INTEGRATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WITH COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

by

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ABSTRACT

Developing countries are experiencing social and economic transformation which many countries have already experienced at some periods during the course of their history. In the rural areas of developing countries this transformation has taken the form of 'community development.'

Community development is a process and a method by which the government mobilizes the initiative and energy of especially rural communities to improve their living conditions, through its financial and technical assistance.

Up to date, over thirty countries have full-fledged community development programmes. As a result of different cultural practices of these countries, the diversity of their political and administrative organizations, their economic conditions, and, a multiplicity of other factors, the programmes have been tailored to suit the particular needs of each country. The programmes can be classified into three main types: integrative, adaptive, and project types.

The extent to which the programmes are contributing to the development of rural areas constitutes the central problem which this paper seeks to examine. An assumption made is that, provided the programmes are well designed and administered, they can contribute substantially to rural development.
Four important areas of activity of community development programmes; namely, agriculture, land reform, cottage and small-scale industries, and capital or physical facilities, such as roads, schools, health centres, and land reclamation, have critically been examined against the background of community and regional planning.

In examining these contributions, it has been discovered that they are on the whole unsatisfactory because of the following reasons: (a) administrative difficulties created by the lack of co-ordination of activities between community development agencies and other government agencies; (b) ineffective community development techniques, such as, 'planning from below' and voluntary contribution of labour.

Since the programmes are not making satisfactory contribution to rural development it is suggested that the government should play a dominant role in the planning of programmes. In essence, community development techniques should be integrated with community and regional planning techniques.

Using Ghana as a test-case, it is also considered that community and regional planning can be useful, provided administrative difficulties are removed by establishing one central agency for community development under the highest administrator.

In conclusion, it is determined that community development, through its multi-purpose programmes, attempts to solve socio-economic problems of rural communities, but its
techniques are ineffective to solve these problems. Hence community development techniques must be integrated with the more effective techniques of community and regional planning.
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INTRODUCTION

Many nations throughout the world have experienced economic and social transformation at some periods in the course of their history. Great Britain experienced such a transformation due to the Industrial Revolution which started towards the end of the eighteenth century, and through many social reform Acts in the nineteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, western Europe also experienced such a transformation. Russia's remarkable socio-economic development during the two decades preceding the First World War may be traced as far back as 1861, if not to the Napoleonic Wars or to Peter the Great. The United States of America had its industrial foundation about 1812 and later it gathered a greater momentum. Japan also experienced such a transformation during the Tokugawa era which started about 1868.

It is now the turn of developing countries (see Appendix I) in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to experience a similar socio-economic transformation. Once in its lifetime, each newly independent country, freed from the bonds of colonial administration, has the opportunity to shape its own social and economic destiny.
The political leaders of developing countries have realized that the total economic, social, cultural, and political development of their countries must be carried out in a comprehensive manner. In other words, both the urban and the rural areas must be developed simultaneously to achieve national development goals. Industries which are being established in the urban centres in these countries must depend to a great extent on the rural areas for raw materials and unskilled labour. Hence, it is mandatory that the rural people be helped to improve their attitudes, skills, and standard of living so that they can partake in the socio-economic transformation.

The leaders have also realized that agriculture forms the base of their economy and that agriculture must be given due attention to provide the necessary raw materials for industries and to improve export trade.

Furthermore, at this stage of development of these countries, there is heavy demand on limited financial and skilled labour resources. Most of these resources are consumed by new industries, multi-purpose river projects, harbour facilities, road and railway construction, communications, and housing in the urban centres. Consequently, the rural areas do not receive proportional share of these resources for development.

Hence, the importance of agriculture in the economy of developing countries relative to the role which the rural
people are expected to play in the economic transformation, combined with the scarcity of financial and skilled labour resources for developing the rural areas, have compelled the leaders to resort to 'community development' programmes. The concept of community development is discussed fully in Chapter I, but simply stated, it is a process and method by which rural communities seek to improve their standards of living through self-help projects, with the financial and technical aid of the government.

The main purpose of this study is to validate the hypothesis that community and regional planning can make a contribution to community development programmes. It is the contention that community development techniques of achieving satisfactory rural development are not efficient and should therefore be integrated with community and regional planning techniques. It is further contended that the methods or systems of administering community development programmes are ineffective.

In order to substantiate the proposition that community and regional planning techniques can be applied satisfactorily to community development programmes, the major contributions which these programmes have made to rural development are evaluated in relation to the general objectives and techniques of community and regional planning. An attempt is also made to show that for community and regional planning to make its contribution to the community development programmes
and for the improvement of the programmes perse it is expedient to re-organize the methods of administering these programmes.
CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The word, 'community' means "a body of individuals organized into a unit or manifesting usually with awareness some unifying trait;...the people living in a particular place or region and usually linked by some common interest."\(^1\)

To this word has been appended the word 'development' which means "gradual advance or growth through progressive changes."\(^2\) Thus, the term 'community development', in its literal sense, means 'the process of gradual growth or advance of a group of people through progressive changes.' If the process is expanded to include social, economic and political growth or advance of a group of people linked by some common interest, it is seen that community development is not a new phenomenon, because there are many examples in the history of civilization of people banded together to initiate activities for their own economic and social progress. For example, in Ghana, villages used to construct their own wells, schools, foot-paths and so on, without any outside help or advice, and they were therefore performing acts of community development.

However, the term 'community development' has come into usage since World War II to mean something more than what has been referred to above. Various definitions of the concept of
community development involves an outside intervention in the process of change. Such phrases as 'a minimum enlightenment', 'primarily concerned with strengthening the community's togetherness and its capacity for self-help', 'designed to bring a vision of a better way of life', and 'the stimulation of the initiative of the community', were used in the early community development literature to describe the concept of community development.

One of the best known definitions of community development was given at the 1948 Cambridge Conference which stated:

It is a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and, if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, then by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure the active and enthusiastic response to the movement.³

The International Cooperative Administration of the United States Government gave the following definition about eight years ago:

Community Development is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action, define their common and individual needs and problems, make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems, execute these plans with a maximum reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and material from government and non-governmental agencies outside the community.⁴

In 1956, the United Nations Organization issued a working definition, which is widely accepted by many nations. This
definition explains:

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 government authorities to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities, to unite 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 of 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.

The above definitions do not reveal the complex nature of community development, neither are its objectives clearly stated. Admittedly, it is difficult to impose upon community development a definition which embraces both objectives and methodology, simply because it operates under varying political, economic, cultural, and environmental conditions.

It is not yet certain what should be the real objectives and method of approach of community development, because there is a constant search for a 'modus operandi'. Consequently, different views have been expressed by some social scientists on its nature. The social scientists can be grouped into four main schools of thought.

The first school of social scientists postulates that community development can be regarded as a 'process' through which communities progress as they move from pre-industrial to industrial economy and environment. The criterion as a
process is measured in terms of human relations. They cite, as an example, a change from a situation where a small group of people within or outside a local community can make a decision for the rest of the people, to another situation where the people themselves make the decision.

The second school thinks of community development as a 'method' or a way of working so that some goal is attained; it is a method of mobilizing the people's own initiative and labour for their own good. This school, however, does not lose sight of the fact that the method involves some processes of change, but it places emphasis on the achievement or the result of the processes.

The third school of social scientists regards community development as a 'movement' or a crusade to which people are committed. There is a contention that the movement has emotional implications, so that either one is for it or against it. It has as its ultimate aim progress with reference to human values and goals. It tends then to become institutionalized, with its own organization, procedures and professionalism.

The fourth school conceives of community development as a 'programme' which involves a set of procedures and a list of activities. This accounts for the reason why in some countries National Development Plans incorporate community development activities, and these are evaluated from time to time whether they conform with the Plans.
Some economists also have proposed that community development should be regarded as a 'precondition for economic take-off', because through it rural people are enlightened in regard to good health, good nutrition, better environment, reading and writing, and so on. They argue that such a fundamental education is necessary for the agricultural sector of a developing country's economy to be on a firmer basis, and for the industrial sector to rely on unskilled but enlightened man-power from the rural areas. In view of this, they warn that any community development programme which concentrates on agriculture alone is anti-developmental, and that it should be designed to take people from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector. They explain that community development can bring about better health, better environment, good nutrition, improved agriculture, and so on. This in turn results in reducing death-rates and increasing population. If this surplus population were retained in the rural areas, the surplus food accruing from improved agriculture would be used in feeding the surplus population, without raising the standard of living of the people in any way. On the other hand, if projects were designed to remove the surplus population to the industrial sector of the economy, that is, local urban centres, there would then be surplus agricultural products for either the local urban centre or export, and in either case, there would be capital formation, which is an index of economic growth.
Community development is both educational and organizational processes which result in social and economic benefit. As an educational process, it is capable of changing people's attitude and practices which hinder social and economic progress. Governmental and non-governmental agencies constitute the outside force, directing the process of change. In this process, people are assisted to be receptive to change, due to modern science and technology. In many parts of India, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, for example, farmers are now willing to plant new crops, and use fertilizers. Thus, some specialists in community development programming judge the success of community development programmes by which the patterns of behaviour are changed by community development programmes. Hence, the ultimate measure of success is not the statistics of miles of road constructed, irrigation canals dug, or acres of land re-claimed, but it is whether the people have gained greater confidence, whether they can solve their own problems with little or no outside assistance, whether they are prepared to abandon certain customs which retard economic development, and so on.

Community development is also an organizational process, which involves how people are brought together, how they are democratically organized, how they arrive at decisions and priorities, how committees operate, and how they proceed to get the help they want from a higher level of administration. C.C. Taylor has outlined four important steps in this
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organizational process of democratic action:

1. ....Systematic discussion of common felt needs of members of the community.
2. ....Systematic planning to carry out the felt needs of members of the community.
3. ....Almost complete mobilization and harnessing of the physical, economic and social potentials of local community groups.
4. ....Creation of aspiration and the determination to undertake additional community development projects.

The goals of community development may be summed up as political maturity, economic advance, and social construction. The educational and organizational processes can create self-reliant communities with a sense of responsibility. By granting the people a measure of autonomy at the village level, a chance is offered them to practice self-government and to learn its difficulties. When the people organize themselves into development committees, choose their leaders, and plan their programmes according to their felt needs, they are automatically practising self-government. A community development programme reaches its maturity, when the people become capable of running their own affairs without any financial and technical assistance from the government.

Most community development programmes are geared to raising the standard of living of the people and this implies the fulfilment of some economic goals. They are encouraged and assisted to have direct sources of income from especially agriculture and small-scale industries. Furthermore, social facilities and economic infrastructures such as schools, wells, health centres, roads, and irrigation canals, constructed
through communal labour, are essential to economic growth.

The indigenous social structure of traditional communities in most developing countries has been undermined by their contact with western civilization, the introduction of cash economy vis-a-vis subsistence economy, urbanization, and so on, with the result that the old tribal and kinship solidarity is being replaced by individualism. Thus, it is the task of community development to re-cement this solidarity and to bring together communities of different kinship, tribal, linguistic and racial origin. Thus, community development, looked at in this way, is a 'nation-building process.'

The concept of community development rests on two main assumptions. First, traditional communities, with particular reference to village communities, comprise mainly people who belong to the same tribes and caste or kinship systems. They know each other and have many things in common. Thus, it is assumed that they can easily identify their 'felt-needs' and with the necessary financial and technical aid, they can take concerted action to meet these needs.

Secondly, rural communities have a high volume of underemployment and unemployment. For example, in the cocoa-growing areas in Ghana, throughout the whole year, farmers are kept busy on their farms for only five or six months of the year, that is, from September to February, when the cocoa season is on. For the remaining months, they pay only occasional visits to their food farms. It is assumed therefore that the people would be inclined to undertake self-help
projects in their spare time, if the necessary incentives were provided.

On these two assumptions, community development programmes have not been launched to any great extent in the urban centres of developing countries. Hence, no reference will be made to community development activities in cities and towns in this paper.

The United Nations Organization has outlined the principles of community development as follows:

Principle 1: Activities undertaken must correspond to the basic needs of the community; the first projects should be initiated in response to the expressed needs of people.

Principle 2: Local improvements may be achieved through unrelated efforts in each substantive field; however, full and balanced community development requires concerted action and the establishment of multi-purpose programmes.

Principle 3: Changed attitudes in people are as important as the material achievement of community projects during the initial stages of development.

Principle 4: Community development aims at increased and better participation of the people in community affairs, revitalization of existing forms of local government, and transition towards effective local administration where it is not yet functioning.

Principle 5: The identification, encouragement, and training of local leadership should be a basic objective in any programme.

Principle 6: Greater reliance on the participation of women and youth in community development projects invigorates development programmes, establishes them on a wide basis and secures long-range expansion.

Principle 7: To be fully effective communities' self-help projects require both intensive and extensive assistance from the Government.
Principle 8: Implementation of a community development programme on a national scale requires: adoption of consistent policies, specific administrative arrangements, recruitment and training of personnel, mobilization of local and national resources, and organization of research, experimentation, and evaluation.

Principle 9: The resources of voluntary non-governmental organizations should be fully utilized in community development programmes at the local, national, and international levels.

Principle 10: Economic and social progress at the local level necessitates parallel development on a wider national scale.  

Relationship between Community Development and Community and Regional Planning.

Community and regional planning is an administrative device of solving social, economic, and physical problems of communities with respect to the use and development of land. The United Nations Seminar on 'Training for Town and Country Planning,' held in Puerto Rico in March 1956, made the following observation about physical and environmental planning, that is, community planning:

It is the task of physical and environmental planning to define the different components of a specific development programme by assessing, within a given region, the land areas for different uses. In so doing, environmental planning provides an opportunity to reconcile the divergent interest of material resources in its narrow sense with the requirements of human welfare. The purpose of such planning is to establish a workable balance in physical terms of the urban-rural relationship of a developing area or country.

About regional planning, this is what the Seminar had to say:

Regional Planning can provide a suitable framework within which development projects of national as well as local importance can find their proper place. Each community is related to others as regards economic, physical and social requirements, and developments in one locality calls for a coordination of
local projects with regional and national programmes. The development area or region, therefore, represents a link between the community and national goals with local action. Thus the mobilization of human and popular participation through the community development process could be achieved.

Thus, planning, at both regional and community levels, attempts to satisfy the basic needs of man with respect to the use and development of land. These needs may be listed as food (agriculture), shelter, work, recreation, transportation, and security. Planning therefore attempts to create a good environment for man to live, work, and play.

Community development also attempts to create a better rural environment for people to live, work, and play. Community development programmes include agricultural improvement, development of cottage and small-scale industries, and self-help projects such as schools, markets, wells, health centres, playing grounds, drainage channels, irrigation canals, feeder roads, and housing. In designing these programmes, 'planning decisions' have to be made, for example, about the selection of sites for self-help projects, and the location of projects such as health centres and small industrial estates, designed to serve a number of villages.

Such decisions are not made by planners, but by the people themselves, who know very little about the implications of their decision. As an illustration, a village may decide to build a school through self-help labour, but all that the community development worker is interested in is having concrete evidence that the people are doing something for themselves. Whether the school is properly located or not is
another matter altogether. If the advice of a planner is sought, he may consider many suitable sites and choose the best for them, or he may advise that the village might profit better by building a public market instead of a school.

As further illustration, the people may decide to build a two-mile feeder road to join a nearby highway, but they do not decide on how to control ribbon development which is likely to occur along the road.

Community development, and community and regional planning have identical goals, since both attempt to create a better rural environment for people to live, work, and play, but each uses different techniques in achieving these goals. Planning takes a comprehensive, co-ordinative, and long-range approach to the solution of socio-economic problems of communities. This approach is comprehensive because each community is related to others as regards their economic, physical and social requirements. This approach contrasts sharply with community development programmes designed for individual villages. No attempt is made to relate the self-help activities of one village to another. It is to be wondered whether any study has been made on the relative effect of the promotion of self-help activities in one selected village on the growth and development of neighbouring villages.

However, community development has the great advantage of identifying development programmes with the people, with the result that the felt-needs of the people are directly satisfied. On the other hand, planning has a better approach
to rural development with such techniques as the use of survey and the analysis of survey materials before the implementation of any scheme. However, it often lacks the support of the people, simply because development programmes sponsored entirely by the government are not identified with the people.

Furthermore, although they have identical goals, sometimes they tend to work at cross-purposes. For example, a regional planning agency may be carrying out soils and land use studies in an area which a community development agency has already proposed for a self-help resettlement scheme.

To sum up, community development and community and regional planning are both contributing to the development of rural areas, but they appear to work at cross-purposes. Moreover, each has its own techniques and advantages which could be useful to the other.

The above discussion leads to the hypothesis, which is investigated in this study:

THAT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND THAT RURAL DEVELOPMENT CAN THEREFORE BE IMPLEMENTED BETTER THROUGH THE INTEGRATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING TECHNIQUES.

Footnotes:

2. Ibid., p.619.


8. In this paper the word 'community' denotes the inhabitants of a village. Elsewhere the expression 'the people' is used instead.


CHAPTER II

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

It is believed that there are over thirty countries, presently operating, community development programmes. There are differences in approach and emphasis, because the programmes are tailored to suit not only the cultural practices of the countries concerned, but also their political and administrative organizations and experiences, their economic conditions, and a multiplicity of other factors.

As many countries are engaged in community development, the various programmes may be viewed only through selection, either on a geographical basis, that is, selecting a number of programmes from each continent, or on the basis of types of programmes. The latter is preferable, because it throws greater light on the complex nature of the programmes. If the former method is adopted, there is the tendency to describe identical programmes in one continent. For example, the former and the present British colonies in Africa have almost identical programmes; it suffices to describe only one of them.

The United Nations Organization has divided community development programmes into three main types:
integrative, adaptive, and project, based on the geographical coverage of the type of programme, its objectives, the organization to carry it out, and its effects on public administration. It is worth noting that there is no clear-cut division between one type and another, because community development is a dynamic process. Even within one type of programme there are variations both in content and organization.

In each country reviewed here, an attempt has been made to present the most recent type or types of programme as described in community development reports. These reports are by no means up-to-date, because many countries are constantly experimenting with different methods of administration, committee systems, and programmes. Some of the reports in fact date as far back as 1958 and 1959. Thus, it is likely that some of the programmes described in this chapter have been revised and this must be borne in mind in regard to any criticisms levelled against such programmes.

In this chapter, community development programmes are described and evaluated with particular reference to administrative organizations and committee systems, because any success or failure of a programme is dependent on the administrative framework within which it operates, and from a community and regional planning point of view, it is only within this framework that community and regional planning can play an important role.
Integrative Types of Programme

Integrative types of community development programme are designed to be wide in scope, compared with "project" types. In the early years of their operation, technical departments co-ordinate their activities and this tends to bring about changes in administration and in the functioning of government. At each tier of government, a community development agency is established to co-ordinate the activities of government and non-government agencies, and it is through this agency that the programme is carried out. It is believed that the integrative type is suitable in the initial stages of community development when government agencies concerned with community development can co-ordinate their activities. However, when the programme has become an integral part of national government function, and has gained popular acceptance, it gives way to the "adaptive" type.

Some of the common characteristics of the integrative types of programme, drawn from the experiences of such countries as India, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Malaya are noted as follows:

(a) An agency attached to a central planning office or to the office of the president or the prime minister, which has operating responsibility for the programme; another possibility, particularly at the national level in a federal system, is for a separate or neutral or non-technical ministry.
to have primary responsibility for the programme.

(b) A cabinet level committee, presided over by the prime minister or the president, and with the head of the community development organization as secretary, which gives policy guidance and leadership to the programme.

(c) An interdepartmental committee at the state or provincial government, administrative district, and local government levels, with the chief executive of the respective unit as chairman and a community development officer as secretary. Among the members of these development committees may frequently be found not only the senior representatives of the functional ministries of the national or (in a federal system) state government, but also representatives of local legislatures, and sometimes representatives of private welfare bodies.

(d) Where administrative districts or other arrangements for field co-ordination of functional ministries do not exist, cover too large an area, or are deemed unsuitable for other reasons, the creation of new types of administrative areas for development purposes which are called 'development blocks' in India, 'development areas' in Pakistan, and 'areas of combined units' in the Egyptian region of the United Arab Republic.

(e) The employment of village-level workers by the community development organization to serve not only as catalyst of self-help effort, but also as a link between the villagers and the government's technical services.

(f) The use of grants-in-aid and other inducements, not only to spur self-help efforts, but also to channel such efforts towards centrally established development goals.3

Four countries, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Malaya, have been selected to illustrate the "integrative" types of programme.

India:

India probably has the most developed and sophisticated form of community development organization, and
it is a classical example of the integrative type of programme. It is concerned mainly with the rural sector of development, as expressed in India's Five-Year Plans. The basic objective is to obtain comprehensive, social, and economic development; hence programmes are designed to include development of agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, rural industries, co-operative councils and societies, local democratic self-governing institutions, such as the village councils (panchayats), road construction, health and sanitation, social education, such as home economics, rural art and craft, and lastly rural housing.

The programme is country-wide in scope, covering about 290,000 villages in 1959, out of a total of 850,000 in the country. In that year, there were 2,383 'blocks', (a block being the basic geographic unit of planning and implementing community development programmes), as against 5,000 needed for the whole country. The average size of a block is about 250 square miles, with a population of 60,000 - 70,000 or approximately 100 villages, compared with 150 villages in Pakistan.

The community development movement in India was initialed with pilot projects in 1952. The importance of the movement warranted the establishment of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, which functions as an administrative co-ordinative body for the community development programme. No separate agency has been established for the actual implementation
of the programme, but it is identified with the National Extension Service, which, in its operational sense, is the combination of all the efforts of technical ministries concerned with rural development.

Charts 1 and 2 (See pp.25-26) show clearly the administrative and organizational aspects of the programme in the country. At the lowest level is the block of about 100 villages. The staff at the block level consists of a "block development officer" and eight extension officers, one each for agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, village councils (panchayats), rural industries, rural engineering, social education and for the programme for women and children. At the village level, there are twelve multi-purpose workers, who work for both the Ministry of Community Development and any other technical ministries. The block development officer is the co-ordinating agent and head of the block team, although the extension officers in the team are controlled and guided by their respective ministries. The block development officer also takes instruction from his superior extension officers as well as from the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation.

The "district" is the next level above the block for planning and co-ordination of projects. The 'Collector' of the district, like the block development officer, is the co-ordinating agent and the captain of the district team of technical officers, whose duties cover areas demarcated as blocks and those not yet
CHART 2

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
State Organization

Informal Consultative Committee
(of State Legislators and M.P.'s represented on Central Informal Consultative Committee)

State Development Committee
(with Chief Minister as Chairman)

Development Commissioner

Collector or Divisional Officer

Sub-Divisional Officer

Block Development Officer


Gram Sahayaks (People's Associates)

Gram Seyaks 3/ (10 for a Block)/Gram Sevikas (2 for a Block)

1/ The Development Commissioners of Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Mysore and Kerala are also Chief Secretaries of their respective states.

2/ Social Education Officer.

3/ Multi-purpose village level workers.
covered by the programme. In the latter areas, projects are not fitted into Five-Year Plans.

The next higher level of planning and co-ordination is the "division", which consists of a number of districts. The "divisional commissioner" plays the role of a co-ordinating officer. In some states where the divisional system has not been introduced, the next higher level is the state level, and the development commissioner is the co-ordinating officer, whose team consists of the heads of the various functional departments. He also acts as the chairman of the departmental committee of officers, and he is the secretary of the committee of officials and non-officials, and of the development committee of the cabinet.

The community development programmes of all the states are controlled, directed and co-ordinated by the Central Government's Ministry of Community Development and Co-operatives. (See chart 2). This Ministry's main function is to propagate the aims and objectives of community development, to influence the policies and plans of other ministries, and where necessary, to make them work in harmony with aims and objectives of the community development programmes of the different states, to regulate the programmes for the starting of development blocks in the different states, to make budget allocations to the states, to undertake some schemes for the training of extension personnel, and to promote the administrative changes necessary for purposes of proper implementation of the programmes.
In addition to the above official organization, a number of non-official advisory committees for planning and co-ordination of projects have been established with the view of identifying the people with the programme and soliciting their fullest support and participation. At the block level, is the Block Development Committee, consisting of members of Parliament and of the state legislature, representing the constituencies covered by the block team, nominated representatives of co-operatives and similar organizations. The function of the committee is to examine development plans, make recommendations, and to review progress from time to time.

The District Development Committees function at the district levels. Members comprise officials and non-officials, with the same representative character as the block development committee. In some states, two types of District Development Committee exist: (a) a Departmental Committee of Officers, presided over by the collector and (b) a Committee of Officials and Non-officials also presided over by the collector.

Next, at the state level, some states have two and others have three types of committees, namely a Departmental Committee of Officers, a Committee of Officials and Non-officials, and a Development Committee of the Cabinet.

Two types of committee operate at the national level. First, there is the Consultative Committee of the Parliament, which advises the Ministry of Community Development
and Co-operation. Secondly, there is the Central Committee of which the chairman is the Prime Minister. Other members include representatives of the Planning Commission, and of the Cabinet. It is both a co-ordinating and a policy-making committee for the programmes of the states.

Lastly, the National Development Council, with the Prime Minister as the Chairman, and the Chief Ministers of the States as members, is the highest planning authority in the country. It deals with questions of major policy, since the community development programme forms an integral part of the Five-Year Plans.

One contribution which India has made to a search for a proper method of implementing community development programmes is its organization for evaluating projects. The Programme Evaluating Organization, attached to the Planning Commission, though functioning as an independent agency, has the following tasks:

(1) to keep all concerned apprised currently of the progress being made towards accomplishing the programme objectives;
(2) to point up those extension methods which were proving effective, and those which were not;
(3) to help in explaining why some recommended practices were adopted while others were rejected by the villagers;
(4) to furnish the insight into the community development programme upon the economy and the culture of India.
The Programme Evaluation Organization, through its numerous reports, has been able to influence the policy, programme and methods of community development in India. Its major weakness is that the evaluation centres are not statistically representative of the total area under community development. Hence its findings cannot be freely generalized for the whole country. Furthermore, little work has been done in regard to the evaluation of the techniques of training personnel directly or indirectly concerned with community development.

Concerning the programme as a whole, there is a lack of co-ordination between various agencies involved in community development. Among these agencies are the Ford Foundation, the Technical Co-operation Mission of the United States Government, the U. N. O. and the Government of India itself. The major cause for the lack of co-ordination is due to the fact that, there is no centralized financial source through which projects are financed. The foreign agencies offer grants for specific purposes, and send out technicians for such purposes, the result is that projects which are heavily financed and well supervised are quickly implemented. Foreign agencies especially could co-ordinate their financial and technical efforts and could achieve better results if their efforts could be pulled together. They could in fact co-operate in developing a common community development master plan for any state.
The Community development programme for a block is divided into three phases: the initial stage, the intensive development stage, and the post-intensive development stage. The post-intensive is usually a period of frustration and inactivity, because financial and technical resources are reduced or may not be available at all. The division of a block's programme into three phases is unnecessary, because community development is a continuing process, and people's initiative and enthusiasm are likely to wane if the programme is punctuated by deliberately planned breaks.

Another major criticism concerns the relationship between technical officers seconded to programmes and the officers in the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. The extension officers of a block, for example, are expected to take instructions from the block development officer, employed by the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation; at the same time they are guided and controlled by their respective Ministries. In actual practice, this system does not function well, because the allegiance and attachment of the extension officers to their respective Ministries is so great that the tendency is for them to attach little importance to instructions received from the block development officer. Another confusing situation is that the block development officer in turn is responsible to the district departmental heads. He is placed in such a position that he may take instructions from a few of them or none at all. These existing
practices indicate that there is an urgent need for the reorganization of the administrative structure. A situation should be created in such a way that an officer is responsible to the next higher officer who is directly concerned with community development. How such a condition could be brought about is discussed in Chapter IV. The loop-holes in the administrative structure and poor methods of financing projects could be removed to yield fruitful results.

Pakistan:-

Pakistan's community development activities are promoted through the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme, (V-AID), under the Social Welfare and Community Development Division of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. By 1959, about 20% of the 67 million rural population was covered by the Programme. However by 1961, 45% of the rural population was covered, whilst East Pakistan achieved only 30% coverage in that year. It is hoped that by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan 100% coverage will be realized in West Pakistan and 80% in the East. As the following description shows, the Programme is patterned closely after India's.

The operational objective of the V-Aid is to foster effective citizen participation in rural self-help projects in the fields of agriculture, primary education, adult literacy, health and sanitation, co-operative societies, cottage and small-scale industries, irrigation, and land
reclamation, secondary road construction, youth and women's work and village social and recreational activities.

The "development area", like the "block" in India, is the basic unit for administering the V-AID programme in the country. It is composed of approximately 150 villages with a population of roughly 150,000. There were 134 such areas in existence by October 1959. In West Pakistan each development area has thirty village-level workers, so that each worker is in charge of five villages. But in East Pakistan twenty workers are posted in each area, with the result that seven villages are covered by one worker.

A development officer is in charge of the development area. In West Pakistan, three supervisors work under his guidance, whilst in East Pakistan there are two. The development officer has direct contact with the supervisors and the village-level workers.

According to the government's Five-Year Plan (1954-1959), the village worker was to be given support by representatives of the technical departments of the government stationed in the smallest political unit of the development area. Originally, the development officer was entrusted with the task of co-ordinating the field activities of all technical workers in his area, because the Five-Year Plan committed all the technical departments to support local village projects. This system could not work well, because the district officers of technical
departments still maintained their control over their field workers. As noted earlier in India, extension or technical field workers work under the block development officer or the district development officer.

The planning and implementation of development projects are carried out through a system of committees. At the lowest level is the Village Council of Elders, without legal status or responsibilities. The Village Councils of Elders within each development area are federated and are represented on the Development Area Advisory Committee, which includes representatives from each technical department and V-AID. A district magistrate or deputy commissioner who has powers over government operations in the district is the chairman of the district committee, with the district development officer as the secretary. The function of this committee is to examine and approve plans presented by village councils and allocate grants accordingly. At the ministerial level, policies are framed.

To give an insight into the achievement of the V-AID Programme during the 1954-1959 development plan period, the following completed projects may be noted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Description</th>
<th>Figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Councils of elders</td>
<td>12,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New schools</td>
<td>879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remodeled schools</td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispensaries</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graded roads</td>
<td>466 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungraded roads</td>
<td>2,716 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungraded roads improved</td>
<td>3,701 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farms with improved seeds</td>
<td>159,738 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reclaimed land</td>
<td>178,419 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation canals</td>
<td>787 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These achievements are by no means spectacular, judging from the fact that a substantial part of them were implemented during the last six months of the plan period, and also per capita contribution of labour in terms of wages was reckoned to be only 15% in relation to the total cost of the entire programme.

The importance of the administrative machinery through which community development projects are implemented cannot be underestimated. In Pakistan, at least up until 1959, the administrative weakness of the programme was the lack of co-ordination between the development officers and the technical officers, and co-ordination was more or less voluntary and was best achieved through personal contacts. Furthermore, technical departments did not often locate their field workers in the development areas where they were needed.

By making district magistrates chairmen of Development Area Advisory Committees, the functional importance of the district development officer was reduced, for the district magistrates had no functional relationship with the community development programme.

Philippines:

The rural problems of the Philippines are not different from other countries in south-east Asia. About three-quarters of the population are rural, nearly half of the agricultural land is held under tenancy, and 63% of the peasants are tenants. Landlordism, small and
fragmented holdings, low productivity, and soaring population are pressing problems. About 12,000 out of 19,000 barrios (villages) are not connected with the outside world by road or rail.

In view of all these problems, the introduction of community development programmes has been a blessing to the rural communities. In the post-war years, many agencies have been concerned with community development of some sort, but two are of outstanding importance.

The first of these agencies is Presidential Assistance for Community Development, (PACD), established by President Magsaysay after his election victory in 1951. Between 1953 and 1956, eleven rural community centres were opened, equipped with radios, books and sports equipment. About 60% of PACD budget comes from the U.S. Government.

The PACD is a government agency, entrusted with the duty of co-ordinating and integrating community development activities of government departments to avoid duplication of work. The Director of the PACD is assisted by the Inter-Departmental Co-ordinating Committee, comprising representatives of all departments interested in community development. At the provincial and municipal levels, programmes are administered by community development councils, presided over by the governors' and mayors' representatives, including departmental representatives working in the field of community development. The councils, formulate
plans, stimulate local interest and co-ordinate technical services.

At the village level, the PACD works through the Barrio or Village Councils, which are statutory bodies established in 1955 by the Republic Act 1408, replaced in January 1960 by the Barrio Charter, which granted the Councils autonomy to make financial decisions. The Village Council of seven members is elected for two years by the Village (Barrio) Assembly, which in turn is elected by the villagers. The Charter has given the Assembly broad powers to initiate community development projects, taxation and so on.

The Philippines differs from many countries in granting legal powers to village councils concerned with community development. It has not as yet been proved whether community development programmes function best through statutory bodies, and hence the future achievement of the Philippines' programme will disprove one of the basic principles of community development, that the people initially should be given every chance and freedom to plan their own projects, without any legal control.

The other important agency concerned with community development is the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, founded by Dr. Yen in 1952, with the financial backing of the International Committee on Mass Education Movement, New York. The approach of this private Move-
ment is to select an area and develop it intensively, before moving to another area.

Like Jamaica and Mexico, too many agencies are involved in community development. In 1959 two government agencies and twenty-five voluntary organizations were known to exist. Where more than one organization is operating in a single village, there is the tendency for the villagers to be confused with different ideas. Experience in such countries as India and Ghana points out that it is easier for the villagers to be introduced to one project at a time, and possibly through one village-level worker who has already gained the confidence of the people.

Malaya:-

The age old conflict between the Chinese and Malayas, which has given rise to a spirit of individualism and a lack of leadership among the peasantry, has been a major stumbling block in introducing development programmes in Malaya. The first attempt at introducing such programmes was made in 1954, as a counter-attack on the Communist terrorists to demonstrate that the Government had a positive answer to Communist propaganda. The attempt resulted from a conference held by senior government officials in that year, and a Department of Community Development was established on an integrative basis.
Another type of community development was initiated with the creation of the Federal Land Authority in 1956, which was assigned the task of opening up a virgin jungle for cultivation. The largest of its schemes, covering 27,000 acres, could resettle 1,000 families.

On the attainment of independence in August 1957, the community development movement was abolished, and in its place a Ministry of Rural Development, with its own Minister was instituted. A Rural Development Committee was formed in each district, and was composed of the District Officer, technical heads of departments, the local legislators, and representatives of Kampongs (villages). Each committee is authorized to prepare a District Rural Development Plan, called the Red Book, which is then forwarded to the State Development Committee. This committee in turn consolidates all the district plans into a state plan, which is submitted to the Federal Ministry of Rural Development. Three states are reported to have refused to co-operate whilst all the rest have complied with the Ministry's request of preparing the Red Books.

In all the plans, emphasis is placed on agriculture, with particular reference to rubber production. Hence much attention has been paid to re-distribution of land so that each peasant family can obtain about 10 acres for rubber planting. Malaya thus differs from most countries because the programme is geared to increasing the production of the country's main crop, rubber.
Such a step is expedient if it is accompanied by fundamental education, health and village self-help programmes. On the other hand, if the programme is intended mainly to solve an economic problem, then one of the major purposes of community development, that is fundamental education in all its ramifications, is being defeated.

Adaptive Types of Programme

Like "integrative" types of programme, "adaptive" types are also country-wide in scope. They cause little or no change in administrative organization, because any technical ministry such as agriculture, education, health, and social welfare can be wholly responsible for the programmes, and may solicit the help of other ministries when necessary. In most cases, programmes are geared to locally determined goals.

The field organization may take two forms: first, administrative units where they exist are used as the basis of implementing programmes, with the result that the community development personnel find it easier to work with the other departments. Compared with integrative types, some countries sometimes find it necessary to create separate community development areas. Thus, India has created its "blocks" and in Pakistan, "development areas". Secondly, field contacts with technical services are largely on an informal basis. A Mass Education Officer in Ghana, for example, can call upon an
Agricultural Officer at any convenient time to discuss a problem. Adaptive types are predominant in Africa and the Caribbean area. Ceylon, Ghana, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico have been selected here for a detailed discussion.

Ceylon:-

Community development in Ceylon has earned the title of the 'Rural Development Movement'. Before the Movement was inaugurated in 1948, various government departments were carrying on community development activities. The Police had Anti-Crime Societies, the Co-operative Movement had Better Living Societies, the Education Department introduced the Rural School Scheme, and the Department of Commerce and Industry established the Rural Welfare Centres. The major weakness of these schemes was a lack of co-ordination of work, and their scope of activities overlapped in many instances. For example, the Anti-Crime Societies were also concerned with co-operative ventures, marketing, and agricultural improvement, and the Rural School Scheme sponsored health programmes and cottage industries.

The Rural Development Movement was established under the Department of Rural Development in the Ministry of Home Affairs, to replace all these departmental activities. It has three main objectives:

1. To organize rural people into Rural Development Societies through which their self-help and enthus-
iasm can be harnessed for community development;

2. To bring about closer contact between these Societies and the extension officers of their departments concerned with rural betterment, for example, Agriculture, Health, Co-operation;

3. To avoid overlapping of functions, duplication of services, and waste of public funds, by setting up machinery for co-ordination.

The Programme functions through Rural Development Societies, formed by village communities as voluntary organizations, and they are recognized by the Government as functional bodies, entrusted with a wide scope of activities. The suggested areas of activities are:

1. The economic aspects of communities with regard to the development of agriculture, cottage industries, trade and co-operation, employment, savings, and problems pertaining to land ownership.

2. The health aspects such as environmental sanitation, maternity and child-care, milk-feeding schemes, prevention of communicable diseases, and so on.

3. The cultural aspects with regard to religious and educational activities, fostering of indigenous crafts, prevention of crime, and amicable settlement of village disputes.

There were 7,014 Societies and 3,261 Women's Societies in 1961. Individual Rural Development Societies have been encouraged to form Group Societies, each
group covering a number of villages, and comprising, the representatives of member village societies. There were 835 Group Societies in 1961. In some cases, Group Societies have in turn been encouraged to form Unions to represent the Divisional Revenue Officer's district.

Each Village Society elects its own officers and conducts its own affairs. The role of the Government is to give grants and make available the services of Rural Development Officers when required.

Co-ordination of government activities is achieved through the District Co-ordinating Committee at the level of the Government Agent, who is the Chairman of the Committee, comprising the representatives of the Ministries working in the district (excluding the Judiciary), the Divisional Revenue Officer, and not more than two chairmen of village committees (local councils), nominated by the Government agent. Members of Parliament and Senators in the district are invited as honourary members. The Committee is also responsible for formulating development proposals and for reviewing progress being made by the Ministries.

The Government Agent has also a Divisional Co-ordinating Committee for a sub-district under him. This Committee consists of the Divisional Revenue Officer for that sub-district as chairman, representatives of government Ministries, chairmen of village committees, and not more than four representatives of
the local Rural Development Societies who serve for a specified period of time. The function of the Committee is similar to that of the District Committee except that its development proposals are subject to ratification by the District Committee.

Ceylon is experimenting with Village Societies as agents of rural development. The main difference between these Societies and village committees so common in many countries is that the Government of Ceylon has given formal recognition to the Societies and has defined broadly for them their scope of activities. The rural development officers of the Department of Rural Development work through the elected officers of the Societies. This situation contrasts sharply with that which exists in some countries such as Ghana, Jamaica, and Malaya where village committees are known only by community development officers, especially the village-level workers, with whom they have contacts. Whether the "Village Society approach" fosters a better communal sense of responsibility, creativeness and enterprising spirit is yet to be proved.

Ghana:

Ghana's community development programme began in 1948, under the title of "social development". Between 1948 and 1951 the programme was of the "project type", because various techniques were constantly being tried out in selected areas in Eweland, Western
Province and Ashanti. It was not launched as a full country-wide programme until 1951 when the Convention People's Party came into power. The programme became known as "mass education" among the general public because much emphasis was laid on mass literacy, and up till now it is known by that name.

Since 1951, the programme has maintained an adaptive character, because it has not brought about any drastic changes in the administrative structure of the Government Ministries. The main reason is that although the Community Development Department is often shifted from one Ministry to another, it has its own well-structured organization which is not disturbed by any shift. When the social development movement was launched in 1948, it was under the Ministry of Education; then it was later attached to Regional and District Commissioners' Offices. As it did not fit into the administrative framework of these Offices, it was placed under the Department of Housing, and Social Welfare. When the Convention People's Party came into power in 1951, once again, together with the Department of Social Welfare, the Social Development Division of the Department of Housing was brought back to the Department of Education. In 1952, however, the term "Community Development" replaced "Social Development". In 1957, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development was attached to the Ministry of Labour and Co-operatives until 1959, when the
Ministry of Health took over. It is now a separate Ministry. The objectives and the nature of activities of the community development programme as defined in an administrative circular issued in 1954, are discernible from the following sections of the circular:

1. The basic objectives is to improve the general standard of living of the people of the country by means that are immediately practicable and with emphasis on voluntary effort.

2. The task of the Department is to educate the people in methods by which they themselves may easily improve their position, even if only to a limited extent, and to provide some measure of technical advice and assistance both in minor communal construction projects and in other items of the community development programme....

3. The fields in which this programme may be carried out are many and diverse, but the following are the most important:
   (i) the eradication of illiteracy;
   (ii) the increase in agricultural output by every possible means;
   (iii) the prevention of unemployment in the rural areas and the checking of drift to towns;
   (iv) the improvement of village communications and amenities, including improved water supplies;
   (v) the fostering of public health, adult education, and useful recreation in the villages;
   (vi) the promotion of indigenous handicrafts and small-scale industries.

4. Three types of work will continue throughout the year:
   (i) work among women;
   (ii) communal project work dedicated to the aims indicated above;
   (iii) literacy teaching and follow-up work.

5. Special campaigns for other agencies of Government....

In 1959, the Department had 1,021 salaried staff and 203 daily rated employees in all the eight administrative Regions. To achieve co-ordination of work with other Ministries, the organization of programme
and staff coincides with administrative boundaries.
As Chart 3 shows, the Principal Community Development Officer is in charge of a Region. Under him are the Mass Education Officers, in charge of Districts comprising the Region, and under these officers are the Assistant Mass Education Officers, working in the Local Council areas. The Mass Education Assistants, lowest in the rank, are equivalent to village-level workers in India or Pakistan and each is in charge of a number of villages. (See Chart 3, p. 48).

The community development committee system operating in the country is less complex, compared to India. At the top, the Director of Social Welfare and Community Development or his representative sits on a number of ad hoc committees and statutory bodies concerned with community development. At the regional level, the Regional Development Committee, formed in 1959, performs a major function of allocating funds to projects approved by Village Development Committees. It comprises the Regional Commissioner as the chairman, District Commissioners, the Principal Community Development Officer and the Secretary of the Regional Commissioner. This Committee replaces the former District Development Committee. Villages are encouraged to form Development Committees to decide upon self-help projects. Village plans pass through the offices of the Local Council and the District Commissioner, before they are submitted to the Regional Development Committee.
CHART 3  ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL WELFARE & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, GOVERNMENT OF GHANA

President and Cabinet

Other Ministries

Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development

Standing Development Committee of the Cabinet

Permanent Secretary of the Ministry and a small staff

Deputy Director

Assistant Director Welfare

Social Welfare Staff, mainly in towns

Assistant Director Technical Services

Departmental engineering, construction etc.

Assistant Director Mass Education

Regional Comm. Dev. Officers

Executive Secretary Administration & Finance

Accountants Clerical Staff

Principal Community Development Officer (Visual aids)

Visual aids Staff, e.g. artists, cinema

Mass Education Officers, Districts

Asst. Mass Education Officers

Mass Education Assistants
Members of a Village Development Committee are nominated by the villagers themselves, sometimes through the help of the District Commissioner. Occasionally, he is invited to attend the Committee's meeting.

At the end of 1959, there were 2,341 Village Development Committees in the country. An interesting development has been the coming together of Village Development Committees to form District and Regional Associations on a voluntary and non-statutory basis.

Community development activities are confined to four main fields:

1. Adult literacy. Night classes are organized by Mass Education Officers with the help of voluntary teachers. 129,000 certificates were issued between 1952 and 1959.

2. Work among women, especially in the field of home economics, cooking, sewing, and child-care are popular subjects taught.

3. Assistance to rural self-help construction projects. Up to 1959, the following project works were completed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Project</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal Buildings</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site clearing for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>football parks</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latrines</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Supplies</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Projects</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Second Development Plan £G2,231,200 was voted
as grants-in-aid for self help projects.

(4) Extension work for other government departments, including campaigns in health and agriculture. Campaigns are undertaken only at the request of the departments.

Ghana has been experimenting with different committee systems especially at the local or district levels. Formerly on these committees, Local Council areas had adequate representation, although individual villages per se were not represented. The District Development Committees have been replaced by a Regional Development Committee on which Local Council areas are not represented. In other words, the people for whom projects are designed to serve have no proper channel of contacting the actual government representatives, responsible for allocating grants and reviewing projects. The administration of the programme has in fact become bureaucratic, so that the Regional Development Committee is looked upon by Village Development Committees as a benevolent and paternalistic body of government officials, representing the Government's interest. As a result of the present system, there is often a long delay on the part of the Regional Development Committee in granting funds to villages, and some projects are discontinued for this particular reason.

A tradition has become established that before a community development project, such as road construction
and health centres, can be started, it must meet the approval of the government department or the Local Council concerned. It is quite reasonable to take such a step, because many projects need maintenance after their completion. But on the other hand, this step constitutes a weakness, because the Department of Community Development's efforts could be threatened by a Ministry which does not believe in the community development approach to rural development. The Ministry of Health, for example, would only allow a health centre to be built if it falls within its master plan. A solution to the problem of lack of a proper inter-departmental co-ordination will go a long way to revitalize the community development programme. This subject is discussed in Chapter V.

Jamaica:

A number of agencies are engaged in community development in Jamaica. Of these the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission and Co-ordinated Extension Services deserve special mention.

The Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, founded in 1949, grew out of a private organization known as Jamaica Welfare Limited which was set up in 1937 by two fruit companies with funds collected from the export of bananas. The aims and objectives of the Commission are as follows:
1. Sponsoring rural reconstruction through implementation of the Better Village Plan, which features such things as group organization, project activities providing something practical on which villagers may work, etc.

2. Creating a sound, healthy public opinion favourably disposed to individual, group and community betterment.

3. Encouraging self-help and mutual help efforts in matters cultural, educational, economic and civic.

4. Providing village cohesion and harmony through adult education effort.

5. Securing collaboration in the field.


With regard to field organization, the Island is divided into four "divisions", each headed by a divisional officer. A "division" contains 3-4 "parishes", each with its own officer and an assistant. There are altogether 13 parishes in the country. Each "parish" in turn is divided into "instructional areas" or villages. Specialists in literacy, recreation, home economics, and co-operatives are attached to the divisional offices. In 1959, there were altogether about 106 village instructors, covering 530 villages, with a total population of 400,000.

The method of work is that service is given where and when a request has been presented by a village to the Commission. Whenever possible, the instructors work through existing village groups. Field-work always begins with a survey of a village to determine the economic, anthropological, social and demographic structure. In passing it should be
pointed out that this approach seems to be unique to Jamaica. From the survey, the Commission is able to determine outright the needs of a village. The approach therefore is highly commendable, for at least the use of local resources of all kinds are well guided to meet the immediate needs of villagers.

The Co-ordinated Extension Services, comprising five independent agencies, are also concerned with community development activities. These agencies are the Jamaica Agricultural Society, Ministry of Agriculture Extension Services, Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, 4-H Clubs, and Agricultural Loan Societies Board. They were established in 1955, under the Ministry of Agriculture. With the exception of the Agricultural Loan Societies Board, the rest maintain education programmes at the village level. The 4-H Clubs started as youth clubs of the Jamaica Agricultural Society, and still remain as a quasi-governmental youth organization with an enrolment of about 20,000.

The policies of the five Services are formulated by a standing committee which includes among its members top level representatives of the five member agencies. In addition, the managers and executive secretaries meet from time to time to discuss common problems. Furthermore, all five have a common training programme for field-workers. In spite of all these attempts at co-ordination, each has retained
its identity and autonomy. The system of field organization into Divisions, Parishes, and Instructional Areas resembles that of the Social Welfare Commission as described above.

Like Mexico, too many agencies are involved in community development in Jamaica. Although each may have different objectives, their activities overlap in the field, because once a programme is initiated by an agency, it may expand to include new activities. Thus in a small country like Jamaica, it is quite expedient that a central co-ordinating agency should be established to control the direct programmes of different agencies.

Puerto Rico:-

Community development programmes in Puerto Rico are carried out by two separate Departments, each pursuing different aims. One of these is the Division of Community Education of the Department of Education. It was established in 1949 to help communities discover the power inherent in their families coming together and developing community cohesion.

The fundamental purpose is to "provide our popular culture with the tool of a basic education...", this will mean giving to the communities and to the Puerto Rican community in general the wish, the tendency, and the way of making use of their own aptitudes, for the solution of their own problems of health,
education, co-operation, and social life, through the action of the community itself."

The programme is carried out in about 400 communities, and each is supervised by a group organizer. The organizers are carefully selected and trained for about six months. They are chosen not only on the basis of their academic and occupational qualifications, but also on their predispositions and their social and spiritual attitudes as they relate to this work. Many of the 400 communities have built roads, wells, milk stations, latrines, schools, lunchrooms, and community centres.

The other institution is the Social Programme Administration under the Department of Agriculture, also established in 1949 to administer what are known as "Title V-Resettlement of Squatters", and "Title VI-Family Size Farms", under the Land Law of 1951. It carries out a programme of rural resettlement following the principles of community planning, co-operative housing and farm management.

The fundamental aim of the programme is to create proper environmental conditions in rural and urban areas which would induce the people to enjoy living where they are and so obviate the desire of going elsewhere in the country or abroad.

For the implementation of the programme, there are about six organizations or divisions. Among these
are (1) the Legal, Engineering, and Housing Divisions, which handle such technical aspects as their titles imply; (ii) the Division of Small Community Industries, which is concerned with developing small industries such as pottery, sewing, and toy-making, and it organizes communal working centres; (iii) the Minimum Urbanization Division takes care of slum settlements, located outside large urban communities, and deficient of basic facilities; (iv) the Division of Civic Employment and Activities carries out a programme of community organization with the view of stimulating self-help projects and improving public services; (v) there is in addition a special division charged with the responsibility for the implementation of Title VI of the Land Law.

The Puerto Rican community development programme appears to be highly sophisticated both in content and organization. The degree of specialization points to the many-sided nature of community development. The tremendous amount of progress the programme has achieved could in part be attributed to the sophisticated organization, which touches all aspects of community's needs. The progress is the result of many years of trial and error, which are worth experiencing by other developing countries in search of a "modus operandi". However, sight should not be lost of the fact that foreign technical aid and financial resources have played an important role.
The programme can further be improved if one separate agency or department is made responsible for all programmes in community development, so that a greater co-ordination could be achieved. The present organization could bring no conflict if the Departments of Education and Agriculture work in different areas, else, there is every tendency for programmes to work at cross-purposes.

Project Types of Programme

Project types of programme are not country-wide, and are also multi-functional. An extension of a project type of programme in one area to other parts of a country may interfere with the functions of the government, simply because programmes are generally geared to solving specific socio-economic problems.

They are administered under a variety of organizational forms. One of these forms is where a number of ministries may come together to work on a project, but one of them is entrusted with the administrative responsibility. In Nicaragua, for example, the Rio Coco project is under the Ministry of Education. A second example of organizational form is illustrated by the National Indian Institute, which is an autonomous federal agency, with representatives from ministries and other government and private institutions. The Institute is concerned with project types of programmes for Indian communities. Thirdly, a single
ministry may be authorized to be responsible for a whole project. The Cultural Missions in Mexico furnish a good example. Project types of programmes in the Caribbean area, Ecuador and Saudi Arabia have been selected for review.

Trends in Central America and the Caribbean:—

Of the 36 community development programmes in Central America and the Caribbean (including Mexico), nine address themselves exclusively to one specific group. Four of these are concerned solely with the rural Indian population, while the other five deal with problems of the sugar worker, members of unions, youths, and so on. The rest are concerned with the rural population in general.

One-half of the total number of programmes cover a wide geographic area, for example, the Division of Community Education in Puerto Rico and the Centros de Bienestor Rural in Mexico. None of them however has a full national coverage as yet. The remaining eighteen are pilot projects confined to limited areas, for example, Proyecto Piloto de Educacion Fundamental en el Río Coco for the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua, and the Pote Cole Project in Haiti. Only seven of the thirty-seven agencies conduct broad integrated programmes of community development, such as the Jamaica Social Welfare Society, the Institute Nacional Indigenista in Mexico, and the Division of Community
Education in Puerto Rico.

The dynamic nature of community development, its broad objectives, and the interlacing characteristics of the programmes with those of the government agencies in the region make it difficult to classify the programmes into integrative, adaptive or project types. The following classifications has these limitations.

Only one of thirty-six, The Institute Nacional Indigenista of Mexico, might be regarded as approaching the integrative type, in spite of the fact that it has not a country-wide coverage. However, it is often cited as a project type. Five other programmes may be categorized as adaptive; one in Guatemala, two in Puerto Rico (The Division of Community Education and the Social Programmes Administration), and two in Jamaica (The Social Welfare Commission and the Sugar Labour Board). They are adaptive because their inauguration has caused no change in the administrative organizations of the governments, but has conformed with them. None of them has achieved a national coverage yet, though they are fairly well spread.

Twelve of the remaining programmes fall into the project type. They are multi-functional, but work in limited geographic areas. Indeed they differ from each other. One may be an effort of a specialized
group, concentration of effort and attention on a specific group such as children, a simple experiment or pilot project, a specific task like a resettlement scheme, and so on. This type of programme can be found in Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Haiti, and so on.

The remaining eighteen programmes cannot be classified properly and it reflects the dominant tendency in the region for a scheme to expand to envelop new activities. To cite an example, a mother-child health programme would find itself promoting improved agricultural methods with agronomists hired by that agency for that purpose; a literacy programme might find it necessary or advisable to promote homecrafts or poultry raising so as to give a practical application and outlet to the newly developing abilities of the people.

Mexico:-

There are a number of community development programmes in Mexico, but they are of the project type. The most outstanding of these is the National Indian Institute, created by Presidential decree in 1948. The aim of the Institute is to incorporate the indigenous Indians, numbering about 10 million out of 30 million Mexicans, to the national way of life. The process of incorporation implies the breaking down of the physical and mental isolation of the Indian, the improvement of his economy and his health; and in orienting to the national way of life, care
is taken not to let him lose certain cultural and community values. For his own good, he is expected to participate voluntarily in any effort of government agencies.

The Institute is a federal autonomous body with a director, council and technical and administrative staff. The council consists of representatives of the Ministries of Education, Public Health, Agriculture and Livestock, Hydraulic Works, Communication and Public Works, the Interior, Agrarian Department, the Government Bank, the National Polytechnic and the Indian Groups. The technical personnel, assisting the Director in running the programme are from the following fields: applied anthropology, public health, education, economic development, agriculture and livestock, road construction, building construction and publications. They form the Technical Commission, (See Chart 4, p.62).

The Institute is subsidized by the Ministries of Education, Public Health, Agriculture and Livestock, and the Treasury. In addition, loans are obtained from government financial agencies for specific purposes.

In 1959, the Institute was operating through five centres, each located in an indigenous population zone. It is believed that since 1959, three centres a year have been established, so that by now their total number may have increased. The function of each centre is to co-ordinate, in each area, the technical
resources of federal agencies. The structure of the centre is like that of the Institute itself, (See Chart 4). Each is headed by an anthropologist, assisted by other specialists, such as medical doctors, agricultural engineers and so on. Next in rank is another group of specialists such as agronomists and nurses. Below them are the "promotores", who function like the village-level workers. They are not multi-purpose workers, but each concentrates on a specialized field such as health and agriculture.

The areas of action vary in size from about 1,000 to 15,000 square kilometers. The number of settlements per "municipio" (a local council district) ranges from one to 100. One centre may have under it between three and 100 municipios, equivalent to about 20,000 to 110,000 people. Thus by 1959, 400,000 people, 70% of whom were Indians, were benefiting from the Institute's programme.

At the community and regional levels, voluntary and semi-voluntary organizations for community development have been formed. Examples of such organizations are the tribal council, the ejide organizations, the board for civic, moral, and material betterment, and the committee for education.

Apart from the Institute, other agencies exist, and they are mainly concerned with specific projects.
One of these is "The Direction General of Indian Affairs", created in 1938 with the following functions:

1. To study Indian problems.

2. To propose to the President measures and regulations that should be taken by various government agencies so that their co-ordinated action would contribute to the Indian welfare.

3. To promote in the government agencies as well as in the state governments those measures and regulations which would contribute to the Indian welfare.

Between 1938 and 1945, the Direction often had to rely on the good will of other departments, because it was accorded a lower status. Thus in 1947, the Ministry of Education took over its functions, and has been functioning under the title of "Cultural Mission", which forms a section of a branch of the Ministry called the Direction for Literacy and Extra-Mural Education. The objectives of the Mission are to improve the general economy levels, increase agricultural production, improve family and domestic life and health, preserve popular art, strengthen civic and patriotic feelings, improve the physical conditions of villages, organize communities for initiative, responsibility and self-development, and so on.

There were 96 Cultural Missions in 1959, and 16 of them were mobile or "motorized". They operate in a rural area for two or three years and then move
to another one. Their main contribution lies in their being "catalizers" and organizers of self-help effort. The personnel of one Mission comprises the following: a head of the Mission, a household worker, a midwife nurse, a teacher for recreational activities, a music teacher, a carpentry teacher, a blacksmith worker, mechanics teacher and a handicraft teacher.

Another agency is the Co-ordinating Commission for the Rural Social Welfare Programme. (Commission Coordinadora Del Programa De Bienestar Social Rural). It was established in 1955 by Presidential decree. It comprises the Minister of Health as the President, representatives of many ministries, and the National Institute of Social Security. The programme of the Commission is multi-functional, but emphasis is on health, material and child-care programmes. It has established about 400 centres, covering about 40% of the country's total population. These centres also train persons in agriculture, animal husbandry, and other specialties.

Apart from these federal agencies, there are also state bodies concerned with community development programmes, for example, Boards for Moral Civic, and Material Improvement, (Juntas De Mejoramiento Moral, Civico Y Material). The Boards were established in 1953 as statutory bodies in each of the states and territories to foster community self-help effort.
The central co-ordinating office is located in the Ministry of Interior. Subsidiary boards have been set up at state, regional and municipal levels. The federal and state boards assist the local boards with orientation, direction and technical help, but they themselves have no budgets and technical personnel. In 1959, 5,000 such boards were in existence in cities, towns and villages.

The State of Hidalgo has organized its own community development programme for improving the living conditions of the Otomi Indians of the Mezquital Valley. The programme was started by the State Government in 1950, but later on, the Federal Government took over. It has a council of which the State Governor is the President, and the executive administrator is appointed by the President. On the council are representatives from State and Federal Ministries.

It appears from the above description of the different programmes that the Federal Government has not formulated co-ordinative policies for its community development programmes, and of these the National Indian Institute alone can be justified in running a separate programme dealing with definite Indian problems. The programmes of the Ministries of Health, Education, and Interior are identical, and hence one of them or a federal autonomous body could be made
responsible for all these programmes in order to ensure their proper co-ordination and planning. It is reported that since the States maintain departments similar to the Federal ones concerned with community development, there results in some cases duplication and sometimes triplication of agencies, all engaged in similar activities.

Like Puerto Rico, Mexico has many field workers of diversified academic background such as anthropology, agronomy, animal husbandry, sanitation, domestic industries and fundamental education. Rural problems are so complex that it is only specialist field workers who can deal with these problems. Thus as far as technical personnel are concerned, Mexico has taken the most suitable approach.

Ecuador-

Community development in Ecuador is the responsibility of the Andean Mission, created in June 1951 by five U. N. agencies, together with the governments of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. The work of the Mission illustrates one of the most important aspects of community development as a whole. The Mission has spent most of its time, just winning the confidence of the native Indians of the Sierra, that is, the interior highlands. Many years of suppression and poverty have made them indifferent to any outside help.
The traditional value system, differences in status and leadership, lack of social cohesion, and grossly unequal land distribution pattern are other factors inhibiting progress. Sometimes they try to resist any change in their pattern of living.

After an initial period of experimentation and demonstration from 1956 to 1958, the Mission realized the magnitude of the task of integrating the rural population, especially the Sierra Indians, with the rest of the country. The programme however may aptly be described as of the "project type", because much attention is focused on one section of the population living in a distinct geographic area. Where Mestizos and Negroes intermix with the Indians on the Sierra, the Mission extends its activities to them as well.

The communities are approached through a team of specialists which includes a zonal organizer, an agronomist, a fundamental educationist, a doctor and a social worker. The team approach differs remarkably from the village-level worker approach, characteristic of a majority of countries, for in the former, the technicians or the specialists have direct contact with villagers. The programme of the Mission includes health and sanitation, education, agriculture, social services and community organization, small industries, and construction of houses and amenities.
An attempt is also being made at introducing local government, which is lacking in these parts of Ecuador. This is being done by encouraging each village community to elect through democratic means five people to form a village council, which is then registered with the Ministry of Social Welfare.

The National Planning Board of Ecuador is hoping that when the community development programme achieves a country-wide coverage, village councils will be the sole vehicle of developing the rural areas, supported by such rigorous measures as agrarian reforms and colonization of undeveloped lands in the Amazon basin and elsewhere.

The situation in Ecuador exemplifies comparable situations in some Latin American countries such as Peru, Bolivia and Brazil. Venezuela has already taken the lead through its land reform acts. Community development has to play the initial role of giving the rural population some basic fundamental education, before any physical project can be undertaken. In these countries too, it has become evident that to bridge the wide gap between different standards of living, community development must be accompanied by agrarian reforms.
Saudi Arabia:-

At the present stage of the community development programme, it has the characteristics of the project type of programme, although in the near future it may be re-organized into an integrative type. The first pilot project was started in Diriyah in October 1960, by the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, and Health. To date, there are five projects in the country, and each technical ministry concerned provides its own staff. Each project covers about 20,000 people, living in a group of villages close to each other. A project is staffed by a project director, an agricultural worker, and medical doctor, a literacy specialist, a sanitarian, a female social worker, and a nurse. Projects will increase in number as trainees, become available.

Policy-formulation and planning of projects are the responsibility of community development committees which have been formed at the national and district levels. The administrative aspect of the programme rests with a Community Development Division of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. Any part of the programme is carried out in line with the departmental programme of the ministry concerned. At any rate, a combined programme of two or more technical ministries is drawn within the framework of the Supreme Planning Board of Saudi Arabia.
The National Community Development Committee has three well defined goals towards which it strives:

1. To extend and strengthen the economic services of the Ministries of Agriculture, Social Affairs, Commerce and Communication in villages through the improvement of working methods and co-ordination;

2. To demonstrate methods of Agriculture, use of co-operatives, road, and school construction, and other aspects of rural economic development;

3. To promote rural handicraft, based on local raw materials and availability of market.

Achievements so far are reported to be promising. They include road and school construction, improvement of agricultural methods and practices, literacy education, creation of multi-purpose co-operative societies, and so on.

A characteristic of the Saudi Arabian programme is the concentration of technical assistance and effort in selected geographic areas. The justification of this approach, which differs from many countries with "project type" programmes is that about two-thirds of the total population is nomadic and semi-nomadic; hence in an attempt to make them sedentary, areas are selected and developed through the people's own effort. The dry climatic conditions in the country, further justifies this "selective approach". Although the
five projects appear quite healthy, the spread of the programme to other parts of the country is slow. Like many other countries, interdepartmental co-operation at the local level of administration could be hampered, if local development committees are not strong.

Summary

From the foregoing account, it is evident then that community development programmes differ from one country to another. Each Country attempts to develop its programme to suit its specific needs and local conditions. Programmes range from single-purpose commitment to multi-purpose projects. The contents of programmes do not differ so much as the methods of administration, and even within the three broad types of programme, namely integrative, adaptive and project types, there are still dissimilarities.

Committee systems at national, state or regional, district, and local levels of administration differ remarkably. Of equal significance is the difference in role played by village councils or committees. In the Philippines, for example, village councils have statutory powers to function as local governing agencies, whilst elsewhere village committees or councils have no statutory powers, but they only serve as agents of community development. They could in fact be regarded as voluntary organizations.
In almost all the countries selected for review, lack of proper administrative co-ordination between the agency primarily concerned with community development on the one hand, and other government departments and private agencies on the other hand, constitutes a major problem. Co-ordination is difficult to achieve, especially in the field, for two main reasons. First, administrative directions are issued from different authorities such as government departments, which have equal administrative powers, with the result that each tries to protect its own interest. Secondly, programme planners do not specify the role which each contributing agency should play.

Indeed, community development is still at its experimental stage and countries are in search of a "modus operandi". But before any method can prove to be workable, the contribution of community development programmes to rural development should be studied in detail, insofar as programmes are capable of changing standards of living, social values, preferences, and social relations and environment.

Footnotes:


2. The term "functional Ministry" or "technical Ministry" refers to a government ministry or department which is responsible for one of the major technical services, such as, education, health, agriculture, and social welfare services. An employee of a technical ministry who is engaged in a community development programme is called an "extension officer".

The term "neutral Ministry" refers to a ministry which is devoted to such matters as finance, local government, information, and so on.
3. Ibid. pp. 5-6.


CHAPTER III

THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The role which community development programmes play in raising the general standard of living in rural areas in developing countries has been the subject of much debate in recent years. Some economists contend that community development is not the most efficient way of bringing about economic development, and therefore the methods and techniques currently employed should be re-examined. Some countries conceive of community development programmes as merely welfare programmes, through which the basic needs of rural people, such as adult education, wells, markets, and schools, are satisfied. Ghana, for example, has allotted about £ 2.25 million for communal self-help projects in its "Second Development Plan", without specifying what aspects of rural development these projects should cover. Other countries, on the other hand, have assigned important parts of their development plans to community development programmes. For example, the Second Five-Year Plan of India has clearly spelled out the role to be played by community development programmes. The Plan says:
The National Extension Service and Community Projects provide the setting in which the National Plan approaches the needs and aspiration of the Country-side. During the Second Plan they should reflect increasingly the changes and emphasis, priorities, and general outlook which guide overall planning. They should play a large role in promoting the diversification of the agricultural production through the operation of land reforms, strengthening of organizations, building up local leadership and growth of co-operative movement. The programme should become a positive force in bringing about both an integrated rural society and an expanding rural economy.

The main reason for incorporating community development programmes in national development plans is that community development is believed to be an effective process and method of solving important social, economic, and even political problems. It is assumed in this Chapter that community development programmes can contribute to rural development, provided they are well designed and administered. However, an attempt is made to point out that community development is "merely" contributing to rural development, and therefore all the known methods and techniques of achieving proper social and economic development, with particular reference to community and regional planning, should simultaneously be integrated with community development.

At this juncture, it may be worthwhile to identify the major social and economic problems of rural communities, which community development programmes are designed to help to solve. As A. Perpetua points out: "The problems in local communities are seen as series of mutually interlocking difficulties. There are no
singly economic problems, neither are there uniquely political and social problems. The "individual" problems ramify into others.\(^2\)

The Cultivator uses the most primitive tools and practices. Why? One reason is that he often knows no better - he does not have access to scientific agricultural information because not enough is available, but even if it were, he couldn't read it because he is illiterate. Now it becomes an educational as well as agricultural problem. Or, he cannot get a steel plough or chemical fertilizers because he has no capital, and money lenders charge more than 50 percent interest. So it is an economic as well as an educational and agricultural problem. Or, he doesn't use improved methods because he believes the old ways are the best...\(^3\)

The major social problem has been created by the impact of western religion, education, politics and economic organization which has had a strong disintegrating influence on the shared values, attitudes and interests of pre-existing rural communities in developing countries. In effect, the element of solidarity, which is so unique in these communities is being undermined. Education, for example, has come to be regarded as a path to individual material advancement, and to freedom from the bonds of the kinship system rather than as a means of promoting and strengthening the welfare and social values of tribal communities. Thus, it is the task of community development to preserve and strengthen the element of social solidarity in tribal and rural communities, and if possible through common projects to bring together different communities.
Furthermore, the impact of "westernization" has resulted in socio-cultural changes which are reportedly proving harmful. For example, the introduction of an exchange economy in place of a subsistence economy has not brought about a substantial increase in investment, savings, and consumption of goods. Instead, a large proportion of the increase in income is expended on unproductive commodities, such as, ceremonials and alcoholism, with the result that indebtedness has become a crippling problem. As it has been pointed out already in Chapter One, much importance is attached to "people's participation" and "attitude changing" in communal projects, because it is through these means that apathy, lack of self-confidence and self-reliance can be removed.

There has been a growing awareness in recent years that economic problems in developing countries have their roots in rural communities. Industries in fast-growing metropolitan centres are dependent to a great extent upon the raw materials, manpower, and markets of the rural communities. On the other hand, a healthy agriculture must depend upon thriving industries in urban centres, if export markets are not available. Hence problems of industrialization are also problems of rural development. Economic problems in developing countries may be summed up as follows.

First, the low national rate of savings is one of the major economic problems. The average per capita gross
national product in most developing countries is very low, ranging from $25 in Nepal to $276 in Turkey. The rate of savings in these countries is estimated at 4 to 6% of the national income. For any proper industrialization programme to start, economists estimate that the rate should be between 10 to 15%, increasing gradually to about 20%, before industries are considered to be on a firmer footing. Moreover conditions are unattractive for foreign investment with the result that industrial development is dependent upon the government's initiative.

Secondly, entrepreneurs, who constitute the support of a country's industrial activity under a free enterprise economy are very few. Potential entrepreneurs are mostly interested in commercial ventures and exploitation of raw materials such as timber and minerals, where risks are at a minimum.

Thirdly, the market for manufactured consumer goods is restricted. With an average per capita income of about $100 in developing countries, it is self-evident that the vast majority of people are able to purchase only the basic necessities of life. Coupled with this are the high production costs of newly established industries and a low level of consumption of goods. New industries find it difficult to compete with foreign manufacturers, with the result that an embargo is often placed on foreign goods, and little or no excise duties are levied on new industries at home.
A fourth major problem is unemployment and under-employment. The largest employers in most developing countries are the government agencies, whilst in most advanced countries, the employees are the private industrial and business concerns. Jobs are available mostly for the skilled and semi-skilled people, whilst the unskilled are mostly self-employed in trade, farming, or any other enterprise. Unemployment and underemployment are more evident in the rural areas, because of the seasonal nature of tropical and sub-tropical agriculture. For example, in the cocoa-growing areas in Ghana, throughout the whole year, farmers are kept busy on their farms for only five or six months, that is, from September to February when the cocoa season is on. For the remaining months, only occasional visits are paid to foodstuff farms. The economic significance of this problem is that the unemployed and the underemployed remain consumers of scarce imported goods without contributing to the national income.

Lastly, there are other problems pertaining to lack of technical skills, foreign exchange, inadequate government organization and administration, and inflationary gaps which are constantly being created as a result of large scale investment in such fixed capital assets as industrial installations, multi-purpose dams, roads, and railways.

Community development programmes cannot provide answers to all these economic problems, but they can contribute in four main ways, namely agricultural improvement,
land reform, small-scale and cottage industries, and capital facilities, including social and economic infrastructures such as schools, health centres, wells and roads. The major problem is how well the programmes can contribute in these four ways. The four major socio-economic contributions are discussed below, and then they are evaluated against the background of a community and regional planning approach to rural development.

**Agriculture**

Because agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of developing countries, some economists contend that community development programmes should concentrate on the development of agriculture. It is considered that for any industrialization programmes in developing countries to contribute to economic development and raising of living standards, agriculture should be developed first, so that new industries may be supplied with cheap raw materials, and unskilled but enlightened man-power from the rural areas. With the increase in income from agricultural development, the rural areas can provide reliable markets for the new industries.

From the available information on community development programmes in south and south-east Asia, agriculture seems to have made the most important contribution to rural development. According to the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, appointed by the Indian Planning Commission in 1957, between 1952
and 1957, food production increased by 10.8% on the average in those blocks where community development programmes were in operation. The increase was attributable to improved seeds, fertilizers, irrigation and land reclamation.

In Taiwan (China), a comparison of per hectare yields in 1958 with those in 1953 shows a 7% decline in maize, but a rise for all other crops. In percentage terms the gain registered over this period were barley, 2%; rice, 15%; peanuts, 27%; sweet potatoes, 35%; soya beans, 41%; wheat, 66%; and cotton, 92%.

A comparison of 1957/58 per hectare yields in the Kharian community development areas of West Pakistan with the general West Pakistan averages shows that the Kharian areas lead by 5% in wheat, 37% in bajra, 44% in rice, 65% in cotton, 13% in jowar and 38% in maize.

In other developing countries such as Ghana and Nigeria, an increase in export crops is attributable to campaigns organized under community development programmes.

Included under agriculture are such capital formation projects as land reclamation and irrigation, laying out of orchards, and tree planting.

**Land Reform**

There is a close relationship between community development and land reform, and the two are often joined together as one programme, because the primary elements involved, man and land, are inseparable. A community
development programme can be affected adversely by the absence of land reform, where it is needed to provide more equitable distribution of land and income, for in the long run tenants and labourers are responsible for putting new agricultural practices into effect. It is reported that in some Latin American countries, tenants and labourers are sometimes unco-operative with agriculture extension officers, because they do not have vested interest in the land.

On the other hand, land reform without any community development programme may fail because title to a piece of land and house is not enough to bring about improved agricultural practice and production. Community development assists in the selection of families for colonization and resettlement projects on new lands, for example, colonization and resettlement programmes in Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Malaya. It assists in organizing land-hungry peasants into groups and in preparing and training them for the operation of co-operatives. Community development is therefore contributing enormously in eradicating one of the major social evils of the day, namely absentee landlordism and its attendant corruption in tenancy.

Examples of governments which have enacted land reform legislations to facilitate the operation of community development programmes are Venezuela, Southern Viet-Nam, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Philippines, Taiwan and Ecuador. In Southern Viet-Nam, tenant farmers have acquired written
contract rentals of only 15 to 25% of the value of the main crop, and a ceiling of 100 hectares has been put on land ownership. In Ceylon's Paddy Land Act No. 1, 1958, provisions have been made for the control of land rents, denial of land ownership to non-nationals, the regulation of agricultural wages, and the consolidation of uneconomic holdings. The Act also enables the transfer of management of functions from landlords to committees composed of tenants.

In the Philippines, land reform legislation passed in 1954 dealt with security of tenure, compulsory acquisition of land for redistribution, the organization of farm credit, and resettlement. In West Pakistan, 6,000 landowners who form 0.1% of all landowners, controlled as much as 15% of the total land under cultivation in 1959. Since then, the situation has changed radically with the enactment of land reform acts in that year. In Taiwan, 70% of tenant-operated land has been transferred to tenants, and some tenant cultivators have been given secure tenure and a reduction in rents from about 50% to 37.5% of the total annual main crop yield.

Cottage and Small-Scale Industries

There is no clear-cut division between urban industries and rural industries. The difference lies in the scale of production, size and quality of plants, and management. Rural industries are often referred to as cottage and small-scale industries and they include such enterprises as village handicrafts, (basket-weaving), mat-making
and so on), artisan workshops, (carpentry, blacksmithy, tinsmithy and so on), little factories manufacturing such things as leather goods, soap, pottery, brick and tile, rope, and textiles.

The inclusion of small-scale and cottage industries in community development programmes is supported by the following social and economic reasons.

1. The problem of unemployment and underemployment can be solved to some extent.

2. Rural industries need little capital investment. Capital investment in large industries is uneconomic unless they are managed by qualified and properly organized staff.

3. Local raw materials are available to be used, without incurring high transportation costs.

4. The products of small industries suit small local markets, and they do not necessarily have to rely on large markets elsewhere.

5. Rural industries can prepare rural people for future large-scale industrial development through an entrepreneurial attitude, and the skill which they acquire.

6. Rural industries can slow down the rate of urbanization, which at present is not compatible with the general trend of economic development in the few urban centres.
In contrast to all these advantages, small industries have the great disadvantage of low efficiency. For example, in India, 75% of the cost of hand-made cloth is directly chargeable to labour, compared with 25% in the case of cheaper factory-produced cloth.

There is scarcely any information on how cottage and small-scale industries are contributing to family income or to national industrial outputs. Moreover, except where they are organized on co-operative lines or supervised by government agencies, it is difficult to estimate their production capacities, because they involve many one-man enterprises. Community development programmes in India, Ceylon and Southern Viet-Nam exemplify the role which small-scale and cottage industries can play in rural development.

In India, rural industries are part and parcel of Development Plans. The "Second Five-Year Plan", for example, allocated Rs 2000 million to cottage and small-scale industries, an amount equal to the sum allocated to other community development projects. To protect these industries, necessary measures have been taken. The measures include restrictions on the volume of production in the large-scale industrial sector, differential taxation, and direct subsidy. Furthermore, distinct spheres of production and consumption are sometimes assigned to the cottage and small-scale industries. For example, the cloth used in government offices must be Khadi, that is, handloomed textile made out of home-spun thread. Excise duties are
also levied on large mills to build up funds for small producers. As a result of these measures, the output of handloom cloth rose in India from 742 million yards, 1950-51, to 1865 million yards in 1958-59. National Boards such as All-Indian Handloom Board, All-Indian Handicraft Board, and Central Silk Board have been set up to promote rural industries.

A second point of emphasis has been the organization of industrial co-operatives to manage sales depots and model production centres, although the Government itself undertakes a similar activity to supplement the co-operatives. Industrial estates have also been established in selected areas, where a number of small-scale units can share such common facilities as a good site, electricity, water-supplies, and railway sidings.

In Ceylon, the Rural Development Societies, the main organ for community development activities, promote rural industries by constructing buildings for Cottage Industrial Institutes. By 1960, 1,263 industrial buildings had been constructed. In 1958, the Ministry responsible for rural development set up power-loom units, and conducted training courses. It also provided marketing assistance by regulating imports for the benefit of local handloom weavers, by requiring government departments to buy as much as possible from cottage industries and by holding exhibitions. Loans were also given to co-operatives and individual craftsmen.
A number of small-scale industrial programmes have been launched in Southern Viet-Nam as part of the total community development programme. Necessary measures have been adopted to promote small-scale industries. For example, a national centre for handi-crafts, and a bamboo and rattan training centre have been established. Co-operative societies have been formed in many places. Marketing of industrial products is facilitated through permanent exhibition halls. Low-interest loans are given to artisans, and bank credit facilities are arranged for them.

**Capital Formation**

Capital formation implies direct and indirect contributions by way of physical facilities, which may be classified into three broad groups; (a) social and economic infrastructures, such as roads, wells and schools, clinics, markets, playgrounds and latrines; (b) agricultural capital facilities, such as irrigation channels, land reclamation, supply of improved implements; and (c) industrial capital facilities, for example buildings for small-scale and cottage industries. Contribution by way of physical facilities has gained favour in almost all programmes, because the items involved appeal directly to the 'felt-needs' of village communities.

Compilation of data about these physical facilities is complicated by three main factors. First, community development reports do not give enough detail to make
precise evaluation possible. For example schools and roads are listed, but not the type of construction. Secondly, reports often incorporate those items in which the government participates with the people, as well as the financial contribution by the government. They do not, however, indicate those items resulting from the people's own effort. Thirdly, some projects are difficult to identify or measure in monetary or economic terms, for example, draining of land, clearing of bush, and small-scale irrigation works.

The table on page 90 shows the range of capital or physical facilities which are reported to have been created in selected Asian countries. The table is by no means comprehensive, since such items as houses, maternity centres, dykes, fish-ponds, irrigation and drainage canals, barrages and sluices have been left out. In Southern Viet-Nam, for example, 820 maternity centres, 279 markets, 1,788 houses for the poor have also been constructed.

It should be emphasized at this point that these facilities are created at a little cost to the central or local government, and in fact this is the major economic reason why communal projects are favoured by governments. For example in Venezuela, it is reported that in the Village of Agna de Obispo, the entire population co-operated to install a water-supply system which serves both their own village and another neighbouring one, Las Matas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Physical Assets Reported as Created in Community Development Areas in Selected Asian Countries</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population covered by the programme at the end of period .......... 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Land Reclaimed ('000 hectares)........</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Land Irrigated (&quot; &quot; )........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orchards laid out ('000 hectares)........</td>
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<td>Land Forested (' trees) ........</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Improved implements supplied ('000)........</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Health and Sanitation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural Latrines Constructed ('000)........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drains Constructed ('000 km.)........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village lanes paved ('000 sq. m.)........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drinking wells constructed ('000)........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drinking Wells repaired ('000)........</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hand pumps installed ('000)........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>School buildings constructed........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; remodelled........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading and adult literacy classesrooms constructed........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community halls etc. ........</td>
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<td>Communications</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Roads constructed ('000 km.)........</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Roads repaired or improved ('000 km.)........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bridges and culverts constructed ('000)........</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
If paid labour had been employed, the transport of materials would have cost the Government $14,000. The project as a whole would have cost the Government $186,000, but it was completed by the people in only four months at the cost of $87,000.

In Pakistan, up to September 1959, the total of the people's contribution to the construction of a new capital assets amounted to Rs 12.3 million of which Rs 7.7 million was given in free labour and Rs 4.5 million in cash and material.

The financial contribution of government agencies to communal projects differs from country to country. In Ghana, the Government usually contributes £200 annually to a village communal project until it is completed. In India the Government's share is between 45 and 54% of the total cost of a project, compared with 50% in Philippines, 60% in Indonesia, between 1956-59, and 55% in Southern Viet-Nam, between 1957-59.

**Socio-cultural Contribution**

It is believed that community development has contributed much more toward changing people's attitudes and building up of their confidence and initiative than material gains. For example, expenditure on socio-religious ceremonies have been reduced, and there are slight increases in private saving and private borrowing for purposes of
investment. As further illustration, many local government institutions and co-operative societies have come into being, as a result of community development programmes.

Unfortunately, socio-cultural contributions such as changes in attitude, and ability to organize for action, are difficult to measure. However, concrete answers have not been provided for such important questions as: (a) Is the feeling of belonging together growing among villagers? (b) Do they show greater interest than formerly in problems of common concern, and greater readiness to work together for their solution? (c) Is the community development programme improving the behavior moves, customs, and values which hinder economic development? (d) To what extent does the social structure such as kinship systems and lineages in the village constitute the basis of designing communal projects? (e) To what extent are the villagers receptive to technological change and adaptive to new social institutions? The answers to these questions are still to be determined before the social implications of community development programmes can be appreciated fully and utilized for the enhancement of future programmes.

Evaluation of the Contributions

Present trends in urbanization in developing countries indicate that village communities are no longer self-sufficient economically, as it was the case in the past. The "barter"
system" has given way to specialization and a monetary and exchange economy. Development of transportation systems has made it possible for villages to market farm products and buy manufactured goods in urban centres. Of greater interest and significance is the fact that they are beginning to specialize in the production of crops and handi-crafts. Within one area of about fifty villages, it is no longer rare to come across five of these villages specializing in basket-weaving and growing of cassava, and another five concentrating on pottery and yam production. Thus, this trend in specialization and inter-independence of villages upon one another is already beginning to show itself. What this really means is that a village community is part and parcel of a geographic unit, both in economic and social sense, for kinship, lineage and tribal links are still dominant in rural areas. Thus the development of one village has direct relationship and effect on neighbouring villages.

In very few projects such as land reclamation, and irrigation works, have two or more villages been encouraged to undertake a joint programme. As a general rule, both village-level workers and extension officers deal with village communities as separate entities. Admittedly, some needs such as latrines, wells, playgrounds, and markets are essential facilities required by every village, and in these instances it is appropriate to draw separate programmes for individual communities. On the other hand,
problems pertaining to agriculture, land reform, location of small-scale industries, health services and roads are not problems restricted to individual villages and therefore they cannot be solved by community development programmes, which deal with villages as distinct units of developments. As the following discussion shows, what is needed in addition to community development techniques, is the contribution of community and regional planning techniques.

In agriculture, attention is so concentrated on growing more food and export crops for tomorrow that the basic agricultural problems which hinder high productivity are often over-looked. Reference has already been made to the important role which agriculture plays and is expected to play in the economy of developing countries. Reliance on the individual farmers' initiative to accept credits and loans, improved seeds and fertilizers, and to grow crops of their own choice, tends to be a negative approach to agricultural development.

A well-conceived agriculture programme would take into consideration a geographic unit, for example, the Indian "block", or the "development area" in Pakistan. Information then would be analyzed in regard to (a) population distribution in relation to the distribution of soil types; (b) the study of the climate; (c) the present systems of agriculture and their productivity expressed in terms of the area required to feed one man at the
present nutritional level; (d) the general population trends; (e) estimates of potential production levels with improved methods of cultivation, improved crops and livestock; (f) the maximum production both present and potential if the different conditions and qualities of land within the geographic unit were put to their optimum use. It would also be necessary to collect and analyze data on such important social factors as the organizational structure of agriculture in the area, if there is any and the system of land tenure and inheritance. Collection and analysis of data on all these aspects truly falls within the sphere of community and regional planning.

It is within community development programmes that government agencies can exercise the greatest control over agricultural activities and production. Improved seeds, farm implements, fertilizers, and technical services are often beyond the means of the majority of farmers, so that in providing these, government agencies, including co-operatives, can directly influence farmers in growing specific crops suitable to the soils and climate of any given area.

Community development workers have become increasingly aware that it is more feasible to organize production and marketing of crops on a co-operative basis, and they have also discovered that co-operatives are more economic and administratively easy to organize on an areal instead of a village basis, because there is tremendous advantage gained by a
group of villages in marketing their crops jointly. Hence, in many countries, especially in southeast Asia, village co-operative societies have been encouraged to amalgamate. Such a move is an indication that village communities must co-exist as an organic unit, and be mutually interdependent.

In passing, social considerations which attend land reform legislations, tend to overshadow economic considerations. Breaking up a large estate farm among tenants and labourers only ensures its equitable distribution, and may not necessarily result in efficient production. Although in most cases measures are taken to divide confiscated lands into economic units, studies have not been conducted to determine whether maximum production can be obtained from these units, whether it is more economic to retain confiscated lands to be farmed on a co-operative basis, or whether they should be farmed by the government. Attempts have already been made in some Asian countries to consolidate fragmented individual holdings into economic units. The co-operative system of farming has obvious advantages of joint use of farm equipment, efficient technical services, and good management. Moreover, it is easy to obtain loans from banks and co-operative societies.

Programmes for cottage and small-scale industries are at their infant stages of development, so that it is difficult to judge how they fit into community development programmes. Some achievements are reported in some activities such as
weaving and pottery industries in Southern Viet-Nam, but in many cases they are unpromising with regard to efficiency in production, management, marketing, and so on.

In 1957, the Indian Programme Evaluation Organization in its Fourth Evaluation Report, concluded that "programmes, concerning cottage industries are neither widespread nor particularly successful", and that "by and large success has not attended industrial co-operatives in the project areas, and it is reported that even what little success they have attained will in most cases vanish when government funds are withdrawn from their support". Two years later, the Committee for evaluation and on Public Participation issued the following statement on Uttar Pradesh cottage and small-scale industries: "There seems to be an unanimous opinion that the programme for Cottage and Small-scale Industries has been a blind spot in the Community Development Programme, and has all along been a cause of considerable concern."

Report of failures does not mean that cottage and small-scale industries do not fit into community development programmes, nor that they are unsuitable for rural areas. Certain types of industries such as carpentry, blacksmithy, tinsmithy, and basket-weaving suit community development programmes. Most of them are one-man enterprises, and require little capital outlay. There are others such as cloth-making, pottery, rope-making and furniture-making, each of which employs a number of people, and requires substantial capital
These can best be developed on a regional basis, that is, villages with traditional skill in these activities, with potential entrepreneurs, large source of unemployed and under-employed labour, and suitably located to serve as market centres can be encouraged to specialize in these activities. As it is the case with agricultural development, surveys must be conducted to collect information on all these factors.

Government agencies can greatly influence the location of these activities, since loans, technical services, transportation facilities, and sometimes buildings are provided by these agencies, including co-operative societies. In short their location needs comprehensive regional planning approach.

With reference to capital facilities, three main issues, namely the role of citizens' participation in implementing projects, cost-benefit implications involved in the selection of projects, and the location and siting of these projects have not been given much attention by both the people and the community development agencies.

The total contribution of the people appears substantial when viewed in terms of miles of road built, number of schools and clinics constructed, acres of land reclaimed, and so on. On the other hand, the contribution is unimpressive when labour is measured in absolute terms such as man-days per year, and wages. In south and south-east Asia, Southern Viet-Nam has the highest voluntary labour contribution of only
20-25 days per adult male per year on the average. During the initial years of India's programme, the average contribution of work per adult man per year rarely exceeded 2-3 days, and by 1960 it had dwindled to only one day. In those parts of Ghana with active community development programmes, an adult person over eighteen works on a communal project once a week. In Pakistan between 1954 and 1959, per capita contribution of labour in terms of wages in relation to the total cost of community development programmes implemented during the period was only 15%.

It is debatable whether, village programmes should reflect the entire wish of the people if their contribution of labour is so minute. In some countries, this loophole has been discovered, and present trends show that the people are not represented on community development committees. Whether such a step kills people's enthusiasm or not is yet to be proved. However, with the right incentives and sufficient education of what is expected of them, and what they can achieve by greater participation, it is likely that contribution of labour can be increased substantially.

Concerning the second question, cost-benefit implications of projects are often overlooked. These implications have both their human and economic aspects. Many a time, people refuse to undertake any self-help projects, after completing their first projects. The main reason is that
societies, whether primitive or modern, tend to reason in categories and to judge future prospects on the basis of past experience. If a completed project is regarded by people as too costly for the gain, but still not worth repeating, no matter what incentives are pumped into projects, no attempt at any future undertaking would be made. Community developers have not as yet been able to find out what projects should first be encouraged to induce other projects to be undertaken. This requires a knowledge of a community's social values, interests and attitudes.

Of equal significance is the lack of economic cost-benefit analysis in deciding what projects should be tackled. It is difficult for villagers to foresee the benefits which are foregone for undertaking one project instead of another. For example, in choosing to build a clinic instead of a two-mile road to join a new highway, they may not foresee the advantage lost in becoming a thriving market centre or in marketing their farm products easily without having to walk. In many cases they are also unable to estimate the direct costs involved in the use of their own labour instead of hired labour, cost of technical services, and so on.

There is also lack of foresight on the part of government agencies responsible for community development programmes in analyzing the cost-benefit implication of programmes. One of the conclusions which the United Nations Evaluation Mission to India reached concerning the Indian programme was that "the
amount of grants allotted to village industries often seems very high, and the money used in this way is no longer available for land improvement or for industrial equipment, although these will be more useful."

Government agencies often avoid making decisions on such important issues as cost-benefit implications involved in recommending one type of programme, such as small-scale industries instead of extensive land reclamation project, or a market instead of one or two more primary schools. The main reason is that they often state their objectives and goals in nebulous terms. Some agencies may desire to "boost up agricultural production" and at the same time "encourage potential entrepreneurs". These two aims may conflict with each other if the ultimate goal is to remove unemployment or to raise the general standard of living. If for the same or lower capital investment in land vis-a-vis industries, agriculture can employ more people and pay them higher and more stable wages, then the case would be for agriculture.

In essence, certain decisions should not be left to the people who do not know the implications of their decisions. If however, they are allowed to make such decisions, the implications should first be studied by the agencies concerned, and then educate the people about these implications.

Reference has already been made to physical facilities which are basic to all villages, for example, wells, latrines, schools, and markets, and those which are designed to serve an
area or a region, for example health centres, roads, and irrigation works. The problem with facilities basic to a group of villages is that often little attention is paid to their location and siting of the facilities.

Taking Ghana as a classic example, it has become the convention to build markets very close to lorry parks, and this idea is perfectly sound, because the land uses involved have tight linkage of activities, that is, the relationship between transport and trade. But it often happens that they are located adjacent to major roads, with the result that there is always a conflict between pedestrians and vehicles. A handful of villages, with the advice of community planners, have separated their major roads from markets and lorry parks by greenbelts. The greenbelts perform two functions: first, they minimize the conflict between the two types of traffic and secondly, they keep dust from settling on all types of food in the open markets.

Again, referring to Ghana, village schools are usually located close to major roads and at outskirts of villages. New developments such as houses are often kept away from these schools. One of the main reasons given is that children need quiet environment to study. On the grounds of safety of school children and noise, it is obvious that village schools should be distant from major roads, and new developments should be directed around the schools so that in the long run they, together with community centres built through communal labour,
can become the foci of social activities.

Facilities designed to serve a group of villages are sometimes improperly located. Reference has already been made to how small-scale and cottage industries can be so located in selected villages that these villages can develop into major market centres to serve the areas in which they are situated. As another illustration, three villages, A, B, and C in the same area, may each include a health centre in their community development programmes, but the government can subsidize only one health centre to serve the area. The three villages might equally exhibit the right attitude towards community development, but another Village D, equidistant from A, B and C, and centrally located in relation to A, B, and C, is dormant in promoting self-help activities. When the district or regional community development committee meets to discuss village programmes, Village D would not be considered for the health centre, in spite of its proper location to serve the other three villages. Village D, in this particular instance could be encouraged to build the health centre by granting it more money and equipment.

Such crucial questions of regional significance cannot be dealt with adequately in district committees composed of laymen and government officials trained in social work, anthropology, medicine and so on. They are in fact major planning questions.
Summary

Community development, fulfils different purposes in rural development programmes. In some countries it is regarded as a welfare programme, providing the basic needs of village communities. In other countries, it is equivalent to a rural development programme, with its aims and goals clearly spelled out in their National Development Plans.

Social, economic, and political problems of rural areas in developing countries are so interlocking, that they should be solved simultaneously. Community development programmes are purposely designed to help to solve these problems.

Community development programmes have been contributing to rural development in four major ways, namely, agricultural improvement, land reform, development of cottage and small-scale industries, and creation of capital facilities. In evaluating these four major contributions in relation to the objectives and techniques of community and regional planning, it is considered that the contributions are unsatisfactory, owing to the lack of comprehensive approach to rural development. Moreover, such community development techniques as voluntary contribution of labour and the people programming their own projects are also unsatisfactory.

Footnotes:

5. This includes repairs.
6. Ibid. p. 41.
7. Ibid. p. 41.
CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Administration of community development programmes is as important as the role which people are expected to play in implementing these programmes. In fact, much of the success of programmes in such countries as India, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico could be attributed not so much to people's participation as to the administration of the programmes. The manner in which the various government departments concerned with community development are brought together to co-ordinate their policies, plans, and fieldwork, the way in which committee systems are organized, the procedures by which 'planning from below' and 'planning from above' are integrated; and the way financial resources are administered, are all decisive administrative factors in the effectiveness and efficiency of the programmes. The most important of these factors are discussed below, and these are integration of 'planning from below' with 'planning from above,' or simply planning of programmes, and the co-ordination of activities of government departments concerned with community development.

Planning of Programmes

The planning of community development programmes
raises the question of the most suitable relationship between the people and the government in deciding what is to be accomplished. Before this question can be answered, it is necessary to examine cursorily the common system of integrating 'planning from below' and 'planning from above.'

First, where planning from below is dominant as it is in the case of Ghana and the Western Region of Nigeria, a Village plans a project and decides the type of assistance it needs from the government. The Village informs the Community Development Agency these needs which are subsequently discussed by the Community Development Committee at the local or regional level of administration. The Village finally obtains financial and technical assistance from the Government, depending on what it deserves on the merit of the case and on the competing demands from other villages.

The second type of planning is a system of joint consultation between the government and local representatives on major economic issues, insofar as they affect the national economy. Thus on the Ivory Coast in West Africa, local plans dealing with agricultural development, such as improvement of coffee, cocoa, and palm production, result from deliberation between the representatives of the local people, represented through the Centre de Co-ordination et de Co-operation Agricole and the representatives of various government departments concerned.

The third system is where a local committee consisting of village representatives and government agencies is
the medium through which village plans are examined, and allotted grants-in-aid. In Pakistan for example, the village council prepares a plan, and the Chairmen of village councils in a Development Area, together with representatives of Government agencies combine to form a Development Area Advisory Committee, which evaluates proposed village projects and recommends the allocation of funds. The Chairman of this Committee is generally the Deputy Commissioner, who provides the link between national and local levels of planning.

In another system which India has adopted, village plans are incorporated into Five-Year Development Plans, in which targets are established for agricultural production, cottage and small-scale industrial output, and so on. How village plans are incorporated is really not clear, and it is reported that little success has been achieved. The main difficulty lies in interpreting national goals and objectives at the local level of planning.

Thus, different systems are being tried out by different countries, and it appears that no satisfactory systems have as yet been devised to make community development an effective process of social and economic development.

However, it would be presumptuous for three main reasons to suggest that the people should be removed from the planning picture. First, there is the important psychological argument that it is far easier for a group to accomplish a project they have initiated themselves, than a plan prepared by government agencies. Secondly, under certain
circumstances, the people know their needs, though they may not know the implications of meeting these needs. Thirdly, if they fail to co-operate because they are not contacted in designing programmes, the whole concept of community development automatically collapses.

Thus, the people have a specific part to play in programme planning, but the question is what function should they perform. It was pointed out in Chapter III that they rarely realize the socio-economic implications of their decisions, and it was also pointed out that their participation in communal projects, calculated in terms of labour, money and other resources is small. For these two reasons, it is justifiable to suggest that there should be limits to which they can participate in the planning of programmes.

On the other hand, there is a strong reason for assigning a dominant role in planning to government agencies, who have more knowledge of present and prospective national resources of skill, materials, and finance than do the local communities. The Government agencies can play a key role in deciding:

What types of local projects, if any, the government is prepared to help, estimating what resources can be supplied in various time periods to help local projects; arranging for information guidance to keep local planners aware not only of the supply position, but also of the demand position as regards agricultural and any other local products; arranging such technical and financial supervision as local planning may need in order to have the projects meet minimum standards; finally a key responsibility - arranging an efficient operation to cope with the local demands for
government help that the programme will, if successful, arouse, so that hopes and purposes may not be necessarily frustrated.

The above statement implies that it is necessary for community development agencies to develop master plans, which should lay down the policies and the general framework of national community development programmes. Thus, these plans can guide the preparation of regional community development plans, and the regional plans in turn can guide the preparation of local plans. All these plans should be long-range and comprehensive, and should be based on some systematically collected and analysed survey data, in relation to national goals. For example, concerning agriculture, the types of survey necessary to collect data for local plans was cited in Chapter III, p.94.

This suggested approach to the planning of programmes does not differ from master development planning often carried out by government planning agencies at the national, regional, and local levels of administration. In fact, it is in this respect that community and regional planning techniques can make one of their greatest contributions to community development.

The United Nations Organization is already aware that:

integral planning (i.e. social, economic, physical, etc.) at national and regional levels could, assuming it does not plan away the element of choice in the villagers' life, provide means of bringing together national and community interests in government programmes. However, where opportunities for such planning do not exist, other informal means should be used to assemble and act upon the relevant planning information.
The Organization further recognizes the fact that:

each community is related to others as regards economic, physical and social requirements, and development in one locality calls for co-ordination of local projects with regional and national programmes. The development area or region, therefore, represents a link between the community and national goals with local action. Thus, the mobilization of human resources and popular participation through the community development process could often be achieved.3

To all intents and purposes, it is necessary to educate the people regarding the nature and importance of national development plans, otherwise they might think that the government agencies are imposing their will on them. Indeed, it may require many months of persuasive campaigns in the villages, before the idea becomes acceptable to the inhabitants.

Problems of Co-ordination of Government Activities

Co-ordination may be described as "the means whereby different entities may achieve concerted action without losing their organizational identity."4

It was pointed out in Chapter II that in all the three types of programmes, namely integrative, adaptive, and project, government agencies or departments concerned with community development encounter difficulties in co-ordinating their work at almost all levels of administration, especially in the field. The problems which inhibit co-ordination are due mainly to the following reasons.

First, an administrative official of, for example, the
Ministry of Agriculture or Education, and the community development officer do not make easy bed-fellows. An administrative officer is a victim of bureaucracy; he acts with the backing of the law; he does not rely much on people's co-operation and participation to achieve his goals, and moreover he is subject to inspection, financial audits, and questions by parliamentarians. His aim is to avoid criticism of his work and to achieve perfection. The community development officer, on the other hand, is one who must use his discretion, and must rely on people's co-operation and participation to achieve his goals. His failures are often overlooked and he is subject to a few questions. Thus whenever the two officials meet, there is a conflict of interest and personality, and hence they show divergent attitudes towards community developments.

Secondly, different government departments may have different views and objectives either overlapping or conflicting, as to their respective responsibilities and roles in community development programmes. They may even have different ideas about the objectives of the programmes. Each may clamour for power, recognition, and credit, especially under the integrative type of programme. One professional group may claim that they alone can play the integrating role in implementing the programmes. Such was the case in India some few years ago when agricultural officers were believed to be more important than other officers, because the Indian programme
places emphasis on agriculture. This situation is aggravated further if these professional officers are rather loyal to their departments than to the community development movement. Their loyalty is justified on the grounds that they are still employees of their respective departments.

The third problem pertains to the controversy between agencies over which one should supply the village-level worker. He plays a critical role in the implementation of programmes. He is the one who is in daily contact with the people, introducing new ideas, and helping them to seek financial and technical assistance to direct their own affairs. The fear of technical departments in regard to the community development agency supplying the village-level worker is that he is generally not competent to introduce and teach new technical ideas and innovations. On the other hand, the agency fears that the extension officers sent out by the technical departments know little about how village communities should be handled and that they know little about human relations, group dynamics, and so on. However, the fears of each party are justified, and the result is that the community development agency, in a weaker bargaining position because of lack of technical staff, is compelled to compromise, or the technical departments go their own way.

Fourthly, the administrative machinery for inter-departmental co-ordination of community development programmes pays too much attention to committees and very little attention to organizational and personnel requirements. Committees mostly
concern themselves with policy formulation, planning of programmes, and allocation of grants. Little attention, however, is paid to such things as evaluation of projects already completed, the efficacy and the impact of methods of implementing plans, and the administrative changes which are necessary in the implementation of certain projects.

These four problems establish the fact that community development programmes cannot be administered through coordination of activities of government agencies. Because community development embraces all aspects of rural life, programmes cannot be entrusted to a technical department such as education or agriculture, as it is the case with adaptive type of programme.

It is often suggested that the community development agency should be as neutral as possible to avoid losing the support of other departments, and thereby co-ordination can be fostered. The Ghanaian Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development, for example, has adopted this principle, and the unfortunate thing is that it has weakened its administrative position. As an illustration, if a community development project of the Ministry happens to fall within the sphere of activity of any technical department, the approval of this department must first be sought.

It has also been suggested that the community development agency could be placed in the office of the highest administrator, such as the Prime Minister or the President, who can use his power to co-ordinate departmental policies. The
Philippine programme, for example, operates on this principle by placing the Presidential Assistance for Community Development, the main agency for community development, in the office of the President. In spite of this step, the programme still faces the problem of lack of co-ordination of inter-departmental activities in the field.

Integration Is the Answer

Thus, the solution to most problems pertaining to co-ordination of community development activities is integration of such activities. Integration in this context may loosely be defined as 'the fusing together of different government agencies or technical services to form one central agency.' This means that the agency should be independent in technical and other services. Its staff should therefore include such professional personnel as agricultural officers, physical planners, medical officers, anthropologists, educationists, engineers, economists, social workers, industrial promoters, surveyors to occupy key positions. Under these professionals, there should be a large number of semi-professionals to do the actual fieldwork. All the employees of the agency should be responsible to the agency alone, and should receive their promotion within the organization. For such an agency to be powerful and efficient, it is suggested that it should be placed in the office of the highest administrator, since if it were to be a separate department, there would be the tendency for inter-departmental rivalry to persist.
The problem of where does community development programme begin and end does not arise, because agreement can easily be reached between the agency and technical departments, simply because the agency's position entitles it to influence the policies and plans of those technical departments which are located lower in the administrative hierarchy. Moreover, national development plans would specify what functions the agency should perform.

To ensure that the agency does not duplicate the work of any technical department, it is suggested that co-ordinating committees, consisting of representatives of the agency and technical departments, should be established at all levels of administration.

It should be pointed out at this juncture that the agency should work in close collaboration with local councils, where they exist, because of the inherent danger of duplication of work. If possible, the agency's office at the district or local level of administration should be in the office of the local council or alternatively in the district commissioner's office, in the case of, for example, Ghana, Uganda, Pakistan and Tanganyika.

There are a number of advantages to be derived from such an administrative set-up. First, the diversity of background and training of personnel facilitates planning of programmes, their implementation, evaluation of projects, and research.
Secondly, the spirit of teamwork, which is so necessary in fieldwork could be engendered and sustained. Moreover, the controversy over which department should supply the village-level worker would not arise.

Thirdly, it often happens that departments are disturbed about the ways and means of financing projects, especially those which are sponsored by more than one department. Thus, by creating one central agency, financial resources could also be centralised.

Lastly, common in-service training schemes could be arranged for all classes of personnel of the agency.

Summary

Different methods of merging 'planning from below' with 'planning from above' are being tried out, and a satisfactory one has not as yet been determined. The implication is that the actual role which people are expected to play in programme planning is yet to be defined.

The government must play a leading role in programme planning because it alone has satisfactory knowledge of the country's material and financial resources as well as of its human skills. With this knowledge, it is in a better position to develop national and regional plans which can form a suitable frame of reference for local and village plans.

There are four main problems attending the co-ordination of community development activities of government departments. Firstly, there is a conflict of interest and
personality between community development officers on the one hand, and officers of technical departments on the other hand. Secondly, agencies concerned with community development often tend to have different objectives, and therefore different approaches towards community development. Thirdly, controversy over which department should supply the village-level worker is sometimes difficult to eliminate. Lastly, much attention is paid to committees at the expense of organizational aspects, and personnel recruitment and training.

To avoid these problems of co-ordination, it is suggested that 'integration' of government agencies to form one central agency for community development, independent in technical and other services, would be a good idea. For such an organization to be efficient and powerful, it is further suggested that it should be placed in the office of the highest administrator.

In Chapter V, Ghana is examined as a case-study of how the suggested administrative framework could be applied to a specific situation.

Footnotes:

CHAPTER V

A NEW APPROACH TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IN GHANA

The community development programme in Ghana, with particular reference to its objectives, content, and administration was described in Chapter II. It was pointed out in this Chapter that the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development has become subservient to other Ministries, in that it cannot undertake any activity which falls within the scope of work of another Ministry without receiving that Ministry's approval. The approval, in fact, is a device to bring about co-ordination, since technical Ministries themselves do not undertake self-help activities.

The result of this administrative device is that the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development has not been able to implement the objectives which it established initially in 1954 (See p. 46). Two aspects of the objectives in particular, namely: (i) the prevention of unemployment in the rural areas and the checking of drift to towns; and (ii) the promotion of indigenous handicrafts and small-scale industries, have received no attention.

An attempt is made below to establish clearly the present relationship between the Ministry of Social Welfare and
Community Development and other Ministries and to suggest the administrative changes which would be necessary to fulfill the initial objectives as outlined in 1954, in order to make the Ministry a more powerful agency of rural development.

Relationship between the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development and Other Ministries.

The Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development works with other Ministries in processing communal projects, in providing technical services in connection with communal projects, and in organizing campaigns.

Communal projects are first 'processed' before they are implemented. Ministries concerned with communal projects are consulted and their approval must be received. For example, the Ministry of Health is responsible for latrines, clinics and similar health structure, and is consulted first before the facilities are constructed. The approval of the Ministries is necessary since they maintain the projects after their completion. Where Local Councils are to be responsible for the maintenance of certain projects, they are also consulted.

Since the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development has a few technical officers, it has to rely on other Ministries for technical advice of all sorts. As an illustration, the Department of Town and Country Planning prepares plans for cities and towns only. Thus, the
Ministry has assumed the responsibility of helping villages in preparing plans and in re-settlement schemes. In order that these plans may meet the required standards, the Ministry has entered into an agreement with the Department of Town and Country Planning, whereby the Department instructs officers of the Ministry in the preparation of plans for the villages. When the plans are completed, they are sent to the Department for examination and approval. The two agencies have been working closely together on the resettlement scheme in the Volta Region.

The Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development organizes extension campaigns for other Ministries at their request. The role of the Ministry is confined to initial mass teaching to arouse interest and conviction in a new idea or programme, before the technical Ministry concerned takes over.

Between 1954 and 1960, seven major campaigns were organized. The major and the most popular one was organized on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture, to explain and popularize new methods of cocoa farming designed to prevent the spread of cocoa diseases. The other six campaigns were on: 'Roof Loans,' for the Ministry of Housing; 'Pay Your Rates,' for the Ministry of Local Government; 'Building of School Premises in Northern Ghana,' for the Ministry of Education; 'Health,' for the Ministry of Health; 'Use of Manure in Northern Ghana' and 'Rinder-pest in Ga-Adamgbe Area,' for
the Ministry of Agriculture; and 'resettlement of the Frafra People in the Damongo Area', which involved a number of Ministries.

Much of the confusion which existed in the early 1950's between the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development and the technical Ministries concerning the functions of the Ministry has now been settled by administrative devices which have tended to weaken the initiative of the Ministry in undertaking projects. With the present system of co-ordination of the Ministry's work with the work of other Ministries, it is difficult for the Ministry to expand its scope of activity. Some degree of co-ordination has been achieved at the expense of the satisfactory attainment of the objectives of the community development programme as proposed in 1954.

The question then is whether co-ordination should be maintained for its own sake and for the sake of the present content of the programme, or whether the Ministry should be strengthened to play a major role in rural development. The Ministry's administrative position should be strengthened by raising its status above other Ministries. How this could be brought about is discussed below.

Recommendations for Administrative Changes in Ghana's Community Development Programme.

It is recommended that the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development should be reorganized as one of the Bureaus of the President. The President has under him a number of Bureaus, created by Parliament to perform certain
functions. For example, there are the Bureaus of Statistics and African Affairs. They are independent and report directly to the President (See Charts 5 and 6, pp. 124-25).

The Bureau should be independent in technical services. As it might be difficult to recruit professional personnel from outside the Civil Service into the Bureau, it is proposed that personnel be drawn from the Ministries of Agriculture, Construction, Health, Industry, Education and the Department of Town and Country Planning. Other professional personnel such as anthropologists and industrial economists who probably are not available in the Civil Service, could be employed from outside.

At this juncture, it is worth pointing out that the proposed administrative change would not require drastic changes in the present administrative set up of the Ministry and other Ministries simply because the professional personnel to be drawn from the technical Ministries would be small in number. They would be needed to man only the key positions at the national and regional levels of administration of the Bureau.

Semi-professional personnel to assist the professionals and to work at the local level of administration would not necessarily be drawn from the technical Ministries, since the existing educational institutions in the country can supply this class of personnel. The Institute for Community Planning at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology at Kumasi could supply planning assistants; the Agricultural Training School at Kwadaso could supply all junior agricultural officers; and the Technical Training Schools in many parts
PRESENT ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP OF THE GHANA CIVIL SERVICE

1. The President

2. National Planning Commission

3. Cabinet

4. National Level of Administration (about 13 Ministries)

5. Regional Commissioner

6. Regional Level of Administration (about 13 Ministries)

7. Local Level of Administration

Other Bureaus
CHART 6
PROPOSED ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP OF THE GHANA CIVIL SERVICE

Other Bureaus ----> The President ----> National Level of Administration (About 12 Ministries)

Cabinet

Regional Commissioner

Regional Level of Administration (about 12 Ministries) ----> Regional Office of Bureau of Comm. Dev.

Local Level of Administration ----> Local Bureau Office with the Local Council
of the country could also make available any number of sub-professional engineers to perform minor engineering works. In certain services such as industrial promotion, in-service training could be given to non-professional employees.

The present administrative structure of the Civil Service seems to be conducive to the proposed change. A National Planning Commission has been established in the office of the President to prepare development plans for all sectors of the economy, and thus the Bureau could be attached to the Commission to gain advantage from the long-term and comprehensive approach to physical, social, and economic planning which the Commission has adopted. (See Charts 5 and 6, pp. 124-25).

At the regional level of administration, the Bureau's office could be attached to the office of the Regional Commissioner, who occupies a ministerial post. He is also the representative of the President and the Cabinet Ministers at the regional level of administration. The Regional Commissioners should not be made heads of the Bureau's regional offices for the following four main reasons: (i) they lack training in community development; (ii) they represent the law-and-order component of the Government, and rural development through self-help and coercive powers of Regional Commissioners are uneasy bed-fellows; (iii) since they are supposed to be the heads of all Ministries at the regional level, they always have divided attention, and cannot therefore give full attention to community development activities; and (iv) they are political figures subject to transfer and
It is suggested therefore that the regional offices of the Bureau should be divorced from administrative influence of Regional Commissioners, and should report directly to the head office as it is the case now with the regional offices of all Ministries, reporting directly to the head offices. (See Chart 5). However, by attaching the Bureau's regional office to the office of the Regional Commissioner, it would be easier to co-ordinate the activities of the Bureau with the Ministries.

For the same reasons given above, it would be undesirable to suggest that the District Commissioners should head local offices. Thus, it is proposed that the local Bureau offices should be established in Local or District Councils' offices, simply because the Bureau should work closely together with Local and District Councils in planning and implementing plans.

The proposed administrative system would affect the existing community development committee system, since it is now proposed to give people better opportunity to express their needs adequately. More villages should be encouraged to form development committees, and Local Development Committees which used to exist in the past should be revived; however, with some changes in their composition and function. They should be comprised of representatives of Village Development Committees, officials of the Bureau and Local Councils, and District Commissioners, who would serve
as chairmen. The Committees should only be an advisory body to local Bureau offices.

The Regional Development Committees should be maintained, but should not be assigned the function of deciding upon grants-in-aid for village projects. The Bureau should take over this function. The Regional Development Committees could perform an important function of co-ordinating all developmental projects of the various Ministries within the Local Council areas. They should be composed of the Regional Commissioners as Chairmen, officials of the Bureau, and technical Ministries.

A National Community Development Committee should be formed at the national level, and should be comprised of the representatives of the National Planning Commission, the Cabinet, the Bureau and the technical Ministries. This Committee would perform the major function of solving important issues on policies of the Bureau, which could conceivably conflict with those of the technical Ministries.

The Technical Field Units, the Technical Advice Centres, and the Rural Training Centres are at present important assets to the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development. It is probable that they could be more useful under the proposed system of administration.

In 1957, there were eight Technical Field Units in Ghana. However, the number may have increased by now. Each Unit has a Foreman in charge, a Clerk Storekeeper, an Assistant Surveyor for road and village layout work, carpenters,
masons, drivers, labourers, as well as an administrative staff. The Units perform two main functions: (i) they supplement self-help projects in villages; and (ii) they demonstrate to District Councils how they might have their own works organization and undertake Local Council projects on a contract basis. They should be established under the Bureau to perform similar functions as enumerated above.

In 1959, there were two Technical Advice Centres, one in each of the Central and Eastern Regions. It is proposed to give each of the eight Regions a Technical Advice Centre. At present they perform the following functions:

(a) To supply on request plans and costs for a wide range of public buildings. Costs would be adjusted where voluntary labour was likely to be available.

(b) To advise Local Authorities on what is required by way of maintenance of public buildings, roads, etc.; and to supply estimates when required.

(c) To suggest suitable work for voluntary labour and methods of organizing such labour.

(d) To scrutinize and advise on plans submitted to the Centre for this purpose.

(e) To provide, on payment, photographs of various types and aspects of construction work, to assist Local Authorities in their discussions of development projects.

(f) To direct research of Mechanical Field Units in the region of cheaper building methods, especially machine and kiln-made roofing tiles and bricks.

(g) To organize local and central building courses, including both theory and practice, for Local Authority, Foremen of Works, etc.

The Centres should be absorbed into the Bureau's regional and local offices, but their functions should be defined in such a way that they could fit neatly into the Bureau's administrative set-up. It is within the framework of technical services to be rendered by the Centres that sub-
professional personnel such as planning assistants, junior agricultural officers, and junior surveyors could render better services to villages. Whilst they would be implementing plans received from regional offices they could also feedback necessary information collected from surveys and fieldwork.

The Rural Training Centres could provide in-service training not only to junior community development officers, but also to all classes of personnel and voluntary village leaders.

The need for such a Bureau cannot be underestimated. Like many other developing countries, the Government of Ghana has adopted the planning approach to physical, social and economic development. If community development is to make any contribution at all to this 'planned development', it must be assigned a distinct role. It cannot however play its role unless it has a proper administrative machinery created for it.

Summary

The Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development has become subservient to other Ministries, because of the ties between it and other Ministries. One of these ties requires that it cannot promote any self-help projects until technical Ministries concerned have provided their approval. Secondly, it relies on them for technical services. Thirdly, the Ministries depend on it in organizing and carrying out
campaigns.

The content of the community development programme cannot be improved unless the Ministry is reorganized as a Bureau of the President. To be well staffed, professional personnel could be drawn from other Ministries. Sub-professional personnel could be obtained from the existing educational institutions.

At the regional and local levels of administration, the Bureau could establish its offices at the Regional and Local Council offices respectively.

The present committee system is inadequate, and should therefore be re-organized to enable the villages to express their needs adequately. The proposed system would be composed of Local Development Committees, Regional Development Committees, and a National Community Development Committee.

The Technical Field Units, the Technical Advice Centres should be maintained under the Bureau to perform their present and possibly additional functions.

Footnotes:

1. See Appendix II
CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING CAN CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Summary of Previous Chapters

The future social and economic progress of developing countries is dependent upon the development of the rural areas to a large extent. These areas contain about 70% of the total population of the developing countries, and thus, they are important sources of cheap man-power. Furthermore, since agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of these countries, the rural areas are more important than the urban centres as far as sources of national revenue are concerned. The development of industries also rests on the improvement of agriculture to provide the necessary raw materials.

Thus, in view of the importance of rural areas, the governments of the developing countries are compelled to pay attention to these areas. However, the existing financial and technical resources are scarce, and moreover, they are being consumed by new industries, by multi-purpose river projects, road and railway construction, and so on. Consequently, the rural areas do not receive proportional share of these resources for development, and hence the adoption of community development programmes. 'Community development' is a process
and a method by which the government mobilizes the initiative and energy of especially rural communities to improve their living conditions, through its financial and technical assistance.

In the early 1950's there were only seven countries with full-fledged community development programmes on a national scale, but by 1960 more than thirty such countries had adopted such programmes. Similarly, in 1957, the United Nations had only one community development expert, but by the end of 1960, there were thirty-nine experts assisting twenty-eight countries.

From this growing trend, it is evident that community development is not an ephemeral process and method of socio-economic development and its retention will depend much on the effectiveness of its contribution to rural development. The extent to which community development programmes are contributing presently to the development of rural areas is the cardinal issue with which this paper has been concerned.

Four important areas of activity of community development programmes, namely, agriculture, land reform, cottage and small-scale industries, and capital facilities such as roads, schools, and land reclamation were evaluated in Chapter III. It was determined in both Chapters III and IV that on the whole community development has not been making satisfactory contribution to rural development, owing to the following reasons: (a) administrative difficulties created by the lack of co-ordination of activities between community development agencies and other government agencies; (b) ineffective
community development techniques, such as, 'planning from below', and voluntary contribution of labour.

It is therefore essential that the government should strengthen the concept of community development to be the major avenue to the satisfactory achievement of rural development.

The People Should Not Continue to Play a Dominant Role in Designing Programmes

One major assumption is that, provided community development programmes are well directed and administered, they can contribute substantially to rural development. The direction they need implies that the function which the people perform in planning and implementing programmes should be re-examined. Reasons were advanced in Chapters III and IV why agencies concerned with community development should play an increasing part in the planning of programmes, and at this juncture, it is worthwhile to re-state very precisely these reasons.

Firstly, the people have inadequate knowledge of the financial and material resources and technical skills in the country to decide on the amount of help they can receive from the central government. They are often ignorant of the cost-benefit implications of the projects they select to satisfy their felt-needs. Even where projects are selected with the assistance of government officials, such implications are not considered.

Secondly, although the financial contribution of the government to communal projects may amount to about 50% of
the total cost of the projects, and technical services are also made available to the people, nevertheless the government currently faces the problem of scarcity of financial and technical resources, so that any such resources issued to assist community development programmes must yield the same benefit, just as would be the case if they were diverted into government-sponsored programmes, although such programmes have the tendency to plan away the interest of the people.

Thirdly, one village's community development programme is unrelated to the programmes of neighbouring villages. Within one geographic region, villages are economically related to each other in terms of transport facilities, health needs, water supply for domestic consumption and agricultural purposes, and a host of other services. The villages may also be related on such social grounds as tribal links, kinship and lineage systems. Hence, within such a region, any programme designed to bring about development should be comprehensive, in other words, the economic and social links binding villages must be taken into account when their programmes are being prepared. But neither the Village Development Committees nor the Area or District Development Committees can be trusted with the difficult problem of preparing comprehensive plans for scores of villages, since this is purely a governmental function.

For these three main reasons, community development agencies should play a dominant role in designing programmes. The people should be concerned with those aspects of programme
planning which are less involved. For example, when they have expressed their felt-needs, and the community development agency has analysed these needs in relation to their compatibility with national development plans, (if there are any), financial commitments, and so on, then, the people should be informed about which of their felt-needs can receive financial and technical support of the government. They would therefore be in a better position to programme their own communal projects.

Community and Regional Planning Can Contribute

The suggestion that community development agencies should play a dominant role in planning programmes really implies that community and regional planning techniques could be applied to community development programmes.

"At the present time, much of the thinking, both nationally and internationally, in community development is so diffuse, with so many new experiments and approaches being tried, that no one has satisfactorily sifted the evidence to formulate and then demonstrate through controlled experimentation the fundamental hypothesis involved in planned community change". ¹

Some anthropologists and sociologists claim that for community development programmes to be effective, it is necessary to study beforehand the social values, attitudes, preferences, kinship and lineage structure and other social factors which are involved in socio-cultural change.

In much the same way, it is considered here that if community development is to contribute substantially to rural
development, its programmes must incorporate some community and regional planning techniques. Since a search is being made for a 'modus operandi', it is necessary that any known approach to rural development, such as community and regional planning, should be integrated with community development.

Community and regional planning techniques which can be applied to community development programmes include: (a) systematic surveys to collect information upon which the development of regional and local plans can be based; (b) division of land according to its best uses, including the proper location of communal projects such as schools, markets, and lorry parks; (c) the comprehensive approach to the solution of social economic, and physical problems of settlements within a definable area, and by this approach, the settlements can be regarded as mutually interdependent and must function as a unit. Some of them could be selected to receive small-scale and cottage industries, depending on such factors as the availability of traditional skill, raw materials, and potential entrepreneurs, as well as existing unemployment and underemployment conditions. Other settlements could be selected to serve as market centres, educational centres, and so on. As indicated earlier, the greatest weakness of community development programmes from the community and regional planning point of view is the manner in which villages are treated as separate social and economic entities. Thus, the comprehensive approach to rural development, which is so much emphasized in this paper, can remove this weakness.
It is also considered that community and regional planning techniques can be useful to community development provided administrative difficulties due to the lack of co-ordination of efforts of government agencies concerned with community development are removed. To remove these difficulties it is suggested that there should be one central agency for community development and should be in the office of the highest administrator such as the Prime Minister, or the President. The agency would be in a better position to relate community development programmes to national development goals.

During the course of this investigation, it was discovered that so little is known about the concept of community development that systematic studies should be made to ascertain what methods of approach are feasible, and these include the following:

1. Types of survey necessary to serve community development purposes.

2. Studies to determine the best method of reconciling plans prepared by villages with those prepared by government community development agencies, and the types of committee system which should be encouraged to enable the agencies to be sensitive to the needs of villages.

3. Studies to determine how best to promote people's own institutions, such as local governments and co-operative societies, so that as time goes on, the people can take over all responsibilities related to rural development.
4. A system of evaluating completed programmes with the object of doing research to improve subsequent programmes.

In conclusion, it has been determined in this paper that community development, through its multi-purpose programmes, attempts to solve socio-economic problems of rural communities in developing countries, but its techniques are ineffective to solve these problems. Hence, community development techniques must be integrated with the more effective techniques of community and regional planning.

Footnotes:

APPENDIX I

Underdeveloped countries by and large have these conditions in common:

1. A low per capita income. The average for the 2 billion people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is around $100 a year (as compared to $2,350 in the United States, and about $850 in Western Europe).

2. A low rate of savings and investments.

3. Low industrial output in relation to population.

4. Poor roads, transport and communications; inadequate supplies of power and light; few hospitals, poor medical care and other social services.

5. A very high proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture; heavy pressure of population on land under cultivation.

6. Widespread hunger and malnutrition.

7. High illiteracy, low educational level.

8. High birth rates. In practically all the under-developed countries, the birth rates range from 40 to 50 per thousand of population per year as compared with 25 in the United States, and 16 in some countries of Europe.

9. High percentages of dependent children.

10. High incidence of disease; poor health, especially maternal and child health; inadequate medical services.
Footnote

APPENDIX II

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Department of Social Welfare
and Community Development,

Accra.
14th May, 1959.

Processing of Self-Help Building Projects

I wish to remind all Regions that no self-help building project must be undertaken until it has been thoroughly processed.

Processing will include:-

(i) Ensuring that all other Government Departments who may be concerned have been consulted and are in agreement, e.g. the Regional Organization, Ministry of Health in the case of latrines, clinics and similar health structures and Ministry of Education in the case of schools. It is not possible to give a complete list and these are merely examples.

(ii) Ensuring that responsibility for recurrent use and maintenance after the project has been completed and has been provided for.

(iii) Ensuring that the Local Authority is consulted when it is likely that they may be asked to undertake future maintenance.

(iv) Ensuring that there are no difficulties over ownership of land.
(v) Ensuring that the people will really be able and willing to operate the building properly when it is handed over.

(vi) Ensuring that the project has been considered by a responsible senior technician (Foreman Technical Field Unit and/or I.C.A. Engineer) for feasibility.

(vii) Ensuring that a proper plan and estimate of cost has been drawn up.

(viii) Ensuring that a proper theoretical price has been calculated in advance.

(ix) Ensuring that responsibility for ordering and paying for materials has been clearly defined and allocated and that the person concerned knows the quality and price of the materials (as shown in the estimate) and from where they may be obtained.

(x) Ensuring that communal labour will be forthcoming.

(xi) Ensuring that all funds needed to complete the project are available before it begins. A project may be built in stages but each stage must be complete and capable of use in itself.

(xii) Ensuring that a project does not start until the Technical Field Units or other technicians are ready to back it up fully.

....
P. du Sautoy
Director of Social Welfare
and Community Development.¹

Footnote:

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Unpublished Material


In addition I had the benefit of using some unpublished and undated manuscripts belonging to the United Nations Organization.