten years ago through a series of legislative measures, and their implementation was entrusted to a specially formed Ministry of Agrarian Reform. From the very beginning, however, agrarian reform ran into difficulties, which have yet to be resolved in relation to three key phases of its execution:

1. The repossession of the excess of land holdings;

2. The temporary management of the repossessed lands (plus the government-owned land); and

3. The redistribution of land to dispossessed farmers.

The difficulties in the first phase are political, fiscal (paying compensation to ex-owners), and cadastral in nature. The difficulties in the last two phases can be summarized as follows:

(a) To find a substitute system for providing the new landowners with the necessary inputs supplied in the past by the old landlords, or their agents, for example, management, credit, seeds, fertilizers and machinery;

(b) To solve technical problems related, for example, to irrigation and drainage, where the old networks are now no longer adequate to service the new subdivisions of land; and

(c) To help the new owners, who often do not possess any savings, capital, or the know-how for required improvements on the land.

In Jordan, where agrarian reform measures were not undertaken on a national scale, special agrarian reform measures were applied in the execution of the East Ghor Canal development project. The major aim in this case was to provide each farmer with the optimal 10/ size of land tenure commensurate with agricultural efficiency and the generation of a reasonable family income.

The Agrarian Reform Law of 1963 aimed at improving the pattern of land tenure in Syria, where, prior to the Law, 50 per cent of the cultivable land was owned by a few large landowners. Ceilings were imposed on land ownership, the excess land was repossessed by the State and later 25 per cent of the total agricultural land was redistributed among tenants, share croppers and agricultural labourers. This process is still continuing.

10/ The minimum holding is 30 dunums, the maximum 300 dunums in most areas.

In Southern Yemen one of the early actions of the new régime was to promulgate the Agrarian Reform Law of 1968, which provided for the sequestration of all lands of the previous rulers, sultans and their families and also the wakf (religious endowment) lands. It limited land ownership to 25 acres for irrigated land and 50 acres of rainfed lands. Repossessed land would be distributed to landless families of those who died in the cause of independence, agricultural labourers, poor farmers with too small plots of land and, interestingly, to citizens emigrating from cities and desert areas who wished to take up agriculture as an occupation.

Many financial, legal, technical and human problems face the implementation of these provisions, but it was proclaimed that their implementation together with the reclamation of land and the provision of water, would constitute the cornerstone in the development of agriculture and the transformation of rural life.

Co-operatives and credit

In all the examples of agrarian reform cited above, the establishment of co-operatives was adopted as one of the key instruments for solving the problems of its implementation. Co-operatives predate the agrarian reform law but the rate of their establishment was slow. In Iraq 11/, for example, only twenty-two co-operatives were organized between 1944 and 1959, with only 1,636 members contributing the insignificant share capital of ID 4,601. When the Government decided to take the initiative in promoting the co-operatives in the aftermath of the agrarian reform laws, the situation began to change, as seen by the following figures:

Table 8. Development of Co-operatives in Iraq

Year	Number of co-operatives	Members	Loans granted (ID)
1964	271	29,139	79,260
1967	399	55,775	-
1968	501	62,006	197,350

These are in addition to 250 other co-operatives operating outside the agrarian reform areas and serving agricultural and non-agricultural purposes.

• Each co-operative is staffed by a trained supervisor appointed by the Ministry of Agrarian Reform. A special training institute was established to train agricultural school graduates for co-operative functions.

Closely related to this movement and vital to its proper functioning are two banking institutions offering credit for agricultural purposes: The Agricultural Bank and the Co-operative Bank. Unfortunately, both are hampered by inadequate capitalization (in relation to the vast needs of agriculture in Iraq) and by unduly cumbersome procedures.

11/ Data on co-operatives in Iraq based on information supplied by the General Administration of Co-operatives and Agricultural Production, Ministry of Agrarian Reform, Republic of Iraq.

In spite of the progress made in the building up of the co-operative movement, it is clear that it is still in its early stages of development exerting only a minor impact on agricultural developments. Further progress in this field is dependent also on the ability of the authorities to build up the agricultural credit institutions so vital for progress in agriculture.

In Jordan the co-operative movement followed an entirely different path. It developed as a spontaneous response by farmers, and was later backed by the Government. The growth of co-operatives in Jordan is indicated by the following table:

Table 9. Growth of co-operatives in Jordan

Year	Number of co-operatives	Members	Share Capital (JD)	Loans (JD)
1953/54	50	2,091	11,873	44,256
1957/58	209	11,646	120,902	467,248
1962/63	589	35,331	394,973	748,225
1965/66	702	43,058	520,307	1,201,982

Source: Data derived from the Annual Report for 1967 of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

About 75 per cent of these societies are agricultural co-operatives, an interesting feature of which is their variety and specialization, for example, savings and credit, marketing, supply, agricultural wages and multi-purpose societies. The rapid expansion of the co-operatives has required the organization of several "service" institutions to promote the collective interest of the societies nationally. Among these are the Central Co-operatives Union, the Co-operative Accounting Federation, providing bookkeeping functions and financial advisory services to all its member co-operatives, and finally the Co-operative Institute, which provides training for personnel and members engaged in co-operative work.

Of no less importance in the promotion of agriculture in Jordan are the specialized credit institutions such as the Agricultural Credit Organization, which offers direct credits to farmers on short, medium or long range terms, and also to co-operative societies, via the Central Co-operatives Union at low interest rates. In 1964 the Agricultural Credit Organization granted JD 4,380,499 in loans.

The earliest attempt to revitalize agricultural life in Syria was through the introduction of co-operatives. A spontaneous effort in 1943 did not go very far. By 1950 a decree was promulgated to provide impetus for co-operative organization and requiring the banks to extend credits to them, and for the Agricultural Extension Department to promote them. The results were meagre, for by 1957 only nineteen agricultural co-operatives were active. However, an attempt to promote "supervised credit" through co-operatives succeeded in stimulating the movement, so that by 1960 there were 373 associations with a membership of 43,809 members and a capital of SL 7.3 million. These included 108 societies in agrarian reform areas. In 1964 out of 670 co-operatives with about 69,000 members, ninety-eight

were non-agricultural. The capital of the agricultural co-operatives, however, did not exceed SL1 million, an indication that they still have a long way to go before making an impact on agriculture. The following tables give a breakdown of the co-operatives in Syria in 1964:

Table 10. Type of Co-operative in 1964

Type of co-operative	Number	Membership	Capital shares (SL)	Ministry
Agriculture	321	25,496	741,249	Agriculture
Agrarian reform	251	15,142	242,270	Agrarian reform
Consumer	46	22,566	2,478,083	Supply
Housing	24	3,800	6,759,370	Municipality
Labour	15	812	135,275	Industry
Student	2	277	3,706	Education
Services	11	889	5,723	Social Affairs and Labour
Total	670	68,982	10,417,090	

Source: Syrian Arab Republic: Ministry of Agriculture, and Ministry of Economics reports in 1966.

Agricultural extension services

Agricultural extension services have come to be considered a vital element in the modernization of agriculture in developed and developing countries alike. The agricultural extension agent is expected to play a vital role in the transfer of modern agricultural technology to the farmers. In the countries under study there is full acceptance of the functions and usefulness of the "extensionist"; practical use of his services, however, has been fraught with difficultires stemming from the structure of agriculture itself and from the inadequacy of trained human resources. For instance, in the days before agrarian reform, it was not clear who was the "client" of the "extensionist", the owners of the large estates or the small farmers.

Current efforts aim at the training of agricultural extension agents at an intermediate level, usually from the ranks of the graduates of secondary agricultural schools. Thus, agricultural graduates from universities are released for more appropriate functions as agronomists, researchers, engineers, administrators and teachers.

In the two important agricultural countries of Iraq and Syria, it is now well accepted that agricultural extension work must be co-ordinated with other agricultural services. This co-ordination is vital, since any technical advice given by the extension agent and accepted by the farmer will be fruitless unless he has access to credit, machinery and all the other inputs needed for modern agriculture. On the other hand the extension worker has to be backed by, and constantly fed, the results of agricultural research.

In Jordan, during an early period of experimentation, there were attempts to clarify the roles of the agricultural extension agent and the community development worker. While the former was considered as the technical agent offering guidance, demonstration and advice to the farmer, the latter was considered the "generalist", the one to bring the various technical and social services to bear on the farmer and his environment. In practice this distinction proved difficult to maintain under Jordanian conditions. While the issue was decided in favour of a strong agricultural extension service, it left unresolved the question of how to stimulate local communities to action favouring over-all rural development.

C. Motivation of rural populations - Experiments with rural community development

In the search for a formula to stimulate the rural populations to improve their social and economic conditions, many of the countries under study adopted, as early as the mid-fifties, the "concepts", "techniques" or "programmes" of community development. In none of these countries has action gone beyond the experimentation or demonstration stage, and all of them are at present assessing the results and are trying to make up their minds on the course to be taken in the future. A brief review of community development in these countries is therefore necessary before an assessment of their worth can be made and their future prospects discussed.

Iraq

In Iraq, official efforts in the field of community development began in 1959 and resulted in a variety of programmes under different ministerial auspices. The Ministry of Education established several fundamental education centres in rural areas, which were to provide adult literacy classes, training in home economics for women and young girls, and day care services for the children. In addition, the centres were to be focal points for the promotion of public health, agricultural skills and rural crafts. To provide trained manpower, a National Training Centre was established in 1961 at Abu Gharib near Baghdad to train special teachers for rural schools and for the fundamental education centres. It was thus hoped that the rural schools could be made into centres of socially significant activities for the stimulation of rural life. By and large, however, the results of this experiment were negative. Some of the centres continue to provide only literacy education to a dwindling number of men and women. The National Training Centre itself was discontinued.

The Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, is responsible for a programme of rural community development begun earlier by the Ministry of Social Affairs: in ten designated project areas (in nine different liwas) thirty-five community development units and three rural industry units were established. Each of these units was the work in co-operation with the local population for the promotion of better agricultural practices, and for the improvement of health and cultural conditions. The key agent in this work was a multi-purpose worker (with a bias towards agriculture) co-operating with the representatives of the technical services operating in his area.

While no formal assessment of this work has been made, the consensus among those concerned is that meagre results have been achieved. Apart from the difficulties encountered in staffing, financing and co-ordination, the programme had suffered from the beginning from inadequate planning and lack of clarity of conception. As a result the programme was frozen at the pilot and demonstration stage and does not seem to generate much enthusiasm among the high officials of the Government. The programme will not be expanded and each community development area will either be liquidated, or, where enough suitable factors such as density of population exist to develop in it a "combined service unit" co-ordinated with other services in the area.

Jordan

In Jordan, although formal community development activities were abandoned in 1962 (see reference in earlier section), the concepts and values of community development continued to be recognized. A new approach was sought, however, and this related to the field of education.

In addition to interest in the development of agricultural schools at the secondary and higher levels, a special rural teacher training institute was created in Huwara near the town of Irbid. The specialized teachers trained there, besides providing the teaching functions in village schools, were to act also as community development agents assisting the villages with self-help development projects and promoting modern concepts of health, agriculture etc. While the programme met with a measure of success (and the Institute is still functioning), the results on the whole were considered disappointing. Many of the teachers spent little time in the villages and often lived in nearby towns.

Lebanon

In Lebanon the programme of rural social development is carried out under the auspices of an autonomous public agency, the Office of Social Development. These activities were begun in 1959 and aimed at the development of backward rural areas. Homogeneous areas were designated as rural development units (there were twenty-two such units in 1968), and consisted of clusters of villages which had similar social and economic problems. Specially trained workers, the rural animateurs, function within each of these areas. There are currently seventy of these specialists in rural development (who are in fact "generalists" as far as substantive skills are concerned), who form an intermediate link between the local population and the regional and central governmental agencies. Their functions consist in stimulating the population to consider their common problems, discovering and training local leaders, organizing effective institutions (committees, councils, co-operatives), and implementing jointly with the people micro-development projects.

The extent of local initiative and participation is reflected in the fact that in 1966 the local populations in the community development units contributed LL 608,220 towards the implementation of rural development projects, compared to a Government expenditure of LL 1,334,900. Favourite activities are the improvement of irrigation structures, joint use of machinery, the building of medico-social centres, training of farmers, and establishing family and child welfare services.

The rural development units appear at present to be developing their own institutions. They should, in principle, be taken over by the local populations in a period of from five to ten years, after which the Government would continue to give them support only when needed.

Syria

In Syria, a programme of community development centres was initiated in 1958 under the direction of the Rural Affairs Department of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour. In the Second Five-Year Plan 1966-1970, three more centres were opened and another centre is due to offer its services in 1970. The centre serves a rural area of 20,000 inhabitants.

Each centre includes a social and cultural unit headed by a specialist in social services and offers literacy classes, social guidance, home economics and rural industry courses and day-care services for children. A health unit provides curative and preventive health services and health education. It is headed by a physician and employs a midwife, health visitors, a laboratory assistant and nurses. The agricultural unit is staffed by an agricultural engineer and supervises extension activities, poultry and stock breeding, veterinary services and distributes a variety of agricultural supplies. In addition a "constructional unit" guides the farmers in the improvement of their housing and other farm facilities, and gives technical guidance in the construction of roads, digging of wells and other communal projects.

Although the staff of each centre includes several village-level workers to act as stimulators of popular initiative, the main emphasis of the centre is on the provision of the services listed above. It should be noted that the technical staffs are supervised by their respective ministries.

Equally important are the rural crafts training and production units established by the same department. Twelve such centres train the villagers in rug and carpet making, and there are ten mobile units providing training in needlecraft. The courses last five months during which the trainees, rural girls under eighteen years of age, are given small incentive payments. The Department has given great impetus to this activity through the provision of technical experts, who played a vital role by introducing modern techniques and designs, and also through assistance in marketing the products.

From the geographic coverage of the rural development centres it is clear that they are yet demonstration projects. Indeed, some doubt is being expressed as to the validity of this method in achieving the goals of stimulating the rural population to a self sustained effort for economic and social improvement. More faith seems to be put in other devices such as the co-operative organizations discussed earlier in combination with agrarian reform measures. Another approach is that of the "popular action" which involves the provision of funds for projects initiated at the local and provincial levels by such groups as farmers unions, trade unions and local government bodies. The contribution of those bodies, in addition to the initiative exercised by them in the study of the proposals, consists of the provision of labour and materials.

Saudi Arabia

In Saudi Arabia, among the most important institutions for inducing socio-economic development in rural areas have been the so-called Community Development Centres. Starting as a pilot project in Diriyah village in 1960, these community centres numbered sixteen in 1963, of which eleven serve rural areas and five serve crowded urban areas in big cities. Each centre serves a village or a group of villages with a population of 2,000 with an integrated programme of health, education, agricultural extension, cultural and recreational activities, local crafts, and rural industries, women's education and home economics, and pre-school child care. The Centre is staffed by eight or nine members consisting of a director, two social workers, an agricultural worker, one cultural worker and a medical staff composed of one doctor, a nurse and a sanitarian and one or two women for social work and home economics. Since 1963, there has been no expansion or any serious modification in this programme of community development.

Administratively, the programme, whose staff are appointed by their respective technical ministries, is co-ordinated by the Central Committee for Community Development, representing the Ministers of Social Affairs, Agriculture, Health and Education. At the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, a special department for Community Development has been created for the follow-up of this programme. One of the problems hindering its full effectiveness, however, has been the lack of clear definition of the role of participating ministries, and the divided authority to direct officials and operate activities. Concerted action, being one of the main aims of the programme, has not been fully achieved. It is deemed necessary at this stage to involve the Central Planning Organization in reviewing the needs of community development and meeting them on a nationally planned basis.

The initial enthusiasm for the community development programme is declining owing partly to problems of inadequate personnel, of co-ordination, and consequent operational difficulties. But perhaps more basic at present -- and of far-reaching consequences for the future -- are the issues of changing priorities, whether explicitly or implicitly defined in terms of sectoral programmes in specific technical fields. Sectoral programmes - it is argued - are more clearly defined, their administration and institutional operation is simpler and tidier, and their activities can be more easily followed up. Experience arising from difficulties encountered in concerted programmes has in some quarters brought about certain set-backs to such an approach. According to one official document: "In view of the past difficulties in the Centres' programme and particularly in view of the marked expansion in rural programmes planned by the Ministries of Agriculture, Education and Health, there is a serious question concerning the desirability of further expanding the programmes".

The rural and community development programme in Saudi Arabia, if it is to be extended beyond its present coverage, must be planned and integrated with other plans and programmes of development, taking fuller consideration of issues of location, personnel, pattern of administration, nature and scope of local participation, types of buildings and relationship between various local institutions. Priorities for new types of Centres may be given to areas where integrated programmes would have stronger impact on productivity of economic projects and would not be hampered by complete lack of roads and similar

infrastructural services. Capital outlay in buildings should be also considered in terms of greater economy and function. Bedouin resettlement schemes, now being carried out, may offer good possibilities for new centres to be established.

Southern Yemen

In Southern Yemen, with no experience so far in co-ordinating services for rural and community development, and with an extreme shortage of technical cadres (a situation likely to prevail for some years to come), progress in rural and community development will have to depend on available local leadership with some assistance from the central Government. It is likely that as such leaders as school teachers, men of religious learning, successful farmers, returning immigrants, local midwives and political agents are provided with a measure of training, greater progress at the local level will be generated.

When the resources of the country permit, a scheme for the training of multipurpose village workers should be envisaged to gradually cover as many areas as possible, and these should include not only farming areas but the important fishing communities along the extensive coast of the country.

Yemen Arab Republic

In the Yemen Arab Republic, programmes of rural and community development in the well-known frame do not exist; concepts of modern Government have emerged only recently and the establishment of modern development institutions has been hindered by internal dissidence. However, a beginning has been made in eliciting the participation of the people in the creation of a vital community infrastructure, namely, road building. It is reported that approximately 2,000 kilometres of roads were constructed by the Ministry of Public Works on the basis of 50 per cent contribution - in cash and in kind - from local people. Traditionally the village wise man (akel) or the tribal sheikh, in consultation with family heads, deliberate and pass rulings on personal problems, reciprocal family obligations, and rights and wrongs in hehavioural matters. This traditional power structure, while hardly concerned with problems of community assets and undertakings for local improvement, may be, with some proper intervention, converted into a modern village council concerned with such developmental matters.

At the end of 1968 the Department of Social Affairs was created as a constituent part of the Ministry of Local Administration and in the Department a special office for social welfare and community development was established Being a new central institution, and with no field personnel, it will have to depend in its programmes on the few field officers of other technical ministries, for example, education, health, and public works. It could bring about better co-ordination in the work of these officials, intensify popular participation in road construction, and extend it to the other projects such as irrigation wells and water supply schemes. The Government contribution could be in the form of the provision of modern tools for digging or the provision of engine-driven pumps and technical supervision. With the possible expansion of agricultural co-operatives, community development programmes could be entrusted to such local organizations.

III. AN ASSESSMENT OF RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS AND METHODS

A. Concepts of community development

From the foregoing review, covering both the prevailing conditions in the rural areas and the rural and community development efforts operative in the countries under consideration, it appears that community development is not a strategy of national development. It is true, however, that in such countries as Iraq, Jordan and Syria, which have adopted formal development plans, some priorities have been established favouring agricultural development. They reflect a recognition of the facts of rural backwardness and try to remedy the situation by an infusion of social investment (especially in education and health) in such areas.

In Lebanon, where national development planning is only indicative in nature, and where the rural exodus to the capital city of Beirut has reached alarming proportions, greater awareness of the need for a strategy for rural development has been manifested, and such a strategy was in fact developed and officially adopted but proved difficult to implement.

It is clear that the rural and community development efforts described above have not developed in the context of national strategies for rural development. On the contrary, the impression given is one of spontaneous and isolated developments in response to urges, official and popular, "to do something" about the deteriorating conditions in rural areas. Programmes are developed and then abandoned; formulas adopted at first with enthusiasm are soon given up in favour of new ones.

The programmes that were developed concentrated largely on the provision of agricultural and social services in selected areas, in situations where such services could not, with the resources at hand, be provided on a wider scale.

National officials often expressed scepticism of the concept of felt needs. Operationally, such felt needs often resolved themselves into unrealistic "shopping lists" of needs unrelated to local and national resources, and often at variance with national objectives. Further, since the mass of the rural populations was often illiterate and unsophisticated, it could not articulate its needs intelligently. In consequence, the real beneficiaries of rural programmes have been the village elite who were not only more vocal in expression of their needs, but were also in a better position to utilize the services offered.

From a pragmatic standpoint, community development programmes in the countries reviewed operate at one or more of the following stages:

1. The stimulation stage; this occurs in relatively isolated communities where the programmes are intended mainly to open the minds of the people to innovation and progress, and to help them shake off oppressive traditions;

2. The concrete interaction stage: this is the stage at which modern technological improvements and knowledge, such as fertilizer, new seed and cash crops, are introduced amidst the prevalence of traditional methods;

3. The community organization stage: here, specific institutions are set up for the purpose of reinforcing social change. These institutions include social centres, rural health centres and co-operatives, and are meant to provide a firm institutional basis for change;

4. The co-ordination stage: this is the stage of more efficient utilization of resources and more powerful impact through concerted action; and

5. The planning stage: here, local needs become an integral part of national needs, possible through an intervening district or regional level of planning, or through specific strategies of development.

Such a sequence is not necessarily temporal or mutually exclusive. In most of the countries reviewed, they coexist - but at various levels of intensity and efficiency depending on the economic, social and technological development of the country. The goals of community development should obviously be adjusted in each situation to the particular stage of development.

Popular participation

In the countries under review, popular participation has been recognized, at least in principle, as an important force in achieving development objectives. In some countries it takes the form of mobilization of the masses of youth, or of the intelligentsia; in others it is embodied in local administration and local community action. Leadership may be based on political affiliation, on public election, on government appointment or traditional status. However formal and informal, new and traditional sources of leadership are playing various roles and exerting various pressures on the course of national and local development.

To government officials, local participation often consists of acquainting community leaders with government programmes and institutions, and urging their endorsement and participation. Further levels of active participation are not sufficiently sought, on the pretext of the lack of knowledge on the part of the community and its leaders in technical matters. In addition, the complexity of administrative procedures, circumscribing initiative and flexibility, is another obstacle to wider opportunities of popular active involvement. Without some reasonable leeway for decision making and power for determining specific action at the local level, the scope and intensity of participation are bound to be minimal. The reflection of this at the local level is to reinforce the traditional role of leaders as champions of the cause of the public, expressed in "petitions and complaints" to Government authorities, rather than to their development of programmes of community action. Meanwhile local factions and conflicts hamper in varying degrees potentialities of fuller and more active participation.

Moreover, in the context of the nascent nation-state, popular participation in development programmes is sometimes constrained by the lines of centralized authority and control. The concept of popular participation is upheld, but

effective control over local decision and action is maintained, in the interests of national unity, by a strong central government. Further, a legitimate, but somewhat obsessive urge to make up for long years of under-development seems to give the central Governments an added reason for directing local movements along pre-determined lines.

Community development and economic development

Interestingly enough, the frequently voiced criticism that community development programmes have not contributed sufficiently to economic development locally or at the national level, 12/ has seldom been expressed in the countries reviewed in this chapter. Actually, the officials concerned view these programmes in terms of their potential for the building up of rural human resources: to develop new capacities for making rational decisions, new skills of organization, production and communications, and the qualities of initiative and self reliance. When criticism is levelled, it is often the question whether community development procedures have in fact achieved success in these human and social spheres comensurate with their costs.

At the same time it is argued that economic development objectives cannot be ignored, and that they should be integrated in community development programmes. They argue that the heavy investment their countries have made in large irrigation and drainage projects, in land reclamation, resettlement schemes, agrarian reform and agricultural research, should bring fairly rapid returns in terms of agricultural production. The current enthusiasm for co-operatives can be interpreted as a reflection of this thinking, for these institutions are seen as integrative forces for economic and social objectives yielding faster returns.

But the complexity of rural development becomes apparent when we see the slow pace of the development of co-operatives, of the complex problems facing agrarian reform, and the meagre success of land reclamation and resettlement schemes. That such complex problems cannot be solved by any single formula, such as a co-operative movement, is now well recognized. A new conception of rural community development embodying integrated economic and social objectives and methodologies in the context of a national strategy for rural development is thus a matter of highest priority.

B. Methods of community development

While no profound evaluations and assessments of the current community development programmes have been undertaken, except for a few studies aimed at structural and administrative problems, some judgement can be made concerning the methods and procedures commonly used.

The community development programmes in the countries discussed have not gone beyond the demonstration stage, and in none of them has a decision been made to have a full national coverage. The selection of these demonstration areas has

12/ See chapter I above.

in every case been preceeded by fact-finding procedures to help establish criteria for the selection of these areas. It was not until after the commencement of many programmes in local areas, that detailed studies were made, and these were mostly carried out by the employed staff with no involvement of the local people. It is not surprising that in many instances, after several years of operation, the centres were found to have been located in the wrong areas: too close to urban areas that have encroached upon them (for example, in Saudi Arabia), or in areas that were too thinly populated (Iraq), or were fast losing population because of continuing drought.

Most of the community development programmes have been implemented as spear-heads of progress in backward and relatively neglected areas. With increasing realization of the need for planning, and with increasing sectoral technical projects and institutions, the situation has radically changed and engendered serious questioning of the status of the present centres, for example, in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Syria. It is also questioned whether a village, by itself, can provide adequate resources for the developmental job that needs to be done, and whether the village programmes should not be incorporated in a wider area of functioning, in essence a subregional or regional level, which would permit better planning and co-ordination of activities. An argument in favour of this latter approach is the scattered nature of population settlement pattern in the countries discussed (Lebanon being the only exception).

The community development workers

There is a consensus among those responsible for rural and community development programmes in the countries under study on the need for a more concerted effort to train personnel if the current programmes are to move forward. But beyond this agreement, sharp differences appear with respect to the type of worker needed. Most countries have relied heavily on the so-called multipurpose or village-level worker. The argument in favour of using this kind of personnel is strengthened by the dearth of technical personnel in the countries generally and in the rural areas in particular. In this situation, the use of a generalist is deemed a sensible solution. Others favour the approach for its own sake irrespective of the technical manpower shortages, and in fact consider such a worker a "specialist in human relations" and in communications skills, which they consider the essence of community development. In the actual situations (for example, Iraq and Syria) several years of the use of village level workers have given disappointing results. They have tended to use a bureaucratic approach, and often did not show comprehension of the problems of the rural people they have dealt with. In Syria, the centres continue to thrive because they also employ a competent team of technical personnel: physicians, veterinarians, home-economists, craft instructors etc.

The use of the generalist should not, however, be condemned too soon, for his training has often been deficient, as judged by the prevalence of ad hoc, in-service training programmes. As with other rural workers, they have also not been given the proper incentives.

There is a growing interest, however, in establishing permanent institutions for training rural and community development workers, whether generalists or specialists, and the most recent trend would include the training of leadership

of rural populations. Thus a centre will soon be established in Syria for training and research in co-operatives and rural development, to include community development (an ILO/FAO Special Fund Project). Similarly a full-time training institution with a stronger focus on training and applied research for community development is now being established in Saudi Arabia. Here, it is hoped also that the important need for training local leaders will be tackled in a creative manner.

Institution building

The community development "movement" in the countries discussed, in spite of its brief span of existence and inadequate coverage, can rightfully claim credit for success in "institution building": the adoption of girls schools in Saudi Arabia, the creation of local government institutions in Lebanon, the introduction of co-operatives, youth and women clubs in several countries are worthy examples.

There is general agreement among those concerned, especially in the countries which have gone beyond the original mobilization stage (for example, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria) that this process needs to be intensified and that the base of participation in them should be broadened, since these institutions are regarded as among the most promising vehicles for introducing change and innovation in rural areas. The choice of institutions varies: Iraq and Syria favour agricultural co-operatives and farmers' unions; Saudi Arabia, village councils and youth clubs, and Lebanon, village committees and socio-medical centres. A typical problem of these new institutions, however, is the danger of domination by traditional power groups, whether based on extensive land ownership or on political, ethnic or religious affiliation. In the actual situation, in most of the countries studied, government support, and often close supervision (in the early stages for instance this was necessary in the case of Jordan's co-operatives), and a constant effort to inject new elements into them, have greatly reduced the danger of such domination. It may be interesting to speculate whether the widespread organization of youth and sports clubs in Saudi Arabia may not have been the result of a desire to escape from under the thumb of the traditional leadership, which had at first ignored them and dismissed them as frivolous and unimportant.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Agriculture, as the segment of the economy with potential for growth and for providing broad base of employment, receives high priority in the plans and policies of the countries covered by this study. Whether the main purpose is to increase its contribution to the national income or to vary the economy (as in Saudi Arabia), the major approach has been to invest heavily in dams, irrigation and drainage schemes, land reclamation and resettlement and the development of underground water resources.

Agrarian reform was adopted in the two heavily agricultural countries of Iraq and Syria, and partially in Jordan. In addition to introducing a badly needed measure of social justice, the reform was to aid in the modernization of

agriculture. But agrarian reform faces many problems, not the least important of which is to find the proper means of supplying the new owners of land with capital, fertilizers and other agricultural inputs and with the necessary know-how. A similar situation, and similar problem, exists with respect to settlers in newly reclaimed land (for example, in Greater Mussayeb in Iraq, and the Ghab Area of Syria), and in bedouin resettlement areas (in Saudi Arabia and Jordan particularly).

The official tendency is to rely heavily on co-operative organizations to solve these problems, aided by a well organized and competent agricultural extension service. While some success was achieved with respect to both of these institutions they are still far from making an impact on agriculture. To speed up the process of their organization the Governments in Iraq and Syria take the initiative in organizing them and staffing them with trained employees. This concept of "guided co-operatives" is less accepted in Jordan, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, where the initiative is left to the local rural population, but with some government support and assistance.

Strong awareness exists of the "backwardness" of the rural areas, and among the measures undertaken to correct this situation have been attempts to extend social services as far as possible in the rural areas. This is being done notwithstanding the difficulty of reaching a widely dispersed rural population. Greater success was achieved in the spread of education, especially at the elementary level. But with respect to health services, in spite of the admitted success in combating such major endemic diseases such as malaria, progress has been limited. Basic public health measures such as the provision of potable water have still to reach thousands of villages. Rural health services are short of personnel, equipment and supplies.

The concepts of rural community development were introduced in the mid-1950s and today most of the countries discussed have formally designated programmes under special administrative bodies. In none of the countries is the programme national in scope, and in most programmes take the form of service centres dispensing health, educationa, vocational and agricultural services; with one exception (Lebanon), the programmes lack a strong element of stimulation of local initiative for self-help action. In some countries a multiplicity of community development programmes exists with no attempt at co-ordination.

A combination of technical services staffs and village-level or multi-purpose workers constitutes the driving force of the programmes: the chronic shortages in the former type of personnel have led to a greater reliance on the latter. These "generalists" are often criticized, however, as being too bureaucratic and inadequately educated and trained for the heavy responsibilities entrusted to them. The need for better training is recognized, and this would require more permanent training institutions. A more recent trend calls for training not only for the official cadres (paid staff) but for the local population and leadership elements as well.

The community development "movement" has been rather successful in "institution building" at the local level. Such institutions as co-operatives, local councils, youth and women's clubs are thought to play an important role in introducing change and innovation at the local level and in integrating economic

and social objectives. Stronger efforts are needed, however, to intensify this development and broaden its base and to inject new and fresh leadership elements in these new bodies.

New devices, such as "popular action" in Syria, are being introduced outside the formal framework of community development. Through these devices, populations are being provided with financial incentives to initiate community action projects.

IX. RURAL "ANIMATION" AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN FRENCH-SPEAKING BLACK AFRICA*

"Animation" defined

Ten years or so after the French-speaking African countries became independent, "rural animation" is just as integral a part of development programmes as action in the economic, technical and social fields.

More recent in origin than community development, from which it differs in many respects, "animation" in these African countries usually takes the form of an educational apparatus attached to the body with over-all responsibility for development (the Planning Office or Ministry of Development, for example), with representatives at the various levels of government at which economic and social programmes are decided on and implemented, and organized in such a way that educational work connected with development will be carried on permanently throughout the country or in the areas concerned. This educational work is applied to all the most important fields in which development is proceeding, priority being deliberately given to institutional reforms (affecting production, economic organization and planning, technical and administrative leadership, local institutions, and popular participation at the community level).

Methods vary from one country to another, but in most cases the principal aim is to ensure that official action in these fields is backed up by a sustained educational effort in the form of training courses, seminars and information meetings co-ordinated with the various stages of preparation and implementation of the projects and designed not only for rural communities, peasant organizations and their leaders but also for medium and high-level officials responsible for organization and administration.

Almost all forms of rural "animation" are characterized by this permanent, unified, educational effort, running parallel to official action. In some instances, however, an attempt is made to go even further by installing a system of direct co-operation between government agents and rural communities, through which the latter can play an effective part in development organizations and national institutions alike.

Antecedents

Rural "animation", with its doctrines and methods, is bound up with the earlier history and special features of the French-speaking countries of Africa south of the Sahara. Though it has emerged as a technique of real importance only since these countries acceded to independence, a brief reference to the colonial past is necessary if we are to understand the ways in which it differs from community development as found in the English-speaking African countries.

---

* Yves Goussault, Director, Institut international de recherches et d'application de méthodes de développement (IRAM), Paris.

The beginning

Right from the beginning of the colonial era, the encounter between two civilisations resulted in a process of action and reaction in technical, social, cultural and political matters. The specific effects on local life were determined by the metropolitan background of the colonists 1/ and from the outset the methods and approaches adopted - and hence the whole process of development including the birth of rural "animation" and community development - differed in the French and British territories.

Until the Second World War, the relationship in the French territories remained strictly a colonial one, though some degree of interchange took place between the two worlds. The metropolitan country, highly industrialized, needed sources of raw materials and markets for its goods. Hence its efforts to organize the economic and social life of the colonies were characterized by direct rule, on the one hand, and measures designed to stimulate production and consumption, on the other. 2/ The programmes of this period, comprising the organization of native provident societies and distribution and marketing networks, and the development of export crops such as groundnuts, cotton, and so on, were all directed towards these ends. The colonial governments tended more and more to take a direct part in economic and social matters, with marked effects on development (especially rural development) and education.

Developments after 1945

After 1945 the African colonies, which had played an important part in the war and were becoming more markedly nationalistic in sentiment, became political partners. The relationship between colonisers and colonised began to change, in line with economic ideas. 3/

Between 1945 and 1955, there was first of all a period of investment (the First Equipment Plan); companies were set up in France for the development of certain areas or to take over development programmes. Policy favoured concerted action for the promotion of special crops by agencies such as the Office du Niger, the Office de Richard-Toll, and the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux en Casamance (CGOT-Casamance), relying on development of the infrastructure, mechanization and a high degree of technical supervision; training was regarded merely as a means of spreading the impact of these technical measures.

In 1953, the Second Equipment Plan marked a new trend, no doubt influenced by increasing political pressures. Though the plan gave its continued backing to major development projects of the sort mentioned above, it laid particular emphasis on widespread action in favour of the rural populace not affected by these major

---

1/ See Ch. A. Julien: Les techniciens de la colonisation (XIXme-XXme siècles) (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1947).

2/ A. Magnen: Les sociétés de prévoyance (S.A.P.) en Afrique noire, Groupe d'études de modernisation rurale, stage 1957-58, (Paris, CHEAM, 1957-58).

3/ See La modernisation du paysannat dan les territoires d'outre-mer, Notes et études documentaires (Paris, La Documentation française), No. 2129, 21 Jan. 1956.

projects. The aim was to use rural technical and advisory services and credit in a way that would benefit small farmers; institutional support was to be provided in the form of co-operatives. During this vitally important period, associations known as paysannats were also to be created. These associations, bringing together rural communities and government agricultural officers in an attempt to remodel the technical and economic foundations of the rural society (e.g. through new cropping methods), foreshadowed that close co-operation between the government and popular groups that was later to become the central aim of rural "animation".

In 1955, a circular distributed by the French Minister of Overseas Territories, Teitgen, together with guidelines dated 14 November 1955, 4/ gave clearer expression to the social aims of these measures. Emphasis was now laid on educational and social goals, which no longer took second place to purely technical ones. The peasantry was no longer a passive object but an active partner. The stage was now set; all that was required was the proclamation of independence in the countries concerned for the ideas of development and rural "animation" to be born.

Development and "animation"

Once they had become independent sovereign States, the French-speaking African countries lost no time in adopting the twin ideas of development and "animation"; the first of these meanings balanced economic growth, the second, the need to ensure the participation of the various classes and social sectors of the nation. In the event, matters developed differently from one country to another, as will be apparent from the second part of this article. But "animation" schemes, no matter how different the methods used, all have certain common features, as we shall now see.

Unlike community development, which was born of indirect rule and the great importance attached to local government and communal responsibility in the British colonies, "animation" was originally one aspect of the reform of a highly centralized form of government and was designed to allow employers, workers, peasants and local leaders to play their part; this approach led to the development of a number of characteristic features.

Firstly, "animation" is not aimed primarily at local communities, although these concern it inasmuch as they represent an important part of the nation, and especially because, being the very basis of national life, they are destined to play a key role in development. At this level, then, "animation" is concerned less with a community's capacity for self-help than with its ability to work hand-in-hand with national institutions for the benefit of a national programme.

Further, as an educational campaign "animation" is not limited to the lowest levels; we find it at all levels of the development structure - local, regional and national. It provides support and educational backing for those with administrative, managerial, economic, social and political responsibilities at these levels. Accordingly, "animation" is not designed for grass-roots action alone; it reaches from the bottom right up to the highest level of decision-making.

4/ Groupe de travail pour le développement rural: Note d'orientation sur l'action rurale dans les territoires d'outre-mer (Paris, Ministère de la France d'outre-mer, 1955), Annex 1.

Starting from common origins, "animation" has assumed a variety of forms, which we shall study in the second part of this article. Besides leading to fuller understanding of "animation" itself, this study permits interesting comparisons to be made between types of "animation" and the institutions peculiar to individual countries, which will assist us, in the third part of the article, to put forward some criteria for the choice of systems of "animation" suited to particular national development structures.

We shall first of all distinguish between types of "animation" according to the methods employed.

I. TYPES OF "ANIMATION" AND METHODS EMPLOYED

We have just seen how "animation" began in the African countries. Thereafter it assumed a variety of forms, depending on the educational traditions of the countries concerned, their institutions and the priorities they set for themselves. These various manifestations of "animation" will be briefly outlined below. 5/

A. National "animation" schemes

These constitute an advanced form of "animation" for several reasons. First, they are usually headed by a governmental or semi-governmental organization at the national level, for example by a Commissariat attached to the Office of the President in Madagascar, by a Commissariat combined with the Planning Commissariat in Niger, by a Directorate within the Ministry of Planning and Development in Senegal. Secondly, they cover all the different sectors of national development (investment, production, credit, marketing, training, health, and so on). Thirdly, they play an active part in the various bodies and authorities responsible for drawing up and implementing national development programmes at the national, regional and departmental levels. Finally, they employ a corps of specialized staff of established or temporary civil servants and provide training for this staff, for example in the National School of Applied Economics in Senegal, and the National School of Social Promotion in Madagascar. The methods employed by these national systems of "animation" need to be considered country by country, but they all have much the same structure.

In all cases the foundation of the system is a permanent training network, usually nation-wide, designed for rural communities and officials of the various public and semi-public services responsible for local development programmes. Since the object is to facilitate basic structural reforms "animation" embraces not only individual farmers but also the local officials of technical departments. Peasants and officials are thus brought together in training courses directly concerned with the local aspects of regional and national development programmes

---

5/ For detailed analyses see, in particular, Guy Belloncle: "Le développement des collectivités rurales par la formation d'animateurs; essai sur les méthodes de l'Institute IRAM", in Archives internationales de sociologie de la coopération (Paris, Bureau d'études coopératives et communautaires), No. 10, 1961 (supplement to Communauté, July-December 1961), pp. 61-104; Roland Colin, "L'animation et le développement rural en Afrique francophone", ibid., No. 20, 1966 (supplement to Communauté, July-December 1966), pp. 133-199; and Yves Goussault: "La participation des collectivités rurales au développement", in Tiers-Monde (Paris, Institut d'étude du développement économique et social, Presses universitaires de France), Vol. II, 1961, pp. 27-40.

affecting them. These courses are organized in a continuous cycle co-ordinated with each stage of the local development programme and arranged to fit in with the agricultural year. In this way, within a few years the necessary educational basis has been created for new forms of action and leadership by the authorities. The local communities are given advice on suitable candidates for training but are left free to make their own nominations. To begin with, courses are organized at an "animation" centre (in Senegal there is one such centre per département, in Niger one per arrondissement, and in Madagascar one per sous-préfecture; in fact, although the names differ, all these territorial units are roughly equal, having between 50,000 and 150,000 inhabitants). Afterwards, training moves closer to the base, bringing trainees together in inter-village units called "animation cells", which are soon transformed into co-operative or communal sections, depending on government policy regarding rural organization. At the same time, the new "animators", i.e. the former trainees, are absorbed into the new local order; some of them specialize in accordance with local requirements, becoming chairmen of co-operatives, weighers, treasurers, extension workers, delegates, and so on; in this way, the notion of "animation" by outside agents gives way to the notion of communities "animated" from within.

Above this basic structure, at the level of the region (an area with between 300,000 and 600,000 inhabitants), "animation" plays a similar part in educating officials of the various public services in an effort to weld them into a regional development team; at this level, "animation" is steadily integrated with the work of the regional development boards.

Finally, at the national level, those responsible for "animation" have a voice, as we have said, in certain planning bodies. Through these bodies, and in some instances by the organization of seminars for senior civil servants, central public services are helped to adapt themselves to planned and co-ordinated programmes and to appreciate the value of the newly created regional and local institutions.

B. Sectoral "animation" schemes

Sectoral "animation" schemes are those built into programmes or organizations established to develop particular sectors or regions; their role is to give the necessary educational backing to technical and economic activities. 6/ This is a common case in French-speaking Africa because, for the historical reasons we have indicated, "animation" was originally conceived of as an adjunct to development schemes for priority areas. This, incidentally, underlines a contrast with community development, which, if it is applied regionally at all, is usually directed from the centre (as is the case, for example, with the Volta River Scheme in Ghana), whereas with most systems of "animation" the reverse is true.

The forms assumed by "animation" schemes of this kind may be summarized as follows:

(a) Ordinary forms of technical or co-operative organization. These are schemes derived from the Teitgen circular and guidelines of 1955, in which the normal administrative pyramid is based on local agents with a technical background who have been given additional training in social questions and human relations.

6/ See Bureau pour le développement de la production agricole (BDPA) (Société d'aide et de coopération technique): Le BDPA, ses principes, ses moyens, ses réalisations (Paris, 1959).

This type of "animation" is of a narrow, elementary kind, but is still widespread and hence deserves a mention. Some of these programmes are aimed at establishing one form of co-operative organization or another, 7/ which distinguishes them from schemes of encadrement ouvert - projects, that is to say, which are designed for the benefit of individual peasants.

(b) "Animation" schemes under a particular development agency. These are programmes carried out under the aegis of semi-public bodies, responsible either for certain areas equipped for production of a particular crop, or for the over-all economic development of a particular region. It will be readily understood that the freedom of manoeuvre enjoyed by the "animation" scheme will depend on the terms of reference of the agency in question and on how wholeheartedly the latter is prepared to support it. 8/

(c) Local variants under national "animation" schemes. An example of this form of organization is provided by the Maggia (in Niger), where arrangements have been made for collaboration and mutual adjustment between the national "animation" scheme and the French Textile Fibre Development Company (CFD). The same situation is to be found in Madagascar, and in all likelihood the pressure exerted by the international market on certain products will mean that such examples will become more numerous as time goes on.

The methods employed in all these types of programmes are manifold. When technical assistance or guidance in the running of a co-operative is to be provided, no training courses are organized for the peasantry (except as regards vocational training) but the local officials of the technical services receive special training in how to approach the people and explain the government's plans to them. In other cases, the methods used resemble those we have indicated in connexion with national systems, but the "animators" are chosen from among the local technical staff available, while objectives and methods depend a good deal on the technical outlook of the organization responsible for the programme.

C. Community "animation" schemes

These differ from community development schemes in that they are operated within a national framework of direct rule.

They differ also from national "animation" schemes in that they are concerned first and foremost with communities. In encouraging local initiative, they endeavour to make the maximum possible use of the energies dormant within the rural community.

7/ For example, the rural modernization programme launched in Ouham in the Central African Republic, and the SATEC programme in the Upper Volta. See Société d'aide technique et de coopération (SATEC): Brochure de présentation (Paris, 1966); and Programme de développement rural en pays Mossi - 2me phase (1965-1967) (Ouagadougou, Ministère de l'Economie nationale, Direction du service agricole, 1964), 3 vols.

8/ The Moroccan National Irrigation Agency provides an example of how this freedom of manoeuvre may vary from the liberty enjoyed by a national "animation" scheme to a narrow policy of direct intervention along the lines described in the preceding paragraph. See Yves Goussault: Animation et encadrement dans les périmètres irrigués du Maroc (Paris, IRAM, 1967).

Three projects illustrate this kind of "animation": in the area of Angaradébou 9/ and the neighbouring sous-préfectures, in north-east Dahomey; in the western part of Upper Volta; and in the Ivory Coast, in the Bouaké region. In all cases close contacts are first established with the villages concerned in order to familiarize the project leaders with the surroundings in which they are to work. Sometimes these contacts are rendered easier by the presence of a mission station. Local "animators" are then systematically trained and peasant organizations (technical or co-operative in character) created. The training given is designed above all to help people cope with the practical difficulties encountered in local agriculture, and the institutions established (agricultural blocks where several farmers make joint use of equipment; purchasing, marketing and credit groups) are intended to facilitate the introduction of new methods.

Here again, therefore, we find priority being given to technical and economic aims, but with a characteristic recourse to community means. On the one hand these programmes make considerable use of private initiative, and of popular movements and their leaders; on the other they are based squarely on the village, envisaged as a social unit likely to respond favourably to the influence of "animators", whether these latter come from outside or are recruited within the village. It should be noted also that the action taken is more intensive than is the case with national "animation" schemes. It is concentrated in the village, and the teams of experts begin work at this level before extending the scope of their work to a group of villages or to a whole area.

D. "Animation" by a political party

A few words must be devoted to the topic of "animation" by political parties since in several West African socialist States the party has a monopoly of mass education and there can be no question of setting up an autonomous body to undertake "animation". Guinea, Mali and the Congo (Brazzaville) are in this position. Attention is chiefly focussed on the training of cadres, the collectivisation of production, and youth mobilization programmes designed to engender progressive attitudes. As regards training, priority is given to party cadres at different levels but, as a result of the difficulties of defining the respective spheres of interest of party and government, civil servants in direct contact with the people are also trained under these schemes. The young are mobilized for development work and leadership and they often act as the vanguard of society - a role which, because of the social stratification of Africa, no particular class of country-dweller is ready to assume. Lastly, the task of collectivization 10/ is undertaken with a pragmatism rendered necessary by the

9/ See Compagnie internationale de développement rural (CIDR): Rapport d'activité de la campagne 1963 et début 1964,(Angaradébou, 1964), Rapport d'activité du Centre de formation et d'action rurale d'Angaradébou, année 1964 (Kandi, 1964), and Rapport trimestriel du Centre d'Angaradébou (Kandi, 1964).

10/ See René Dumont: Afrique noire. Développement agricole. Reconversion de l'économie agricole: Guinée, Côte-d'Ivoire, Mali, Cahiers "Tiers-Monde" (Paris, Institut d'étude du développement économique et social de l'Université de Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1961); and Samir Amin: Trois expériences africaines de développement: le Mali, la Guinée et le Ghana, Etudes "Tiers-Monde" (Paris, Institut d'étude du développement économique et social de l'Université de Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1965).

special features that characterize traditional rural society in Africa; thus we find co-operative programmes that are similar to those underway in neighbouring, non-socialist, countries, despite their emphasis on joint production; the task of "animation" is therefore much the same, even though the movement itself possesses neither personnel nor an administrative structure of its own.

II. "ANIMATION" AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS

By "institutions" we mean those bodies (or at least the more important of them) which share the main technical, economic, social, political and other tasks of development; they have to work together and complement each other's efforts if development is to be effective.

This definition will become clearer as we proceed. It will be seen that, in the light of national needs, "animation" schemes have had to choose among these institutions those most likely to have an immediate effect on development. Stop-gap solutions do not always serve long-term interests, and we shall encounter cases in which the need to cope with urgent problems has lead "animation" schemes to make do with arrangements not at all conducive to the assumption of the task of development by the nation as a whole.

In this respect "animation" has a harder time of it than community development in the English-speaking countries. In the past, at least, community development has often been concerned with objectives of a social, communal kind (mass education, self-help schemes, women's work). It is therefore relatively independent of economic demands and can proceed at its own pace. "Animation", on the other hand, has been intimately linked to existing technial and economic institutions. Hence it is obliged to strike an uneasy balance between the time normally required for educational work and the urgent demands of economic growth. However, this compromise is not one that is required of "animation" alone; it represents a basic dilemma facing any national development scheme which, for the sake of ultimate success, has to build up institutions capable both of meeting immediate economic needs and of ensuring long-term progress for the whole nation.

A. Economic and co-operative institutions

Economic and co-operative institutions play a capital role in development, partly because economic questions are so important for development as a whole, and partly because of their direct value to the peasants.

The economic institutions influential in development are those - both preceding and following agricultural production properly so-called - which ensure that the latter is effectively integrated into national development: development banks, agricultural marketing agencies, distribution networks and the like. 11/ They all act at the grass-roots level of co-operative organization, and it is at this level that we shall consider the influence exerted by "animation".

11/ In this connexion, see B.D.P.A., Collége coopératif, IFAC: Mouvements coopératifs en Afrique noire et Madagascar (Paris, Ministère de la Coopération, 1964).

Effect of "animation" on the main economic activities of co-operatives

1. Credit associations and friendly societies. Comparison of certain typical programmes under way in Africa (e.g. in Upper Volta, Central Cameroon, Senegal and Niger) shows that "animation" offers a practical solution to the problem of providing the credit agencies with group security and guarantees for loans. Starting from the well-known principles of traditional mutual assistance, and by limiting co-operative activities to a small group of immediate neighbours and insisting on the connexion between credit and production, these programmes have succeeded in establishing effective village associations backed by the safeguards afforded by supervised marketing and by co-operative dividends. The same applies to co-operative self-financing and encouragement of the peasants to take a financial share - a matter frequently neglected in French-speaking Africa, whereas the English-speaking African countries, in accordance with the logic of community development, attach great importance to it.

2. Marketing. A comparison between the activities of marketing boards and marketing programmes, of the Senegalese type for example, shows the part played by "animation" in a field where its counterpart, community development, is relatively inactive. Co-operative marketing supervised by the peasants themselves, together with their collaboration with the marketing agency and technical services, fall within the framework of a participative procedure and structure supervised by the "animation" scheme, and it is thanks only to the educative role of the latter that a link can be established between credit and marketing.

3. Consumption. Consumer co-operatives are decidedly more developed in the English-speaking countries. But throughout Africa such co-operatives encounter obstacles, some of which have to do with the general economic set-up (e.g. the opposition of private companies and the difficulty of breaking into established distribution networks, whereas others can be overcome by creating a responsible co-operative system capable of changing the peasants' attitudes and thus helping them to escape from the burden of debt. There is a succession of stages in distribution at which "animation" schemes and co-operatives can act together. "Animation" has more direct links than co-operatives with the higher administrative echelons and is thus well placed to organize and defend peasant consumption. This fact is of great importance at the initial stage of building up a system of co-operatives.

Effects of "animation" on co-operative organization and training

At the lowest level the village, or the extended family, is the natural unit for peasant participation, whereas a co-operative may often be more effective when it embraces a group of families or villages. Accordingly, if the peasants are to be induced to join co-operatives, a balance has to be struck, and this is a delicate matter. However, it is rendered possible by the primary local organizations set up under "animation" schemes, such as development cells (in Senegal), or groups of "animated" villages (in Niger). Once the desirable relationship between co-operatives and co-operative sections has been defined, various activities can begin (credit marketing, and so on) and a start can be made with organizing the forms of co-operative laid down by law as the successive stages in the creation of the particular model of co-operative system devised for the country concerned. Depending on the system found most suitable, management methods are then worked out, and "animation" schemes undertake the training of those who will have to shoulder responsibility. The kind of

co-operative training given depends on whether (as in Senegal or Niger) "animation" is nation-wide and covers all aspects of development, or whether it is linked with some particular body and hence restricted to the scope of activity of that body. Like community development, "animation" plays a part in training programmes and centres (for example, in the "co-operative colleges" set up as part of the National School of Applied Economics in Dakar).

At the area, regional and national levels the task of building the co-operative pyramid is more arduous, and the work proceeds more slowly, since a solid basic network is necessary and the activities of development agencies have to be co-ordinated with the responsibilities borne by the co-operative movement. The degree of social participation is not directly proportional to the level of co-operative organization. The more closely economic activities and their mode of operation are geared to the basic co-operative network, the more decisive their role will be. Whence the importance of co-operative supervisory services and all of their joint action with "animation" schemes to protect peasant co-operatives and represent their interests.

B. Production and technical support

The African peasant has to deal with a whole series of what, in the French-speaking countries, are called "technical services", 12/ i.e. the Departments of Agriculture, Livestock, Natural Resources, Public Works, and so on, organised in accordance with the territorial subdivisions of the country concerned. The great stress laid by the French authorities on esprit de corps as a feature of these government departments, which were inherited by the newly independent African States, largely accounts for the lack of liaison between them and their conservatism. It was against this technocratic background that "animation" was first conceived, which explains its immediate preoccupation with the general effort to transform traditional agriculture and hence to give fresh thought to the problem of technical support.

We find the same preoccupation in the extension services of Ministries of Agriculture and other authorities based on British models, as well as in settlement schemes; but in the English-speaking countries, with their different conditions and their tradition of indirect rule, community development is less concerned with these technical matters than is "animation". As we shall see, the work of the latter is arranged to fit in with the different types of technical activity of the various government departments and the administrative levels at which this activity is carried on.

12/ See R. Dumont: "Le développement agricole, spécialement tropical, exige un enseignement totalement repensé", in Tiers-Monde (Paris, Institut d'étude du développement économique et social), Vol. V. No. 17, Jan.-Mar. 1964, pp. 13-38.

Technical support to change traditional agricultural practices

A method very frequently adopted in Africa and affecting a high proportion of the rural population is that consisting in the provision of technical support designed to change traditional agricultural practices. Organisation varies from country to country.13/ In some cases the work of the various technical departments, though concerted, is carried on independently; in others, polyvalent agents supplied by the technical departments are responsible for all social and economic aspects of local development; in yet others, multi-disciplinary teams carry out a local project as part of a regional development plan. Not all kinds of "animation" scheme can easily be adapted to all these methods and it has been found in practice that the highest degree of popular participation is achieved when a multi-disciplinary team, a co-operative organization and an "animation" scheme work together to implement an agricultural programme drawn up with due regard to both technical and human considerations. A classical example of this is the Senegalese system, comprising a Polyvalent Rural Development Centre (C.E.R.P.), in which the basic technical agents form a mobile team working in close collaboration with the co-operatives in conjunction with which the agricultural programme has been drawn up. In this system the Senegalese "animation" scheme, whose duties include supervision of the C.E.R.P. staff, provides the necessary link between the technical teams and the co-operatives.

"Close support" with technical supervision of production

Another approach fairly often adopted in French-speaking African countries is that used wherever the aim is to encourage the production of a particular crop (rice, cotton, oil-bearing plants, etc.) in a particular area, or to modernise agricultural techniques in general.

In these cases, the forms which participation will take, and the effects of "animation", will depend on how production is organized and technical support provided. The following situations are worthy of note.

A development company, national or foreign, may take responsibility for development of a particular area, without any attempt to change the traditional social order but by introducing new, closely supervised cropping methods. These may concern production of a particular crop, as in Niger, where a foreign firm, the French Textile Fibre Development Company (C.D.F.T.), promotes cotton-growing, or in Dahomey, where a national firm, the National Rural Development Company (SONADER), promotes the growing of oil-palms. Or they may concern development of agriculture in general, as in the case of the Office for the Development of Agricultural Production (B.D.P.A.) in the Ouham (Central African Republic) and the Regional Development Office set up later in the same country. But in all these cases the system is one of "close support" (encadrement rapproché), under the responsibility not of several separate departments but of a single body working within the economic and social framework of traditional institutions. The problems of popular participation are accordingly very ticklish and their solution depends to a great extent on the status of co-operation and "animation". If these are already organized on a nation-wide scale and hence have broader terms of reference than the development agency, they will find it easier to impose their own standards of participation, even though negotiations may be delicate because of the well-known touchiness of development agencies when faced with initiatives not

13/ See Ministère de la Coopération, France: Encadrement et animation dans une politique du développement rural, Seminar held from 26 to 30 May 1962 (Paris, 1962)

entirely within their control. If, on the other hand, the "animation" scheme and co-operatives are directly linked with the company or regional office, their freedom of manoeuvre will depend on the promotional policies pursued by the agency in question. Depending on circumstances, the result may be fully satisfactory participation, or an "animation" programme limited to technical, administrative or social extension work. The experience of the numerous cases of this sort (the Société d'aide technique et de coopération (S.A.T.E.C.) in Upper Volta, the Compagnie internationale de développement rural (C.I.D.R.) in Dahomey, and others) is well worth examining from this point of view.

There are also a number of zones (generally limited and well-defined) where so much has been invested in basic development works, such as irrigation and the construction of dikes and rice-paddies, that production and profitability have to be strictly supervised. In this respect they are very like modern private concerns employing wage earners, or state farms. However, since the countries concerned became independent, the tendency has been to relax supervision to some extent, since their demands both in money and in skilled manpower have proved excessive (Richard-Toll in Senegal, the Office du Niger, the C.G.O.T.-Casamance, and Boulel in Senegal). As a result, the agencies concerned are now more ready to introduce various forms of participation. In French-speaking black Africa the initiative for this has come from outside - from the "animation" scheme, the co-operative movement or the planning authorities. The difficulties encountered by the Beni Amir and Beni Moussa Agency in Morocco - subsequently merged with the National Irrigation Agency - show the risks involved when, in a case of this kind, "animation" is provided by the agency itself. It is exceedingly important that these experiments should succeed since they represent a test case for the modernisation of agriculture in Africa, in which "animation" schemes have an essential part to play.

Lastly, some mention should be made of land settlement schemes, although they are rare in French-speaking Africa. Most existing schemes follow the models already referred to (Office du Niger, 14/ Boulel, etc.). However, we should perhaps mention schemes such as the Autonomous Delta Agency or the River Agency in Senegal, which embody certain ideas about decentralisation and development and may well provide inspiration for future development programmes in other African countries. Comparison of these schemes with land-settlement schemes in the English-speaking countries shows the important part played by community development, either in ordinary land settlement (as in East Africa) or in settlement as part of a development programme (the Volta River Scheme in Ghana, for example). The various forms of pioneer agriculture can also be included under this heading: the "back to the land" campaign in Dahomey, pioneer zones in Senegal, etc., and schemes deriving their inspiration from Israel. But programmes of this kind remain exceptional and rare in black Africa and have had few links with "animation". Similarly, production co-operatives and self-managed farms, which have played so important a part in other parts of the world, are practically non-existent in black Africa.

14/ See De Poncins: Rapport de mission sur L'étude des structures d'encadrement de l'Office du Niger (European Economic Community, no date), 2 vols.

"Human investment"[15] and participation in local development works

In this section, dealing with technical institutions, we are obliged to consider the above two formulas since, in French- speaking Africa they differ from the forms of community activity characteristic of community development and self-help works in the English-speaking African countries; rather do they represent attempts to get peasant communities to take a hand in programmes undertaken by technical government departments, such as the Department of Public Works, or the Rural Civil Engineering Department.

What has been achieved in this field is certainly little enough; success has been rare and disappointment frequent. Yet it is important to understand why "animation" schemes have been so anxious to take action in the field of local development works. One reason was that the French colonial tradition of major projects for the development of the infrastructure had led to a dead end (at Richard-Toll, in the case of the Office du Niger, etc.). Another was that the concept of "animation" required getting the peasantry to take part in official development programmes whenever peasant communities were directly concerned (as with the scheme to encourage small rice-paddies in the Senegal Valley), and not merely in village work. In this respect, what are known in Madagascar as grass-roots development works lie half-way between community development and "animation"; and the indirect relationship existing between such schemes and "animation" illustrate the special position of "human investments" in "animation" programmes.

C. Administrative institutions and planning

We shall again have to make an effort of imagination to understand the influence of the colonial administrations in Africa at all levels, but particularly their influence on rural communities. In the English-speaking countries, the British system of indirect rule, based on district councils and local government, was of course a most distinctive feature of the colonial system, but the rural populace never had occasion to feel its presence, since so much initiative was left to local chieftains. But in the French territories, a highly ramified administration reached from the top to the bottom of society, so that the peasants were made to feel the weight of the local French administrator as well as that of their chieftain.

With Independence, territorial administrative departments were the first to be Africanised, and their responsibilities became all the heavier because of the series of crises experienced by the technical departments, conversion of which was vastly more difficult. Hence, even in countries with a single-party system, or with one dominant party, the general administrative authorities were the only ones to make the government's presence felt at all levels and throughout the country. Accordingly, they were obliged to assume powers going beyond their normal terms of reference, especially in connexion with

---

15/ See Gleizer: Etude des possibilités d'introduction de l'investissement travail dans les projets d'equipement rural. Rapport provisoire (Paris, B.D.P.A., Ministère de la Coopération, undated) (Document No. 62/61/X) (mission in Madagascar performed in November and December 1962).

the multifarious problems to which development gave rise. This state of affairs was not exclusively attributable to the absence of any other authority; it was frequently the fruit of an attempt to decentralise development 16/ and of the tight political control exercised by Ministries of the Interior.

It is therefore not surprising that "animation" schemes and government departments found it harder to define their mutual responsibilities than their counterparts in the English-speaking African countries. Community development, no matter to which Ministry or Department it is answerable, is hardly affected by its government connexions since it has fewer dealings with technical departments and because, both at the lowest and at the regional levels, it makes use of local government organs and of the community itself. Within the system of direct rule, on the contrary, "animation" schemes enjoy no such independence, and are thus in the invidious position of owing loyalty to the government authorities and to the cause of popular promotion at one and the same time. It is only be accepting this situation that "animation" can gain a footing in national institutions and play its educational role in them.

This role can be more clearly seen if we consider it at the three main levels at which countries are organized. 17/

The national level: co-ordination with ministries and planning authorities

National "animation" schemes exert a direct effect at this level and can exist as national entities only if the planning authorities, or the course of development, introduce some reorganization in ministries and in interministerial co-ordination. There is a close link (one might almost say an alliance) between the planning authorities, a disturbing late-comer in the apparatus of government, and "animation". The two work side-by-side and have complementary terms of reference, the former representing the government's development goals, while the latter tries to enlist the support of all classes in the nation for the ends thus proposed, In practice, the liaison between them finds expression in numerous planning meetings and committees and, still more effectively during implementation of the plan and in the constant adjustments which government departments, however reluctantly, have to make in order to co-ordinate their programmes. Because of its field organization at the base and at the regional level, and by virtue of its practical experience of the human conditions governing development, "animation" has a considerable influence on structural development at the top.

In French-speaking Africa, ideas differ on the part to be played by the planning authorities and the position which a planning organ ought to occupy in the structure of government.

16/ See Jean Serreau: Le développement a la base au Dahomey et au Sénégal, Bibliothèque d'économie politique, Volume VII (Paris, Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1966).

17/ See Sheikh Hamidou Kane: "Premiers pas vers l'économie planifiée", in Sénégal "An 2", par lui-même, Special Number, supplement to Développement et Civilisations (Paris, I.R.F.E.D./C.I.R.F.E.D., 1962), pp.10-14.

As regards the mission and responsibilities of the planning authorities, the question arises whether they should merely be concerned with preliminary studies and the drawing-up of a plan, or whether they should also be responsible for supervision of its implementation and for the support to be given to the whole apparatus of development. For the "animation" scheme, the difference is clearly crucial. The main planning functions - elaboration and implementation - must also be examined separately, the first to ascertain what opportunities and what arrangements it offers for consultation of the rural populace (for example, through committees, two-way communication, "animation"), the second to see how the plan intends to modify development structures and get programmes implemented (i.e. the provision it makes for co-ordination, decentralisation and political arbitration).

As regards its position in the administrative structure, since the planning body is by definition both a technical and a political instrument, it will prove effective only if it stands in proper relation to the political authorities on the one hand, and technical government departments on the other. The support it obtains from the former enables it to influence the latter. The administrative situation of African planning bodies is usually weak, but "animation" schemes, when nation-wide give them considerable support in creating the institutions necessary for planned development.

The regional level: development boards

Changes in institutions at the regional level are much the same as those we see at the top. If new programmes are to be launched, there must be co-ordination between the relevant specialized departments similar to the liaison which must exist between ministries. In so far as the government is determined to break with past practices and to work for programmed objectives, the region ceases to be just one of the administrative levels in the organizational chart of the technical departments and becomes a stage at which decisions are taken on the use to be made of resources assigned by the plan. Since the technical departments concerned have to co-ordinate their programmes, they must be placed under the authority of a regional official. Whether de facto or by virtue of the authority delegated to him, this official accordingly represents the government at the regional level. This is a new form of the pervading presence of the central government to which we have already had occasion to refer.

The above general outline of the way in which regional development boards come into being calls for several comments. Firstly, how co-ordination and decentralization will shape up at the regional level obviously depends on the kind of planning decided on by the government and on the authority given to the planners. Between the purely indicative plan and the kind of plan under which real authority can be invoked for structural reform, there are a host of intermediate forms, leading to different types of regional organization. But it is significant that in almost all the African countries the regional level has been becoming increasingly important since Independence. Even when the plan has had little impact, and the government, once independent, has taken no specific initiative in this direction, the need has been felt to give greater weight to the decisions taken by regional authorities. Thus, we find Technical Planning and Development Boards at the level of the préfectures in Madagascar, Regional Development Boards in Senegal, a Departmental

levelopment Committee in Niger, and so on. There are various reasons for this; it has been considered necessary to redistribute resources for their more effective use, to improve efficiency by decentralizing responsibilities, and to place reliance on the lower administrative echelons, where technical shortcomings may be to some extent made good by closer contacts with the people.

The local level: the role of the community

General administration of the local community presupposes direct participation by the local people. In fact, the position varies from country to country. We have already indicated differences between the English-speaking and French-speaking African countries; but even within the two groups of countries the situation is by no means uniform. In the French-speaking countries, the territorial administration reached right down to the local community, and at the time of accession to Independence, two different states of affairs existed: either direct management of affairs by government officials, with assistance from the chefs de canton, who provided a link with the customary organization of the community; or a local administration with authority shared between rural communes, based on the French model, and officials of the central government acting in a supervisory capacity.

Both situations raise special problems for popular participation and "animation". In the first case, progressive forms of peasant organization have to be devised through which the local people, instead of passively accepting instructions from above, can first of all give their views on local affairs, then take over their management. This was the aim of the "animation" or development cells and the primary groupings devised by the "animation" schemes. It is worth noting in this connexion that national and community "animation" schemes are more suitable for taking account of local problems than sectoral schemes, which suffer from the limitation of their own specialization.

In the second case, i.e. when communal machinery already exists, the "animation" scheme must first of all assess what opportunities it affords for effective participation. 18/ Various factors have to be taken into account: the area covered by the commune, popular consultation, distribution of responsibilities between the commune and central government authorities, and so on. The "animation" scheme must then consider the links to be established between the cells it is going to create and the existing

---

18/ André Combaz-Fauquel: "Comment créer des structures d'intervention et de participation au développement? Les enseignements de la Commune rurale malgache", in Développement et Civilisations (Paris, I.R.F.E.D./ C.I.R.F.E.D., 1967), No. 29, March 1967, pp. 66-71.

communal machinery. In Madagascar, for example, there are three kinds of organization to be harmonized: the commune, the associations set up by the "animation" scheme, and the traditional fokonolona. 19/

To complete this analysis, we must consider the relations between the commune or the organization set up by the "animation" scheme at the level of the commune on the one hand, and the bodies responsible for technical and economic matters on the other. The "animation" scheme, frequently aims to have these cells and other groups assume economic responsibilities as soon as possible; once achieved, this popular take-over changes the balance of power at the base in accordance with peasant aspirations. There is a difference here between "animation" and community development, in that "animation" typically gives priority to responsibilities which will later be taken over by co-operatives, thus underlining the essentially pre-co-operative nature of these initial institutions, on which all other activities are subsequently based. This explains why the newer co-operative networks in French-speaking Africa tend to consist of "development co-operatives" and "co-operative communes"; 20/ when there are no communes to begin with, this tendency favours a diversification and consolidation of popular participation (as in Niger and Senegal), but if communes already exist, it may be a difficult job to reconcile the new popular organizations, such as co-operatives and the "animation" scheme, with more conservative institutions such as the local administration, the communes and the customary chiefs. The sociology of these grass-roots institutions is of vital importance to the future of development. Though the theoretical models may be relatively simple, in practice it is vastly more difficult to work out an effective strategy for popular participation.

D. Political institutions and mass organizations

The question of political institutions and mass organizations is usually avoided in studies on the theory of development; which is a mistake, for it has an important bearing on the subject inasmuch as the process of decolonization directly affects the way in which the State and its services are reorganized. In addition, the constant friction caused by structural inadequacies or personal rivalries confers on the government, with its powers of political arbitration, a mediating role that is one of the essentials of popular participation. Three aspects of this question are of particular importance in the structural changes that have been studied above.

19/ The fokonolona is a self-administering community made up of the inhabitants of a locality or of several neighbouring localities. In the nineteenth century the fokonolona added to its judicial and conciliation powers the right to organize collective work considered to be in the interests of the group. At present the fokonolona and the rural communes share certain economic responsibilities. See J. Dez: "Le fokonolona malgache: institution désuète ou cellule de développement", in Cahiers de l'Institut de science économique appliquée (Paris, I.S.E.A.), pp. 189-252.

20/ H. Desroche: Coopération et développement. Mouvements coopératifs et stratégie du développement, Collection "Tiers-Monde" (Paris, Institut d'étude de développement économique et social de l'Université de Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1964), p. 144.

The general political system

Several recent studies 21/ have shown that a fairly uniform type of political system has emerged in the black African countries. Certain English-speaking authors (notably Edward Shils) have invented the term "guided democracy" to describe it. This is defined as a political system under which guidance is exercised by a dominant, but not totalitarian, political party, to which we might add that in each of these countries, quite considerable powers tend to be vested in the President. In an endeavour to give practical expression to the democratic principles formally invoked by their respective Constitutions, the African nations seem to experience the need for the guiding hand of a President or dominant party.

The general cast of existing political institutions favours popular participation, which is formally provided for in national constitutions and benefits in practice by the pragmatic methods adopted in the process of development and structural reform. There is no doubt that so specific an innovation as "animation" can only be understood in this context of empiricism; the need for it in the development campaigns of African and other countries arises precisely from the inherent contradictions of a formal democracy seeking to achieve efficiency. But this generalisation requires a number of qualifications in particular cases.

First of all, there are political régimes in which the government is essentially based on a highly organized single party, able to exercise supervision over institutions, the way they operate, and the whole range of national activities. If such a party decrees that all contacts with the masses shall be subject to its control, it is clearly taking over all the tasks normally undertaken by "animation". 22/ This may lead to various results. The party may feel that, as already organized, it can assume the educational responsibilities normally incumbent on an "animation" scheme, and continue as before with the task of development (as in Guinea and Mali). Or it may consider that the better course is to incorporate some system of "animation" into the party itself (in Algeria, the F.L.N. tried this under President Ben Bella). Or it may prefer a system similar to that obtaining in Tanzania, where "animation" is undertaken jointly by the Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) and the community development authorities. Should the one and only party wish to maintain control of mass education, but be reluctant to assume direct responsibility for it, an "animation" scheme may be set up in such a way that liaison with the party is ensured. Since the President, head of the State and government, is usually secretary-general of the party as well, the normal procedure would seem to be for him to ensure liaison. This occurs in Niger, and it is obvious that in such circumstances the "animation" scheme will best fit into the established order if it is national in scope.

This leaves a broad spectrum of political systems, ranging from those in which a dominant party in fact monopolises the government and national assembly (or government only, as in Madagascar), to multi-party systems of the

---

21/ See, in particular, J. Buchmann: L'Afrique noire indépendante, Collection "Comment ils sont gouvernés" (Paris, Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1962), pp. 336-365.

22/ We have already referred to this, in the section on "animation" by a political party (pp. 532-533).

classical kind. The important point in such cases is to ascertain what means are available to the government in settling the disputes which arise in the course of development. Should it possess adequate means to enforce sufficient discipline in the administrative departments, then a national "animation" scheme will be desirable, provided of course that development goals do not exclude mass participation. When there is any uncertainty about the effectiveness of governmental decisions, it seems preferable to base participation and "animation" in the first instance on the most highly organized sectors of economic activity. Since, in such circumstances, both development programmes and institutions will be organized along the same lines the result will be a sectoral or regional "animation" scheme. This points to another difference in tactics between "animation" and community development, for the latter is much less severely handicapped by heterogeneity of institutions.

Trade unions and popular organizations[23/]

As we have just done for political parties, we must now consider the position occupied by the trade union movement in the institutions of the nation. In some African countries the unions are anxious to remain completely independent of political institutions; in others they maintain the closest ties with the government. This has even led to affiliation of the same trade union to inter-African and international federations of opposed leanings.

The distinction is quite important as far as participation by the rural populace is concerned. In the first place it is important (if a rural trade union movement exists at all) since in such circumstances the "animation" scheme will have to define its relation to the unions as it has to define its relation to political parties. Outside Algeria, which does not concern us in this article, the problem has never arisen, for in the French-speaking countries where an "animation" scheme exists the trade union movement does not really extend into the countryside, except in a few isolated cases of capital-intensive agriculture. But the time will doubtless come when it will, and in the example set by Algeria we may find matter for reflection. When the trade union movement retains its freedom of action in relation to the government, and remains largely restricted to the towns (as is very often the case), it will have very little to do with "animation". But if the latter is organized on a national scale it will, as we have seen, necessarily have to train leaders, who will often be trade unionists. If the unions are really active, they will take an interest in these programmes, which in a sense have the same aims in the field of development as the unions' activities in defence of the workers' rights. Finally, whenever the unions and the government are closely linked, the "animation" scheme will find itself involved in any action which either may be taking among the masses; but since the political systems in question are all of the single-party type, it may be said that the relations of the "animation" scheme with the unions will follow automatically on its relations with the party.

23/ See J. Meynaud and A. Salah Bey: Le syndicalisme africain. Evolution et perspectives, Etudes et documents Payot (Paris, Payot, 1963).

It should, however, be noted in passing that "animation" does not duplicate the work of the unions, as might be thought by national authorities weighing the pros and cons of recourse to "animation" techniques. There would, admittedly, be a problem of African trade unionism already covered all rural activities (including the peasant masses) and had solved the problem of representing the workers in an era of change and development. But this is far from being the case, and it is even possible that African trade unionism has no such ambitions. In the meantime, then, "animation" has a specific job to do, and can even be said to assist trade unionism in so far as it is doing something which might later be taken over, in these developing countries, by the trade union movement. Indeed, it is perfectly possible to imagine cases in which an "animation" scheme might be affiliated to a trade union federation.

E. Traditional institutions

The question of the relations between "animation" and traditional institutions, 24/ if thoroughly discussed, would unfortunately take us well beyond the scope of this article. In general terms, there are two questions which come to mind. Firstly, how will "animation" affect traditional institutions? Secondly, how does the existence of traditional institutions affect the decision to introduce an "animation" scheme and the form it should take?

Effects of "animation" on traditional institutions

These effects arise from the multiple social interactions involved in work, especially at the level of rural communities, and they make themselves felt in many fields, of which we shall mention only the most important here.

The first is that of methods. The aim of "animation" is to induce the people to give their voluntary support to development programmes and authorities not only locally, where they carry on their day-to-day activities, but in the broader horizon of the country's new regional and national institutions. Every phase of "animation", everything that distinguishes it from other forms of education, is therefore designed with an eye to the social milieu in which it operates.

All the main methods of "animation" bear witness to this attempt to suit the behaviour patterns and reactions of traditional societies: preparation of the ground by means of information meetings and extension work; designation of trainees by the villagers themselves; progressive selection of further trainees; and courses alternating with periods of practical work in the villages. A comparison with community development methods helps to bring

---

24/ See R. Colin: "L'Animation et le développement rural en Afrique noire francophone", op. cit.: Y. Goussault: "Sur le terrain", in Esprit (Paris) No. 10, October 1961, p. 424; and "L'intégration structurelle des masses africaines au développement et les conditions d'une animation-participation". Thesis submitted to the Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris, 1964), Ch. V, pp. 170-193.

out what is characteristic of "animation" in this approach to traditional communities. Whereas the former usually attempts to renovate the village community, the latter tries to bring about an acculturation between the traditional society and novel institutions (i.e. the technical departments serving the village), within the framework of programmes devised and implemented in common. "Animation" is marked by this attempt to achieve a meeting between the traditional and the new in sectors of decisive importance for development, and to encourage interest and participation by a sustained effort to educate opinion.

"Animation" also brings about structural changes. The "animation cell" is the natural outcome of society's tendency to form groups and by giving it new economic and social responsibilities, new leaders (the "animators") and new points of contact with outside institutions (multi-disciplinary teams, contracts, development programmes, and the like), "animation" transforms it into a bridge between traditional society and the new development organizations. Important psycho-social mechanisms are thus involved: the traditional society first accepts a challenge by agreeing to designate some of its members for training; this engenders a freely accepted situation of conflict when the trainees return to the village and start their activities; a train of internal changes is thus set off, guided by the "animators" and by the demands of development.

Finally, it is in connexion with teaching methods that we see how close are the links between "animation" and the social setting in which it works. The structural renovation, mentioned above, is accompanied by changes in group attitudes and behaviour. Without analysing these changes in any depth, we would recall that the methods used in "animation" induce the group to decide for itself which, among its traditional systems of motivation, are most likely to respond to outside stimulation. The influence of "animation", which may be described as "democratic" and "facilitating" (in the sense in which Cyril A. Rogers used these terms) 25/ cannot be dissociated from that of the local agents of government departments. We thus get a triangular system of communication between "animators", technical personnel and villagers, leading to a system of direct and indirect instruction peculiar to "animation". The advantage of the system is that the educator is no longer merely the final link in a chain of contact with the peasants (as is the extension worker); he is instrumental in establishing channels of direct communication. Whence a system of teaching practices which, although they may be puzzling to the specialist in popular education, are rooted in experience. These practices are admittedly insufficiently developed in comparison with what has been achieved in this field by community development. Nevertheless, "animation" has devised an original pedagogic system thanks to which it has been able to make fruitful use of people's collective urge to participate and has managed to avoid getting bogged down by the passivity or conflicts that have so often frustrated educational efforts in the past.

25/ See M. Pages: L'orientation non directive en psychothérapie et en psychologie sociale (Paris, Dunod, 1965), p. 52.

Effect of traditional structures on "animation"

The second question which arises in connexion with traditional institutions is the following: Do the various types of traditional African society - as do political, economic or administrative institutions - play a part in determining whether an "animation" programme should be launched or what forms it should take? Clearly, the basic social and cultural characteristics of a nation will decisively affect the general way in which it is organized and influence the institutional models it chooses. Similarly, as we have seen, they directly affect those psycho-social factors with which "animation" must operate, as the differences existing in this respect between "animation" schemes similar in methods but operating in very different cultural areas clearly demonstrate. The fact remains that these effects concern details - teaching criteria or methods of local action - rather than the principle of "animation" or the way in which it fits in with other institutions.

Despite all this, it must not be overlooked that traditional society, with its strong social cohesion, can play an important part in support of the fragile and incoherent institutions characteristic of newly launched development schemes. To be sure, the values and social stratification embodied in traditional society can often act as a brake on popular participation for development; some, indeed many, of them may cause imbalances and give rise to patterns of behaviour obstructing change especially when new institutions have not taken firm root. Hence each individual case has to be examined before we can say whether traditional values and social orders are helpful or not.

*

* *

Such, then, are the mutual effects and interrelations between "animation" and rural institutions in the context of development programmes in French-speaking black Africa.

Analysis would reveal similar relations between community development schemes and rural institutions in the English-speaking countries, which leads to the following questions. What forms will government intervention and educational action now take in Africa? The effects of the colonial epoch are still so marked that the future remains obscure. in Tanzania, it seems that intermediate levels in the apparatus of government and political life are in process of constitution; will this be the case in the other English-speaking countries? And will there be any decentralization of the ponderous institutions which the French-speaking countries took over from their colonial administrations. No doubt the two extremes will come together to produce a system of development common to all the black African countries. But no matter what the future holds, what is immediately important is that educational programmes should keep in step with structural change. The aim of this article was to describe what the French-speaking countries are doing in this respect.

X. EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

The ECAFE region covers twenty-five of the countries within its geographic scope, namely, Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Brunei, Cambodia, Ceylon, the Republic of China, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, the Mongolian People's Republic, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Republic of Viet-Nam, Singapore, Thailand and Western Samoa. The continent of Asia, as a geographic unit, consists of about one-fifth of the land surface of the earth and contains almost one half the population of the entire world; the region can lay claim to having in its midst some of the greatest civilizations, cultures and religions known to mankind.

There is an enormous variation in the social, economic and cultural conditions obtaining in each of the nations making up the region. There has been a continuing effort to adapt community development programmes to the individual needs of each country, taking into account its specialized requirements and stage of development. Sharp country-by-country differences preclude broad generalizations on community development practice and progress in the region as a whole. This chapter loosely describes the main subregional variations and patterns, with supporting examples, and then briefly summarizes community development activity in each member country. It ends with a general assessment of community development programmes in the ECAFE region and provides some conclusions as to trends and policy directions.

I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ECAFE REGION

Geographically, the Asian portion of the ECAFE region may be divided into three subregions: East Asia (1968 population 893 million) taking in both Chinas, both Koreas, Japan, Mongolia, Hong Kong, Macau, and the Ryubyu Islands; South-west Asia (1968 population 696 million) including Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Ceylon and the Maldives; and South-east Asia (1968 population 270 million) comprising Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, both Viet-Nams, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, the Philippines and Portuguese Timor.

Wheat is the basic staple for most of the countries grouped in South-west Asia (with the exception of East Pakistan and Ceylon) and rice for the greater part of the East and South-east Asia. This diet orientation somewhat contrasts with the mixed diets commonly associated with the developed countries. Islamic religion, ideology, culture, traditions and customs prevail in Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Malaysia (mixed) and in parts of India and Indonesia. Hindu culture prevails mainly in India, Nepal and parts of Indonesia; and Buddhist and allied religions and customs predominate in Ceylon and all countries due east and north-east of Burma, including Hong Kong, Singapore and parts of Malaysia. The Christian religion and culture are in evidence chiefly in the Philippines, with large ethnic or religious minority groups found in almost all the countries of the region.

Whereas Japan and, to a lesser degree China (Taiwan), can be classified as developed countries owing to their high rate of industrial growth in recent times, almost all the other countries of the region are in the category of developing nations, heavily dependent for developmental resources on the more developed countries. A major source of income of the developing countries is the sale of primary commodities, whose prices are subject to wide fluctuation; this factor has chiefly been responsible for the deteriorating terms of trade, which have in turn slowed their rate of industrial growth. Faced with declining income from exports, the burden of servicing existing debts has become even more onerous, with as much as 15 to 20 per cent of earnings devoted to debt amortization and interest payments. Rapid industrialization, emphasizing import substitution and export diversification has been introduced in a number of countries in the region as the key to modernization; in line with this, public policy has been directed toward channelling a maximum of national resources and savings into industrial growth, often at the cost of social and at times agricultural development as well. Some countries like South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Philippines, Pakistan and Iran (with its rich oil resources) have within the past three or four years attained a rate of industrial growth which, if maintained, could soon bring them to the developed stage. The recent experience of certain countries in the region supports the thesis that rapid industrial growth cannot come about at the expense of agricultural development; nor can industrial development progress far, if investment in the social field is allowed to lag.

With few exceptions, the countries in the region are predominantly rural, with approximately 80 per cent of the population living in villages and hamlets. These villages are mostly tradition-bound and resistant to change - a tendency that is further reinforced by their physical isolation. Bridging the distance between the Government and the rural population remains one of the biggest hurdles confronting developing nations, thereby providing a strong justification for community development programmes.

In relation to available cultivable land, the high rate of population growth so characteristic of virtually all nations of the region has generated considerable pressure on land and resources. Population density ranges from twenty-five per square mile in Laos and Iran on the one side, to 1,200 per square mile in East Pakistan. Enormous national investments are required for increasing the supply of water resources with a view to bringing new land under cultivation or making existing agricultural lands more productive through irrigation. Most cultivation, however, remains dependent on favourable weather conditions; the absence of helpful natural factors - and particularly a failing monsoon - easily lead to a vast decrease in farm production and not infrequently to famine conditions. Per capita income is generally very low ($60-90 per year), even though some countries, for example Malaysia, Thailand, China (Taiwan), South Korea, Iran, the Philippines and Japan, have achieved a much higher income. Distribution of wealth within the countries themselves is inequitable, resulting in large poverty-ridden rural and urban masses, a small middle class (consisting of traders, administrative officials or army personnel), and a minute group of wealthy people (large land owners, industrialists etc.).

Past colonial Governments and their administrative systems were geared mainly to the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenues, but were not particularly inclined to promote social or economic development. A static society

of tillers of the land, heavily dependent for their day-to-day existence on the benevolence of the Government, was suited to the colonial pattern. Such a social structure was antithetical to the development process, and would, if allowed to go unchanged, effectively preclude the newly developing countries from achieving rapid socio-economic development and growth. Political integration and a sense of national unity were not uncommonly missing, resulting in uncertainties of national policies and governmental instability. Poverty, disease, ignorance, isolation, apathy, fatalism, feudalism and rural indebtedness, combined with outmoded agricultural techniques and low yields off the land, have continued to be some of the major factors retarding development.

The administrative systems in most cases, and particularly in the case of the ex-British colonial countries, were patterned on the district as the basic administrative unit. The technical representatives of all rural development departments or ministries were stationed at the district level under the over-all but loose control of the district officer, who exercised within his district all the powers and responsibilities on behalf of the Central Government. Such exercise of powers, however, is traditionally concerned with the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenues as well as the exercise of specified judicial powers. It is only indirectly concerned with the socio-economic development of the district. "Development" was traditionally left to the customarily unco-ordinated efforts of the technical departments, which provided services in conformity with the general departmental policy and programmes as laid down by the Central Government. There was no over-all national or district integrated planning nor any long-term determination of co-ordinated perspective planning. This legacy of unplanned and unco-ordinated effort for development was to become one of the greatest hurdles facing any national rural-development effort in the post-independence era. This situation was further complicated by the absence of a viable system of development administration and a severe shortage of trained local administrators.

The problems of development planning are even more complex in some of the larger states having a federal form of government in which semi-autonomous states or provinces have jurisdiction over certain key sectors such as agriculture. In such circumstances, full co-operation between those states and the Central Government is essential if national plans are to be implemented.

Internal instability, consequent upon the Second World War and its aftermath, the emergence of powerful nationalist forces determined to gain independence and the power-vacuum created by the withdrawal of colonial powers have been among the major factors retarding social and economic development in the South-East Asia region. This situation was further complicated by the inability of the new independent Governments, within the short time available, to create stable social and political institutions that could govern effectively and establish rapport with the masses, whose expectations of economic betterment were aroused by their newly-won independence. Iran, Afghanistan and Thailand have traditionally had a centralized political and administrative system which they are currently endeavouring to modernize through the creation of decentralized local institutions. Another group, comprising ex-British colonial territories, has also been experimenting with new political and administrative forms. In some instances, these efforts have involved changing over from democratic to authoritarian systems in response to political crises growing out of the inadequacy of local institutions; democratic governments in a number

of countries proved unviable owing to the absence of many of the basic conditions necessary for democratic rule. The continuing war in Viet-Nam has posed an almost insurmountable hurdle to development for the Governments of Laos, Cambodia, and Viet-Nam. Indonesia had also been beset by severe internal disorders from which the country is just beginning to emerge. Conflicting border claims and national rivalries have affected the relationships between several neighbouring countries of the region, further exacerbating conditions. These factors have led many Governments to invest an inordinately large proportion of their scarce resources in non-productive defensive measures. More recently there have been signs that some of these hostilities are abating and there is a growing movement toward economic co-operation along regional and bilateral lines.

II. REVIEW OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN ASIA AND THEIR DEVELOPING TRENDS

Given the problems mentioned above, almost inevitably the first priority in the newly independent, developing countries of Asia, within the last two decades, has been to bring into being a new mechanism that could act as a channel of communication between the people and the Government. This was necessary to create a stronger awareness among the people of their rights and responsibilities as citizens of an independent nation. Such a mechanism was also necessary for the conversion of the law-and-order system of administration into a welfare- and development-oriented system, and for the effective allocation of scarce resources in a manner conducive to rapid development. It was likewise essential (a) to distribute some of the functions, responsibilities and powers of the central Government among lower echelons nearer the people; (b) to build popular institutions at the grass-roots level, which could motivate the masses into identifying themselves with this national development effort; (c) to co-ordinate and streamline the technical services (which under the traditional administrative system had been working in isolation from each other and from the people); and (d) to generate development-oriented local leadership suited to the changing circumstances rather than to the maintenance of the status quo.

Governmental reorganization became the first stage of development for the newly independent and developing countries of Asia, without which their subsequent development planning efforts did not have much chance of success. An agent of change, representing at the village level all developmental departments of the Government, was viewed as essential in promoting directed change and acting as a link between the people and the Government. This multipurpose extension agent, with a rural background, living in the village, but backstopped by better-trained, district-level or subdistrict-level technical personnel, seemed to be the most practical type of person - given the limited resources and the desire for quick results - to assist in accomplishing these aims. The multipurpose extension agent became a fimilar type associated with community development operations in the region. As a rule, this official was required to operate in five to ten villages and was supervised and directed from the subdistrict level of about 100-200 villages in a newly created unit of development administration, which was considered sufficiently viable for economic development and adequately close to village leadership and institutions to bring the administration and the people face to face. This development unit, known as the "development area" or "block", was in turn supervised by a block development officer, who advised the district administrative officer in matters of development, co-ordinated the technical

services and advised the popular representative institutions at the block level just as the village-level worker (VLW) worked with the village development committee.

Chronologically, in the ECAFE region, India and Pakistan were among the first countries to start well-organized national community development programmes in 1952-1953. Before that, there had been some experimentation with rural reconstruction in India and in other countries. For example, a number of district officers of the Indian Civil Service, namely F.L. Brayne, Spencer Hatch, Malcolm Darling and others, had experimented within their own district jurisdictions with various forms of community organization for rural reconstruction. Charismatic national leaders like Tagore and Gandhi had involved themselves in mass-uplift movements for socio-political reasons or for rural and cultural revival. Also in mainland China around 1934, there had been several experimental attempts - under university aegis and assisted by the Government - to undertake composite regional and community development programmes in selected districts. Most of these attempts were sporadic, and did not lead to any organized national programme. The Rockefeller Foundation was particularly active in China in 1934 - as was the Ford Foundation in India and Pakistan during 1952 - in sponsoring experimental programmes of community development under the management of the newly independent Governments. These two major programmes set the aforementioned pattern of community development programmes and created a general movement in Asia in favour of community development as an instrument for concerted rural reconstruction and national development and for better utilization of their vast manpower resources. This developing mass movement was keenly observed and enthusiastically emulated by most countries of the region. As more community development workers and supervisors became available from the newly created departmental training institutions, more blocks or development areas were established, and these gradually spread all over the country, often with their own hierarchy at higher levels, including in some cases even the supporting technical services. Supportive staff services, like public relations and audiovisuals, women and youth work, adult literacy and evaluation units, were also organized, and the programmes assumed the status of a full-fledged ministry or department of the Government. Programmes of a similar nature but of varying scope and duration, were undertaken by most countries of the region, but only India succeeded in achieving complete geographical coverage of its community development programme.

Apart from the Rockfeller and Ford Foundations, many of these community development programmes were financially and technically supported by the United States International Co-operation Administration (now USAID or USOM) and in the case of the ex-French Indo-China territories as well as Thailand, UNESCO had initiated somewhat similar activities under its Fundamental Education Programme. As resources have permitted, the United Nations and UNICEF have provided supportive advisory services, fellowships and various other forms of technical assistance.

What follows is a country-by-country review of community development starting with Iran and continuing in an eastward line. The review, given the limitations of space, does not attempt to provide a comprehensive treatment of community development in each of these countries, but rather to present a description and analysis of their essential elements; no effort is made to evaluate or to judge the effectiveness of the programmes.

Iran

After experimenting for a few years with a community development programme of the traditional pattern described above, Iran initiated a policy of expanded, all-round rural development designed to raise the standards of health, literacy, agriculture and housing, and to carry out land reform. As a result, the original community development programme diminished in importance. However, in 1963, following its policy of democratic decentralization for local development, the Government, working through the Community Development Department in the Ministry of the Interior started setting up village development committees throughout the country. These statutory committees have been invested with limited authority to levy taxes to promote local development. The Community Development Department has the responsibility for establishing and guiding the village development committees, organizing village communities, and training local leadership. Over 22,000 committees have already been established by the Department in the 33,000 villages of Iran. In addition, Iran has also introduced some experimental programmes in urban community development.

There are no front-line VLWs employed by the Community Development Department any longer, though such trained officials are placed at the provisional level in Ostan and Shairastan, informally to supervise and co-ordinate a number of departmental programmes including the literacy corps, the health corps, the agriculture extension corps, rural public works etc. At the village level, this co-ordinating role is performed informally by the village development committees, which in addition exercise minor judicial functions, notably that of reconciling local conflicts.

Increasing the number of trained personnel, stimulating and strengthening leadership, augmenting development funds and strengthening the ties of the village development committees with the higher echelons of local government, are viewed as important issues that need further attention for enhanced local development. The National Community Development Training Institute is located at Garmsar.

Afghanistan

Over the past decade, the Afghan national community development programme has conformed to the traditional pattern common to the region. During this period, it has received a substantial amount of technical assistance from the United Nations family of organizations. For want of sufficient trained field personnel, there has been a tendency for the community development administration to be centralized in Kabul, a practice that appears to hinder the programme particularly because of the rudimentary roads and communications in the rural areas. Policy for the community development programme is formulated by the High Council for Rural Development, presided over by the Prime Minister; this body has not been very active.

An important task of community development is training cadres for over-all rural development. The Community Development Department, attached to the Ministry of the Interior, has also set up modest programmes for training and utilizing women as functional literacy teachers - an indication that women are emerging from their hitherto secluded place in society. Under the guidance of the National Community Development Training Centre, located at Gulzar, youth clubs and training classes for women have been organized.

The Government has utilized community development as a vehicle for undertaking regional development projects in the more depressed provinces. Under its second Five Year Plan, the Government has set a greater rate of economic expansion in areas where community development programmes are in operation; the incapacity of the Training Centre in Gulzar to prepare a sufficient number of trained personnel has inhibited this projected rate of expansion. To overcome this handicap, the capacity of the Centre was expanded in 1967 to accommodate 350 students, as against 250 in the past. According to recent information, the Community Development Department has now been dissolved by the Government, and in its place a new Local Development Department may be set up.

Pakistan

After about ten years of operation (1952-1962) patterned along traditional lines, the national community development programme was extended to 42 per cent of the rural area of the country and helped to create in the rural people an awareness of and a greater capacity for democratic local self-government. Subsequently, a change in bilateral aid priorities for the community development programme along with new political exigencies and the demand for a more effective and democratic system of self-rule, led to the promulgation of the Basic Democracy system of local government - an advanced form of community development village councils of elders with added political responsibility. The Community Development Department was assigned the responsibility of assisting in the organization of the 8,000 Basic Democracy institutions (Union Councils) and training the 80,000 Basic Democrats (elected local leaders) in their duties and responsibilities. Selected community development cadres (picked from the approximately 6,000 VLWs, supervisors, development officers and directors) were then absorbed as secretaries and advisers to the Basic Democracy institutions, which were organized at the levels of the community development village council and the community development area as well as at district and higher levels. The Basic Democracies were given statutory responsibility for administering local rural and community development activities. The scope of their operation was subsequently enlarged by a decision to assign large-scale rural public works programmes to the jurisdiction of the Basic Democracies. This involved local planning for and implementation of a country-wide programme of physical improvement largely in the rural areas, and thus the Basic Democracy system also played an important role in achieving greater agricultural production.

The Basic Democrats, elected directly from their respective wards consisting of 1,000 people, currently number 80,000. They had for quite some time formed the electoral college for the provincial and national assemblies and for electing the President of the country. Election of national political leadership and institutions by a representative body of a well-informed, responsible and educated electorate had helped to promote greater popular participation in local and national affairs. This can be counted among the achievements of the community development programme, which had incidentally given prime attention to the training of local leadership and the building of local institutions. It is perhaps too early to say whether these institutions will become a permanent feature of the future constitution of Pakistan.

A noteworthy achievement in Pakistan was also the establishment - at Comilla in East Pakistan - of the interdisciplinary and multidepartmental academy for training and action research in rural development. This institution is equipped to experiment in such diverse areas of rural development as rural administration, the provision of technical services, rural public works, co-operative farming, family planning, rural institution-building and the training of local leadership. The publications of the academy provide a rich source of material in rural and community development, and some of its newly discovered methods for co-operative mechanized farming and rural development have widespread applicability.

Currently, there seems to be some thought of reviving the original pattern of community development programme. There is a growing recognition that the activities of the community development type - particularly in so far as they constitute a system of continuing, informal, day-to-day guidance of the rural communities by a trained front-line worker who is also a link between the people and the technical departments - are indispensable for a large, predominantly rural-oriented, developing society.

In the meantime, a vigorous national urban community development programme has also been launched and continues to grow in both the eastern and western parts of the country. There are over 100 urban projects in operation and these benefit directly from the assistance and participation of local government agencies.

India

India offers what is perhaps the best known example in Asia of concentrated and sustained national effort for establishing a national community development structure, covering the entire country. Its programme, the largest in the world, has been the object of much study and evaluation. It has been the source of inspiration to many countries for the traditional pattern of community development, namely front-line, multipurpose village-level workers (one for ten villages) and block development areas (of about 100 villages) with a block development officer and a specified number of extension officers.

After complete coverage of the country had been achieved between 1952 and 1965, with 5,256 community development blocks, it was found that, owing to the somewhat rapid expansion of the programme, the coverage was rather thin - in the ratio of one VLW to ten villages. This dilution of resources, it was believed, along with the heavy burden of agricultural services placed on the VLW, had been in part responsible for the failure to evoke the desired degree of popular participation in development. It was also felt, that the uniform scheduling of development - by classifying the development process in the blocks as "pre-extension", "stage I", "stage II" and "post-stage II" - was unrealistic. In 1952, the Government had already launched a nation-wide administrative decentralization of development, known as the panchayati raj system, introducing a three-tiered local government. The aim of this programme was to provide the country with a democratically elected development structure - linking panchayats of village and district - in which the people and the rural administrative services would participate as partners for integrated rural development. The existing CD programme is now functioning through the panchayats, the prime objective being increased agricultural production; the main resources of the Government earmarked for rural development, including the budgets of the technical departments, are channelled through the panchayats and voted by them.

A large number of women's institutions (63,700 mahila samities) and youth clubs (117,600) sponsored by community development, continue to be active in development, particularly in the applied nutrition programme. A vast network of training institutions, established throughout the country for the community development programme, continues to service both community development and the panchayats, in addition to several top-priority programmes of national rural development. These training institutions receive their guidance and supervision from the National Institute of Community Development, located at Hyderabad.

In recent years, there has been a shift away from the original broad-gauged, multipurpose concept of socio-economic development to more selective and intensive development in the fields of agricultural production, family planning, employment, improved nutrition and the building up of a national rural infrastructure of irrigation wells.

Future policy regarding community development as the instrument for national development has been under examination by the Government. There is evidence that more intensive efforts will be made to achieve an integrated approach for rural development, through the stimulation and promotion of local initiative and community action, the deployment of extension services over manageable area-units, and the establishment of a co-ordinated programme of field services functionally linked both the panchayats and the parent technical departments.

Nepal

Community development in Nepal has generally parallelled the activitity in India and Pakistan, described above. The Government, however, discontinued its national community development programme in the course of time, replacing it with a national panchayat (local government) system. This system comprises 3,756 rural and fifteen town panchayats, seventy-five district and fourteen zonal panchayats, topped by the National Panchayat or Parliament. All national development activity is channelled through the panchayats. The secretary of the district panchayat, appointed by the Government, is also the executive head and administrator of the district as well as the district development officer. Through its Rural Development Department, Nepal has trained many of its panchayat leaders at the training centre in Rampur, and has actively used the panchayats for all rural development activities and programmes, including the implementation of land reform, the collection of compulsory rural saving and land taxes, the advancing of agricultural credits and the organization of land settlement programmes. This system, not unlike that of Pakistan, is also directly related to the political structure of the country, inasmuch as the panchayats form the electoral college for the provincial and national legislatures.

Thailand

Thailand has continued to make progress with the traditional type of national community development programme, which is concentrated mainly in the politically sensitive north-east and southern provinces of the country. Present coverage extends to 8,715 villages, in 861 tambons (communes), and ninety-one districts, with an estimated population of over 5 million, or one-sixth of the total population. There are some 1,400 front-line CD workers, 100 specifically-trained workers in the women's and youth programmes (WAY) and 120 supervisory and

administrative staff members. The pattanakorn, or VLW operates through the local leadership and strengthens it, particularly the elected pu yai ban (village head), and kamnan (the tambon head), as well as their assistants, the local monks and teachers. In addition, they assist in the election of village and tambon development committees, chaired ex officio by the pu yai ban and the kamnan respectively. Supervisory community development personnel are also located at the district (amphur) and provincial (changwad) levels and work in co-operation with the district officer, the provincial governor and the technical services. There is an on-going local leadership training programme the purpose of which is to enable the tambon development committees to become self-developing, statutory institutions of local government.

In the same areas, backed by considerable bilateral assistance, the Government had also undertaken a much larger accelerated rural development programme, for the purpose of opening inaccessible rural areas through the rapid construction of roads, wells and other rural infrastructure. The accelerated rural development programme, as well as the mobile units of the regional community development technical assistance centre programme, are supported by grants from foreign Governments. In the strict sense, these are not community development programmes, even though the national community development programme co-ordinates their activities and derives support from them. There are also other CD programmes, including the Rural Development Volunteer Programme, the Land Settlement Programme, the Hill-Tribe Development Programme and the Metropolitan Urban Community Development Programme.

Laos

Over the past decade, Laos has suffered from the effects of periodic internecine warfare, which has seriously undermined the country's political, administrative and financial strength. Owing mainly to this, its community development programme, although assisted by the United Nations and several international agencies has not made much headway. The experimental rural development areas, operated along the lines of a United Nations and joint inter-agency technical assistance project have not accomplished much, largely because of a lack of financial and technical support from the Government and a lack of interdepartmental co-ordination. The need to resettle a substantial proportion of the uprooted population who are refugees, veterans or disabled persons, has provided an opportunity for the use of community development techniques but the opportunity has not been adequately exploited for the above-mentioned reasons. Similarly, a large proportion of the population - the tribal and hill-tribe people - remains untouched by community development. The United Nations-assisted programme has been at a competitive disadvantage as compared with programmes of bilateral support that have been undertaken in the few physically secure village "clusters", and the latter have benefited from greater financial resources. Increasing emphasis is being given by the one remaining United Nations technical assistance adviser to the training of cadres employed by the Commissariat of Rural Development and the bilateral "cluster" programme and also to the orienting of provincial and district administrative government personnel and of selected local leaders in the techniques and skills of rural development, but the present state of community development activity continues to be uncertain and is likely to remain so until a greater measure of political stability can be restored. Further complicating the picture is the

very considerable financial dependence of the Government on bilateral budgetary and programme support, leaving little scope to the United Nations and related technical assistance programmes, which can operate only in an advisory and training capacity.

Despite these handicaps, a national community development training centre has been established at Ban Amone, and a fair number of continuing self-help programmes guided by the United Nations adviser are in operation in the provinces, undertaken by the district administrative officers and the trained community development cadres. OXFAM is also aiding the Ban Amone training programme by providing stipends to some trainees. Furthermore, a country-wide CD structure/programme, formulated with the assistance of the United Nations adviser, was proclaimed by Royal Decree No. 210, dated 18 July 1966. Under its provisions, all the technical departments and the provincial/district administrations are enjoined to assist the CD programme, which is headed by the Prime Minister himself.

An effective body of counterpart personnel at the higher administrative and policy levels remains to be trained to assume responsibility for the community development programme after the bilateral assistance programmes are terminated. The United Nations and the bilateral agencies are passing on increasing responsibilities in this regard to the Commissariat des Affaires Rurales of the Royal Government of Laos.

Cambodia and Viet-Nam

The origin of activities of the community development type in these two countries can be traced to UNESCO's Fundamental Education Programmes. Later, Cambodia, with the assistance of the United Nations technical assistance services launched a national community development programme and organized a training centre at Tonle Bati. However, the inability to resolve the differences between the UNESCO-sponsored and the United Nations-sponsored programmes stunted the development of both.

In Viet-Nam, large community development programmes sponsored by the United States Government have been under way for the last seven or eight years. These programmes, variously labelled as Agrovilles, Civic Action, the Revolutionary Development Programme etc., are basically para-military defensive measures designed to "pacify" and to secure specific rural areas from insurgent elements. Military instruction and self-help for rural development form the basis of the training programmes.

Korea

In Korea, a community development programme was instituted in 1958 with financial and technical assistance from the International Co-operation Administration of the United States of America. A shift in aid priorities, however, led to the termination of the programme in favour of direct support for agricultural production. As a result, the Korean community development programme was brought under the administrative control of the Office of Rural Development, which serves as Korea's Department of Agriculture.

The community development programme per se had covered 4,500 villages in 140 guns (counties) and had trained 1,500 VLWs. Each village had a community development village kae or council, composed of heads of family groups and a working committee, charged with the task of preparing local development plans. The village development committee helped to co-ordinate and streamline different village development activities, which in some cases overlapped the activities of local organizations and interest groups. Teams of "generalist" CD workers were stationed at the district level (each VLW having six to nine villages) and worked through these village development councils, under the supervision of the gun guidance office. Training lay leaders is one of the main objectives of this programme, with the Government sharing the cost of local self-help projects. Since the amalgamation of community development with the Office of Rural Development, a common country-wide community development pattern of operations has been worked out. The agricultural extension workers who have been given intensive community development orientation (numbering about 7,000) work in concert with the original CD (or guidance) cadres, and have helped to extend the geographic scope of community development throughout the country. Community development techniques are strongly in evidence in the agricultural and rural public works projects, with village development committees planning and implementing these projects, aided by government funds. Locally planned and agriculturally oriented projects form the basis of the village as well as of the national six-year community development plans.

Currently, the CD guidance unit functions as part of the Office of Rural Development but maintains a separate identity and provides supportive, guidance functions. The six-year National Plan of Community Development (1966) envisages an increased emphasis on direct lay leadership training at all levels and includes training of a vocational type.

China (Taiwan)

In China (Taiwan), although there is no conventional type of community development programme with a trained cadre of CD workers, the administrative structure, the local government system, and in a large measure the autonomous, self-supporting voluntary organizations of the people appear to operate in close co-operation in what amounts to a direct partnership between the people at large and the Government. This co-operative relationship has many of the elements of an integrated, national rural and community development programme. Currently, the country plans to co-ordinate its many activities of the community development type and to upgrade and unify its training programmes through the establishment of a national community development research and training institute somewhat on the pattern of the Academy for Rural Development at Comilla in East Pakistan, and the Venezuelan Centre for Training and Applied Research in Community Development. Self-help village development projects with an emphasis on improved health, better road, improved housing and general beautification have been organized throughout Taiwan and have been written up in ECAFE publications. 1/

1/ See, for example, ECAFE, "Community development in China (Taiwan)", (Reference SA/CD/ExIn-2).

Malaysia

Malaysia initiated some limited experimental attempts with the conventional type of community development programme, but soon gave this up in favour of a large, nation-wide, adult education programme. This programme, operating conjointly with the literacy campaign, has as its purpose increasing the knowledge, capacity and skills of the rural people for promoting self-reliance and self-development. In comparison with other contemporary Asian programmes, Malaysia, with extensive material resources available and the willingness to develop its largely backward rural areas, has undertaken a somewhat different community development approach. The first phase of this approach consisted of building rural infrastructural facilities through the use of governmental resources as one facet of the joint effort to evoke popular participation in local and national development and in the subsequent second phase. An integrated approach to local/rural development was assured through the co-ordination of technical services at the district level. Popular participation was stimulated through the organization of annual intervillage national competitions, for specified aspects of rural development, which the village (kampong) committees had to plan and implement, for example, land utilization, crop diversification, health, sanitation and cleanliness, cottage industries, co-operatives, self-help and mutual assistance, adult literacy and the like. The national competitions were subject to review by the joint interdepartmental district teams. This co-operative interdepartmental effort with popular participation has been under the guidance of the National and Rural Development Ministry and is known as gerakan maju.

Philippines

Since 1956, the Philippines has had in operation a national community development programme, known as the Presidential Arm for Community Development (PACD). It has assisted in the organization and operation of the barrio (local government) councils by training workers for development-type programmes and for local planning. Budgetary expenditure by the PACD has been maintained fairly evenly but the impact of the programme is somewhat diluted by the country's rapid population growth, one of the highest in the region. Over-all, the community development programme has trained over 3,000 VLWs, and has extended coverage to 15 per cent of the rural areas. Each municipal community development worker has three barrio workers (VLWs) operating under his supervision, each of whom is responsible for overseeing programmes in three rural barrios. Provincial community development councils have been instrumental in involving higher-level technical department personnel in community development. Lately, a great deal of their effort has been concentrated on increasing agricultural production - a policy that has returned promising results with the introduction of the high-yielding IR-8 rice seed.

An interdisciplinary Community Development Research Council, composed of CD personnel, selected members of the faculty of the University of the Philippines and a few foreign advisers, has the task of studying and evaluating selected aspects of the programme.

The Community Development Centre at Los Baños, on the campus of the Agriculture University of the Philippines, provides training to community development cadres. Lay leadership and women and youth workers' training courses

are also provided. Under non-official, voluntary auspices, the Philippines Rural Reconstruction Movement also trains its own cadre and runs a parallel programme of community development in areas where PACD is not in operation.

Indonesia

Not much is known of the very recent developments in the field of community development in Indonesia. Under the previous régime, a community development programme called Pembangunan Masjarakat Desa (PMD) was in operation, sponsored by the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operatives. This programme came into a certain amount of conflict with the social welfare programme, known as Lembaga Social Desa (LSD), which had a parallel structure reaching down to the multivillage level. Like Malaysia, Indonesia has had a strong traditional spirit of mutual self-help (gotong royong) as a national characteristic and policy (panch sheel). In the course of time this has evolved into a stable and formal structure of decentralized village governments, led by the village headman and assisted by two to ten assistant headmen, all salaried personnel; each assistant headman presides over a village subcommittee responsible for a specialized area, such as security, social development, religious affairs, agriculture, youth work and secretarial and committee work. In these circumstances, the work of training new village leadership, organizing new institutions for development and recruiting new frontline workers has not received the high priority it does in conventional programmes, but the Department has staffed the higher echelons at the district and provincial levels with its own trained staff and provided the required supervision, co-ordination and guidance for the village committees. It was also agreed with the LSD that community development should assume the responsibility for village-level co-ordination of the rural development work, and would finance a part of it. The village council was to continue as the planning agency, operating under the general guidance of the Community Development Department. The council would farm out the approved programme to appropriate technical subcommittees for implementation, for example, rural public work plans to the public works subcommittee, schools and adult education activity to the education subcommittee, social welfare work to the LSD subcommittee etc.

The Community Development Department also worked closely with the Co-operatives Department - all village activity of the economic type being carried out by the village co-operatives, including some monopoly trade activities sanctioned by the State. Land resettlement activity (transmigration) was also, for a while, the direct responsibility of the Community Development Department. At last report, the Department was operating a joint national community development and co-operative training centre on the outskirts of Djakarta.

Ceylon

Unlike most other Asian countries, Ceylon suffers from a surfeit of village-level institutions both official and voluntary, resulting in overlapping activities and conflicting aims. Following the recommendations of a United Nations evaluation mission in 1962, the situation somewhat improved. The rural development CD programme has no front-line workers but has one trained rural development officer at the multivillage or subdistrict level, who is responsible for organizing - at the village level - the non-statutory, but formally recognized, hierarchical rural development societies. Here the emphasis is placed

on self-help activities in fields such as health and cultural, civic, economic and public works. Some measure of co-ordination with other technical departments and voluntary institutions has been achieved. In the field of training, the National Research and Training Institute for Community Development, located at Paredeniya, offers community development orientation courses to the officials of technical departments, in addition to training its own rural development cadre officers. At the subprofessional level, a large number of lay-leadership courses are being, offered, including some for the members of the rural development societies.

Currently, some 6,000 rural development societies for men and 3,000 for women are in operation, supervised and assisted by 143 rural development officers, fifteen supervisors, thirty-one inspectors of public works and twenty-one district officers. The Department of Rural Development and Small Industries directs the programme. A large number of additional women's institutions (mahila samities) formed by an all-Ceylon voluntary organization are also in operation. Co-ordination is achieved through higher-level group rural development societies and district co-ordination committees.

III. EXTERNAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

As stated earlier, in the initial period 1952-1955 a number of community development programmes had been financed by the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and somewhat later - in a much larger way - by the United States Government Agency for International Co-operation Administration (now USAID). Subsequently, with a change in policy or priorities, the ICA withdrew its technical assistance (and later even its PL 480 support) in the field of community development, except for individual countries such as Thailand or Viet-Nam, where the United States Government continues to finance community development programmes mainly as an anti-insurgency measure. Sectoral assistance to CD programmes has occasionally been provided by the Colombo Plan in specific fields; apart from this and some assistance from Foundations and voluntary organizations, the major technical assistance, if not financial support, has come from the United Nations family, supported in some cases, as in Afghanistan and Laos, by teams of interagency experts and associate experts. UNICEF has also provided material assistance to community development programmes in a number of countries. Continued and sustained United Nations or interagency assistance in rural CD has been provided mainly to Afghanistan and Laos, and in urban CD to Pakistan. On an "as required" basis, technical assistance has been directly provided to community development programmes in Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia and the Philippines, and somewhat indirectly to China (Taiwan), India, Iran, Korea, Malaysia, Thailand and Viet-Nam. Periodic short-term technical assistance, from the regional economic commission staff and by the regional adviser, has been rendered to almost all major countries of the region within the last decade.

The assistance provided by the regional economic commission to Governments consists of periodic staff visits, regional exchange of information through seminars, meetings of groups of experts, study tours and the dissemination of publications, particularly those analysing trends in community development. An example is the "Report on the study tour cum training course on the role of community development in national development with particular reference to land

reform and land settlement".[2] Of some significance is the direct assistance provided by ECAFE in raising the status of community development training in Asia to a professional level for example "Report of the sub-regional workshop on Professional Education in CD". [3] As a result, several graduate and post-graduate courses in community development are currently being offered in a number of Asian universities and institutes.

IV. A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN ASIA

In assessing community development programmes, it would be well not to overlook the point that social change is a slow process; the rural areas of Asian countries in particular cannot be expected, in a matter of a decade or two, to undo the damage of centuries of neglect and stagnation. To achieve meaningful change within a reasonable time-span, there is no doubt a need for technical innovations in agriculture, minimal guarantees to encourage risk taking and large-scale investment in both economic and social sectors. Parallel with this, local leadership and social institutions have to be adapted to the needs of the modernizing society. Any attempts to expedite this latter process unduly can only result in frustration and failure. In so far as community development programmes are concerned, the primary focus, at least at the earlier stage, should be human and institutional development - not the construction of a rural physical infrastructure or agricultural advancement, however important that may be.

Individual country CD programmes have to be adapted to prevailing local conditions. A preconceived regional programme of community development is not feasible, given the diversity of conditions within and among the various countries in the region. In most countries, CD programmes are often established without benefit of a body of empirically verified data or a proven methodology. Therefore, a pragmatic trial and error approach to community development is necessary. Through such an approach, it becomes possible to accumulate a body of knowledge and tested techniques to guide future policy-makers and practitioners.

There is a need to view community development as a changing process within the stage-by-stage development of a nation. The traditional type of programme, with a front-line multipurpose village level worker and a contiguous block or development area, can be viewed as the essential first stage of development of a nation. The progress of community development in Asia, as currently reviewed, can be said to mark the completion of the first stage, which has basically resulted in the establishment of a socio-economic rural infrastructure, the evolution of development-oriented rural institutions and the orientation of local leadership toward change and development. At the second stage of the nation's development, community development should move (and in most cases in Asia already has moved) to establish a sound system of local government. Such a system could provide the framework for a development-oriented administration that could result in greater political stability. In this second stage, community development could help by aiding in economic and more particularly agricultural development; wherever suitable, it would do well to encourage the formation of voluntary

---

2/ ECAFE, (SA/CD/ExIn-3).

3/ ECAFE, (SA/CD/PE-1).

institutions for specific development purposes, like the farmers' or irrigation associations of China (Taiwan).

Simultaneously, or as the third stage of development, the proven community development methodologies, processes, techniques, mechanisms, institutions, leadership and trained personnel should be available as a resource for national policy-makers and planners and for all technical development departments of the Government for undertaking national programmes that require the active participation of the people, for example, land reform and settlement, river-basin and zonal development, urban development, agricultural extension and special programmes for the development of youth and women.

As already mentioned, most of the countries of the ECAFE region reviewed in this chapter have reached - and in some cases have gone beyond - the second stage of development, with the establishment of new or improved systems of local self-government, particularly at the village level. In all cases their community development departments have undertaken the responsibility for organizing the local government institutions and for training the local government personnel. In two countries of the region (India and Korea), community development has come to be used more or less exclusively for agricultural development. In Thailand, it is being used additionally as an anti-insurgency measure. In Malaysia, even though not initiated on the conventional pattern, community development is the primary instrument for achieving national integration, greater departmental co-ordination and over-all rural development. In Nepal and Pakistan, through the mechanism of the panchayats and the basic democracies respectively, it is having a significant impact on rural development. Community development in the Philippines has strengthened the barrio governments and is now being used to increase food production. In Iran and Afghanistan, it has been instrumental in creating village development councils as a supportive local government structure and for co-ordinating technical services.

From the foregoing review of community development programmes in Asia, it appears that the general sequence of events or process, is initially to experiment and establish a body of pragmatic knowledge and experience of community development, such as will apply to the individual case. This includes (a) the training of cadre workers at front-line and supervisory levels; (b) the establishment of local village-level, informal representative institutions, thereby introducing a trained and more dynamic development-oriented leadership; and, in time, (c) the establishment, at a higher level, of a mechanism for co-ordinating technical departments and making them work with or through popular representative institutions. In some larger countries, this has also involved the creation of new administrative units for development and of rural extension and other supportive services. After a while in some countries, the CD programmes per se have ceased, the resultant body of community-development knowledge and techniques - as well as the cadre workers, leadership and institutions - have been absorbed into a new local government system and, through it, into the working of other technical departments. Along with this a certain degree of co-ordination of technical services and of public accountability is achieved under the local government system and, at the same time, the technical departments gradually tend to operate their own programmes, particularly at the field level, with the increased use of community development techniques. This in turn helps influence national plans, policies and programmes, particularly programmes requiring active participation, such as land

reform, land settlement, urban community development, regional and river basin development and co-operatives. In sum, community development tends to become one of the basic mechanisms for national planning and development.

In the light of such changing trends in community development in the region, in February-March 1968, ECAFE undertook and completed a regional project, a course in which the role of community development was considered in reference to land reform and land settlement. In this project, experts from twelve different countries within the region were taken as a group to visit China (Taiwan), Hong Kong, India, Nepal, Thailand and Malaysia, where they observed at first hand the newly developing trends and "approaches" of community development for promoting national development. 4/ The role of community development, as viewed in the perspective of the last decade and a half, has been to provide a bridge between feudalistic or colonially managed, backward countries and the present-day needs of newly independent, developing nations. Local institutions and local leadership trained in community development techniques, are attempting to realize the interrelated goals of promoting economic development and organizing viable political and social institutions. In a few cases, countries with somewhat similar ideologies and problems in the ECAFE region have formed subregional groupings for mutual security and development. In these groupings, including notably Regional Co-operation for Development (RCD), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC), the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), and the South-East Asia Ministers of Education Secretariat (SEAMES), rural and community development continues to figure as an important sector of subregional activity. In at least two countries of the region, the institutions developed by CD were directly linked to the national political system. This indicates quite clearly the vital role of community development, particularly in the aforementioned two stages of national development, for organizing and orienting the rural masses to the needs of a developing country.

Perhaps one of the major shortcomings of most Governments of the region has been the undertaking of full-scale national community development programmes without a very clear understanding of the over-all size, scope and nature of the problems they were out to deal with or of the limitation of resources available to them. Nor did they always have in mind a very clear plan of action or a proven methodology.

In the absence of a scientifically tested plan of action, and often in the absence of well-tested basic assumptions, each country has had to go about its development in a trial-and-error manner, which at times has been a costly and frustrating experience; this approach has not uncommonly necessitated sudden radical changes in priorities and programme direction which, through proper experimentation and planning, could have been avoided. Unfortunately, even the concept of national interdisciplinary action-research is in most cases unknown or unacceptable. If community development is to continue to play an effective role in over-all national development, it would be most necessary to establish an interdisciplinary framework in which planning can be carried out. It is for this reason that ECAFE has repeatedly urged Governments of the region to establish

---

4/ See "Report of the study tour cum training course on the role of community development in national development, with particular reference to land reform and land settlement" (SA/CD/ExIn-3).

their own national research and training institutions for rural and community development. The first United Nations project proposal of this type originated in China (Taiwan); it has been approved by the United Nations Special Fund for financial and technical support and will soon be in operation. Earlier, institutions of this type were established in Comilla (East Pakistan) with the help of the Ford Foundation, and in Venezuela with the help of UNDP. Such an institution would develop empirically tested data for use in evolving more effective planning techniques for rural and community development. These institutions moreover could help to upgrade national standards for training in community development to a professional or semi-professional level. New and tested methodologies are needed to determine the best suited combinations of the technical, human and institutional resources for producing optimum results. This knowledge cannot be imported, but has to be created from within by proper scientific testing; there is no universal or identical pattern for community development.

From experience it is clear that rural development is too broad a process, and community development too important a technique, to be used by only one department of the Government. An integrated, "total" approach to the rural problem is essential, if a significant impact is to be achieved. Rural development should therefore be a joint national effort of all departments and community development techniques and institutions should be used by all these departments as part of an integrated plan for national, regional or zonal development.

Furthermore, in implementing national CD programme, a great deal more attention should be given to the development of the individual and to the organization of the village community; without well-trained leadership and viable social instutions, community development cannot sustain itself. In order to promote dynamic leadership, these institutions should be formalized or converted into statutory organizations as soon as it is feasible.

Another requirement is to improve the training of CD cadres and to improve the calibre of research and training institutions so that all appropriate departments of the Government may derive full benefit from them and thereby strengthen their capacity for organizing integrated rural development programmes.

It is a questionable practice to continue to use a national community development programme as a mechanism or cushion for absorbing frequent changes in national objectives and priorities or for meeting national emergencies. Continued use of a community development programme for such purposes may jeopardize the programme itself as the community development process needs stable conditions and sufficient time to allow it to have maximum impact.

As mentioned earlier, community development is a dynamic and changing concept, conforming to the stage-by-stage development of a nation; it cannot be static. Periodic reassessment of planning for national community development should take this factor into account. Such an assessment should point out the role of the CD worker from one stage of development to the next and would promote a better understanding of his work. Such a review could also promote a better understanding of how CD relates to over-all national development, which would more clearly reveal CD as a supporting and not a competing technical service.

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les libroiries et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libroirie ou adressez-vous à: Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Litho in U.N.
25103—February 1971—4,000

Price: $U.S. 4.00
(or equivalent in other currencies)

United Nations publication
Sales No.: E.71.IV.2
ST/SOA/106