

**REPORT OF
THE CARIBBEAN
REGIONAL TRAINING WORKSHOP ON
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT**



PORT-OF-SPAIN, TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

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REPORT
OF THE
REGIONAL TRAINING WORKSHOP ON
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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1. INTRODUCTION

Origin and Sponsorship

The Caribbean Regional Training Workshop in Community Development and Local Government, held in Port of Spain from the 18 to the 30 March, 1968 was sponsored by the Caribbean Office of the Economic Commission for Latin America as part of the Commission's technical co-operation programme. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago assisted the United Nations Regional Adviser Community Development for the Caribbean in all stages of the conduct of the Workshop. The host Government also met the entire board and lodge costs of the delegates, the participating governments bearing the cost of passage of their nominees. Mr. C.R. Ottley, Director, Community Development, Trinidad and Tobago functioned as the Director of the Workshop; Mr. T. Balakrishnan, United Nations Regional Adviser on Community Development was the Co-director.

Objectives

The objectives of the Workshop were:

- a. to facilitate the needed exchange of experience between the officials of the different countries in the region;
- b. to expose the participants to the latest trends of thought in the theory and practice of community development and rural local government;
- c. to review the existing training programmes in different countries in order to further streamline and systematize them; and
- d. to help formulate a common basic framework of orientation and job training, which could be adopted by all the countries in the area.

The results of the Workshop were to be twofold:

- i. Suggestions and recommendations, based on a common approach to similar problems, to serve as guidelines to the policy-makers of the governments in the region; and
- ii. improvement of the skills and professional competence of the participants themselves.

Participation

Nineteen participants from ten countries and an observer attended the Workshop. The countries represented were: Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago.*

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*/ The Government of Jamaica had nominated three participants, but later regretted its inability to send them.

The participants were invited as professional practitioners of community development and local government, and were not expected only to present the official position of their respective governments.

Documentation

A copy of the aide-memoire on the Workshop was sent to the participants prior to their reaching Port of Spain. On arrival, they were given the following documents:

- i. A copy of all the country statements +/ prepared in the pro-forma suggested in the aide-memoire;
- ii. working papers on the three subjects to be discussed in depth by the Workshop; and
- iii. five background documents, */ viz:
 - a. Community Development and National Development
(UN Publication, Sales No.64.IV.2)
 - b. Decentralisation for National and Local Development
(UN Publication, Sales No.62.II.H.2)
 - c. Concepts and Methods of Area Programming for Community Development (Article in Economic Bulletin for Latin America Vol. XII, No.1, May 1967)
 - d. Policy Issues Concerning the Future Evolution of Community Development (Paper prepared by the Regional and Community Development Section, United Nations, New York, April 1967)
 - e. Local Participation in Development Planning
(A study made by the Regional and Community Development Section, United Nations, New York, June 1967)

Besides these background documents circulated to the participants, certain books and publications relevant to the subjects of study in the Workshop were made available for reference.

+/ All the participating governments had sent the statements, except St.Vincent.

*/ As regards items (d) and (e), owing to short supply of copies, the distribution had to be restricted at the rate of a copy for each delegation. Each delegate was given a copy each of the other three documents.

Inaugural Session

The Workshop was inaugurated on the 18 March, 1968 by Dr. the Rt. Hon. Eric Williams, P.C., Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. The Director of the ECLA Regional Office for the Caribbean, made a statement on behalf of the Executive Secretary of the Commission.

In the course of his inaugural address, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago welcomed the conduct of the Workshop as timely in the context of the growing climate of regional co-operation in the Caribbean. He envisaged a vital role for Community Development in the improvement of human resources of the region, "as a means of complementing the economic unity, which is now imminent". He suggested that this Workshop be followed up by a regional seminar at the ministerial level, so that the significance of community development 'as a means of nation-building for economic and social reform' was 'accepted at the highest level in all governments' in the region.

Programme of Work of the Workshop

Statement of field problems by each participant, followed by discussions on them, against the background of the information contained in the country-statements, was the first component of the work schedule.

The common problems narrated by the participants from the different countries were:

- i. The influence of certain historical and psychological factors which hindered development, particularly agricultural development, and inhibited the growth of local institutions;
- ii. paucity of capital outlay for community development in the governments' plans and budgets;
- iii. inadequacy of staff;
- iv. lack of co-ordination between the community development agency and the different ministries dealing with rural development;
- v. lack of understanding on the part of some leaders in the political field and some top civil servants of the potential of community development;
- vi. lack of response from some sections of the community for programmes of self-help and community mobilisation;
- vii. lack of co-ordination between the activities of voluntary agencies engaged in community development and constructive social services, and those of the government agency responsible for community development;

- viii. need for more systematic and intensive training for various categories of personnel;
- ix. lack of maintenance of projects after they had been completed;
- x. devolution of a multiplicity of functions on the community development field officials;
- xi. lack of specific job description for the community development officials;
- xii. lack of supervision and guidance;
- xiii. lack of co-operation and link between community development and local government;
- xiv. scarcity of technical staff in local government bodies;
- xv. lack of response from the community for the work of local government institutions;
- xiv. the problem of unemployment in youths;
- xvii. the problem of growing urbanization; and
- xviii. lack of facilities for fellowships for study and tours abroad.

Whilst some of these fell within the scope of the three working papers discussed in detail by the Workshop, the others were gone into as part of discussions on the concerned lecture topics, as well as a separate exercise in the earlier plenary sessions. The observations and suggestions of the Workshop on some of the general aspects of community development and local government in the regional context are outlined in the next chapter.

Depth study of three subjects, which were considered essential from the point of view of the current needs of the region, was the most important aspect of the Workshop. The three subjects were:

- i. Content, organization, and methods of training for Community Development;
- ii. Formulation of Local Plans; and
- iii. Inter-relationship between Community Development and Local Government.

Working papers on subjects (i) and (iii) were prepared by Mr. T. Balakrishnan, United Nations Regional Adviser on Community Development, and that on subject (ii) by Dr. MacDonald of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of the West Indies

(St. Augustine Division, Trinidad).

At the commencement of the Workshop, the participants divided themselves into three syndicate groups, each selecting its own chairman and rapporteur. Each group was allocated one of the three topics. After a few sessions of discussions on the topic, based on the working paper and consultation with the relevant background documents and the reference material provided, each group prepared a resume of its deliberations and presented it to the plenary session. The conclusions and recommendations finally adopted in the plenary on these three subjects of studies are presented in Chapters III, IV and V of this report.

Lecture-discussions was another component of the Workshop. The lectures were aimed at exposing the participants to the latest trends in community development and local government and discussing in their light common problems felt in the region. The lectures were designed to present certain hypotheses, concepts, and points of view to stimulate discussions. Of the time allotted for each lecture topic, the first half was devoted to the talk, and the latter half to discussions.

The participants were taken on field trips to the following places:

- i. Handicrafts Productivity Centre, Port of Spain */
- ii. The Youth Camp at Persto Praesto.
- iii. Waller Field Farms (Crown Lands Development Programme +/-)

The participants were also afforded an opportunity to witness a cultural programme in a youth centre and to observe the activities in a community centre. They were also taken on a trip to Tobago to observe community development activities in the sister island.

Evaluation of the Course

Except for the general feeling voiced by most of the delegates that the programme of work was 'too tight', the Workshop was rated successful. An analysis of the replies given by the participants to the evaluation questionnaire supplied to them is in Chapter VI. In general, the participants were highly appreciative of the opportunity to exchange experience. That

*/ This is part of a new pilot scheme initiated by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to give a fresh impetus to the development of handicrafts.

A new integral land settlement project launched by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago with World Bank assistance.

this was the first venture of its kind enhanced the value of the Workshop. The delegates were particularly glad to note the helping hand lent by both the Universities in the region - University of the West Indies and the University of Guyana - in the conduct of the Workshop. At the closing session, the participants adopted a motion of thanks to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and its Caribbean Regional Adviser for initiating and sponsoring the Workshop and to the host Government of Trinidad and Tobago and its Director of Community Development, for their role in the Workshop.

Recommendations for Technical Co-operation

The various recommendations for United Nations technical co-operation made by the Workshop are outlined in the appropriate chapters of the report. It would, however, be useful to recount here all such recommendations for technical co-operation. They were:

- i. Establishment of a regional centre for study and research in Community Development as a UNDP Special Fund project.
- ii. Organization of a regional seminar on Community Development at the ministerial level.
- iii. Organization of a study-tour in the Caribbean for senior officials in the different countries of the region.
- iv. Provision of more fellowships for studies and tours outside the region.
- v. Conduct of a study-tour of the officials of the region to select Asian and African countries to study at first-hand successful experiments in local government.
- vi. Technical co-operation for the development of indigenous teaching materials for training in Community Development.

II GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

ANALYSIS OF COUNTRY STATEMENTS

The participants had been requested to furnish information on the various aspects of community development and local government in their countries in a suggested proforma. The proforma was designed to document factual information on the various aspects of community development and local government in the different countries in the region, including the areas of inter-relationship, if any, between the two.

Delegates from nine countries ^{*}/ presented such statements. Information on the position in St. Vincent was elicited from the participant from that country attending the Workshop. An acquaintance with the main features of the Jamaican system was facilitated by a talk on the subject by the Chairman, Social Development Commission, Kingston. On a comparative study of all these, the following salient points were noted:

- i. Community Development approach had been generally accepted by all the Governments in the region.
- ii. Except in Jamaica, where there was a geographic selectivity, in all other countries, the programme was nationwide in coverage. As regards sectoral (in terms of fields of activity) emphases, however, the position differed in various countries in the region.
- iii. Though the programme pattern, content and emphasis varied from country to country, there was a noticeable trend in most of the countries towards strengthening of the economic content of community development programmes.
- iv. Though an organized and set programme of urban community development was yet to evolve, there was a common awareness of its need in the region; in some countries, steps had already been taken to introduce schemes of a community development nature in urban areas.
- v. In most countries, there was a separate field staff for community development, as distinct from "headquarters staff", with a specified geographical area to cover. In some cases, however, there appeared to be need for augmenting the complement of staff.

^{*}/ Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago.

- vi. Supervision and guidance by the senior staff were mostly provided to the field functionaries through periodic staff conferences and a review of the diaries and itineraries of the field personnel: There, however, seemed to be a case for further strengthening and refining the reporting system.
- vii. Co-ordination - both at the central and the field levels - with ministries and agencies dealing with different sectors of development, was generally effected through informal contacts and ad hoc meetings and conferences. Two Governments were considering a proposal to set up a formal inter-ministerial co-ordination committee. Another Government had already taken a decision to establish a committee at the field level consisting of all the field officers of the ministries concerned with rural development, representatives of village community development committees in the area, select local persons interested in development to be nominated by the Government and the field level Community Development officer.
- viii. There were arrangements in all the countries for training Community Development officials and voluntary leaders, including members of community development committees, youth clubs etc., though there were variations in the content, pattern and duration of the training courses.
- ix. Rural local government in some form was in existence in all the countries except in one, where it was abolished in 1966.
- x. Save in one country where the nomination element was abolished recently, members of the rural local government bodies were partly elected and partly nominated.
- ix. The functions entrusted to rural local government were generally civic functions like village sanitation, village lighting, regulation of markets and pounds, disposal of refuse and functions like construction and maintenance of minor roads and bridges.
- xii. On the whole, there appeared to be no formal link between the community development agency and the local government set up; but, there were trends in some countries of local government institutions and ad hoc community development committees and councils coming together for mutual consultations.

SOME COMMON REGIONAL FACTORS

The Workshop noted that taking the region as a whole, there were certain common factors favourable to the promotion of community development and the development of local institutions. Firstly, it could be said that there was no innate resistance on the part of the rural population to innovations and new ideas as such, greatly owing to the prevalence of a considerably high

degree of literacy. Secondly, the levels of aspirations of the rural people were quite high, mainly due to the facilities of communication between the urban and the rural sectors and exposure to modern conditions; and a high level of aspiration was conducive to the inducement of strong motivation for development. Thirdly, the concept of community development had found acceptance by all the governments and it generally enjoyed the support of top political leadership.

There were, however, certain factors of constraint which were of special concern to community development in the region. Firstly, despite the need - both from the economic and the social points of view - for developing intensive small-scale peasant farming, there was, owing to historical reasons, a widespread bias against agriculture among the rural populations. Secondly, migration to the metropolitan areas and the growing situation of what could be termed "urbanisation without industrialization", was creating special problems especially in the context of the growing dimensions of unemployment. Thirdly, shortage of vocational skills, particularly among the younger elements of the working force, was inhibiting the process of making the communities effective participants in economic development. Fourthly, the historical fact that social welfare measures were introduced in the Caribbean based on the recommendations of the 1938 Royal Commission, as an immediate palliative to relieve social unrest then prevalent in the region, without an organized and sponsored effort to bring local groups and institutions into the picture, was still impeding the process of institution building. Finally, again due to historical reasons, there had been a considerable degree of centralisation in the governmental set-up.

The Workshop felt that these common factors should be kept in view whilst discussing community development and local government in the Caribbean context.

SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From an analysis of field problems in the light of the factual data contained in the country-statements and the discussions that followed the various lectures, the following general conclusions emerged. Two specific issues, viz., the question of youth unemployment, and the problems of urbanization, to which the Workshop gave pointed attention, are discussed later in the Chapter. The other general recommendations are grouped and presented below:

Conceptual Issues

- i. The earlier concept of 'felt needs', with its narrow and rather literal interpretation, was found restrictive in the working situation; the emerging concept of 'counselled' or 'persuaded' needs was found to be more suitable.
- ii. In the context of the social structure in the region, the concept of a 'self-sufficient' village community was not realistic; a closer blending of community development and area development was indicated.

- iii. In the Caribbean situation, there was need for greater emphasis on economic activities in community development programmes; the steps already initiated towards this and by some of the governments in the region were welcome, and merited further strengthening.
- iv. Planned social change being by its very nature a gradual process, it was necessary to ensure that the governments did not try to force the pace of change.
- v. As regards the 'comprehensiveness versus selectivity' issue, it was felt that it would not do to "attempt too many things in too many places all at once" and that the effort should be to formulate a comprehensive range of possible activities, allowing for flexibility to choose from it, projects appropriate for each locality, based on local potential, needs and responsiveness.
- vi. Since community development in the region had been accepted by the governments as an effective means of promoting and catalysing development, the stage was set for a closer blending between community development and overall national planning effort. There was already some evidence of this process in the different countries in the region, and it required to be given greater attention and sharper focus. Whilst local plans, prepared based on a realistic survey of the area, */ should be given the attention by the national planning authorities, the community development officials should, by an effective process of dissemination of information on national goals and plan priorities, enable the local communities to visualise their needs and projects in the broader framework of the national plan.

Programme Content

- i. The Workshop, on a comparative analysis of the capital outlay on Community Development provided in the development plans of the various countries in the region and a study of the programme content in different countries, felt that there was scope for increase in the outlay and for expansion of the programme content. This aspect might be particularly kept in view by three countries in the region i.e. Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, who would be embarking on their next five year development plans in the coming year.
- ii. It was noted that one of the major weaknesses in agricultural extension in the Caribbean was the lack of involvement of people and local leaders in extension work. It was, therefore, necessary that this lacuna be remedied by a process of greater involvement of the community development agency in agricultural extension work.

*/ s s di cu sed a en th in Chapter IV.

- iii. Greater emphasis needed to be placed on programmes for women's groups, especially in health and nutrition education. Considering the role of women in agricultural activities in the rural parts of the region, their greater involvement in agricultural education programmes was also called for.
- iv. There was need for re-orienting social welfare measures in the different countries. The current 'distribution - of - assistance-approach' should be replaced by more positive and constructive social welfare schemes.
- v. The care of the pre-school child was not given the attention it deserved. Community Development programmes in the region should include schemes for pre-school children such as group activities like community singing, lessons in cleanliness, hygiene, etc., and similar co-operative activities, which would be an education for sensitization to the routines of later school discipline. The community development agency should gear itself to creating public opinion favourable to these activities and mobilising local resources to match government contributions for these.
- vi. The community development agency could make more effective use of the mass media of radio and television. Activities in community centres could usefully include programmes of radio rural forums and rural tele-clubs. There should be imaginative programmes designed to stimulate and sustain the communities' interest in the various aspects of development. The Community Development Officer or the field functionary of the ministry concerned, depending on the subject-matter of the programme, could act as the discussion leader in these forums and clubs. After discussions, the reactions of the listeners should be fed back to the agency preparing the programmes.

rganizational and Administrative Matters

- i. The formation of a broad-based National Community Development Association, composed of representatives of the ministries engaged in development and voluntary organizations connected with community development and constructive social services, would go a long way in bringing about co-ordination and harmony of approach between the government agencies promoting community development and the voluntary organizations working in the same field.
- ii. Even though co-ordination between the Community Development Ministry/Division and other ministries like Agriculture, Education, and Public Health, closely connected with rural development was obtaining in the different countries mostly through in-

formal contacts, it was necessary that these arrangements were further streamlined and formalised so that an integrated approach to development could inform the processes of planning and implementation of the schemes of different ministries from the national level to the field level.

- iii. It was necessary that the community development field workers and their immediate supervisory staff were given specific job descriptions.
- iv. It was noted that the combination of extension work and the distributive public assistance work in the community development functionary in some countries had adversely affected his social-engineering role. The Workshop felt that it was desirable to separate these functions.
- v. There was scope for closer supervision and guidance to the community development field workers from the higher level staff engaged in policy-formulation and programme-planning.
- vi. The Workshop noted the problems and difficulties involved in the process of reconciliation of the compulsions of classical public administration and the new imperatives of emerging social welfare administration. The Workshop was of the view that the difficulties could be solved to some extent if the Central Planning Unit could include a social planner, besides the economist and the physical planner. Also, considering the many-sided nature of community development and its inter-relationship with various sectors of development, it would be desirable for the central planners to involve top community development officials in the different stages of formulation of the sectoral components of the national plan.

Evaluation and Research

The Workshop underscored the importance of evaluation and research in a dynamic programme like Community Development and strongly recommended strengthening of the existing machinery for evaluation in different countries. There was scope for improving the reporting system in the different countries. The proforma for statistical reporting by the field officials should be so designed as to ensure both comprehensiveness and pertinence. Prompt submission of periodic reports and timely analysis of the data should be ensured. It would also be useful to have a small cell for evaluation and research as part of the community development organization, especially in those countries, where the quantum and dimensions of the programme were sizeable.

In designing the reporting system, it should be ensured that it included not only quantifiable indicators of progress, but also 'intangible' aspects like those relating to change in attitude and values of the local communities. Besides the statistical information, the field officials should be required to send a

narrative appraisal of the execution of the projects, including an account of the methods employed, an assessment of their effectiveness, a description of the special problems encountered and anticipated and an outline of suggested steps to overcome them.

In addition to the concurrent evaluation, the Workshop felt there was need for action-oriented research studies including case-studies.

THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The Workshop noted the dimensions of unemployment among youth in the different countries in the region. In discussing this problem the Workshop took note of the following factors:

- a. There was dire need for improving the ratio of skilled to unskilled labour in the region. Data available for four countries showed that the proportion of skilled workers ranged between 24 to 30 per cent of the total working force.
- b. Imparting diverse skills in the growing population of youth was urgent and important, not only to meet the demands of the proposed regional development of agriculture and industries, but also to enable youth to take up self-employment in different trades.
- c. The gravity of the problem was increased by the fact that there was a very sizeable number of 'drop-outs' from education at the conclusion of the primary stage. The Workshop took note of the following picture: */

ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

| Country | Enrolment in secondary schools as % of total number of secondary school-age population (11-19) | Number of Secondary school students per 100 primary school students |
|--------------------------|--|---|
| Antigua | 23.7 | 22 |
| Barbados | 12.0 | 15 |
| Dominica | 10.6 | 8 |
| Grenada | 11.6 | 9 |
| Montserrat | 8.9 | 9 |
| St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla | 13.2 | 11 |
| St. Lucia | 5.1 | 4 |
| St. Vincent | 9.9 | 8 |

/ Source: Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey of the Eastern Caribbean (1966).

The Workshop observed that the result was that most youngsters in their teens, who had not had an opportunity to enter secondary school, and with an elementary school education, geared primarily to the academic preparation for the grammar school, entered the working force bereft of skills and very often unequipped with an educational base adequate for or conducive to acquisition of skills.

- d. The debilitating effect of prolonged non-availability of employment opportunities even in the unskilled field and the lack of equipment to get skilled jobs, created in the youth unwholesome attitudes towards society.

On a careful consideration of the various factors and taking into account the beneficial results of youth camps in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago */ which not only made the youth better employable by teaching them basic skills in agriculture and a few other trades, but also provided counselled leisure-time activities and opportunity for the development of good functional leadership, the Workshop recommended the following measures:

- i. The youth camp scheme was very commendable in the Caribbean situation and deserved to be taken up by all the territories; attention should, however, be given to follow-up action after the youth had left the camps.
- ii. A committee comprised of representatives of the various territories, and of the United Nations ECLA Regional Office, might be constituted to explore the possibility of establishing one or two youth camps on a sub-regional basis for the Leeward and Windward Islands and Barbados. The committee might also take into account the possibility of securing international assistance for the camps, if established.
- iii. Pending formulation of proposals based on the recommendations of the committee, as an interim measure, the youth camps in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago might reserve a few seats for trainees from the other islands.
- iv. If it were decided to have youth camps in the Eastern Caribbean territories, a few representative officials of the concerned Governments might be deputed to the youth camps in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, to observe at firsthand the practical aspects of organization and administration of the camps.

*/ It was noted that Guyana had recently launched a similar programme of youth development.

- v. Besides the youth camps, the activities in community centres should have a purposive focus on teaching some trades, in however modest a measure, to the youth of the locality.
- vi. The trades taught in the youth camps and in the centres should be related to a survey to be made of the projected requirements of different types of skills in the process of development.
- vii. In addition to a programme of imparting skills, the governments in the region might also explore the possibilities of enabling youth groups to take up economic activities on a co-operative basis. Provision of loan assistance in kind to select youth groups for small-scale poultry farming was an illustrative point.
- viii. There should be attempts at a revision of the school curriculum to make it geared to the current needs of development in the countries.

The Workshop was also in favour of exploring the possibilities of deploying unskilled youth on diverse development projects with a view to enabling them to learn skills on an on-the-job work-cum-training basis, as had been experimented with some success in Guyana.

URBAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Workshop stressed the importance of urban community development programme in the Caribbean context. It noted that Community Development had its own role in checking the flow of migrants to cities from the villages by making rural life more attractive and by strengthening the rural economy. Also, the process of blending of community development and area development would gradually lead to the emergence of townships or 'centres' with urban characteristics and facilities in the rural areas. These facilities and services would then be within easy reach of the proximate villages. The consequent improvement in the living conditions of the rural areas would stem the tide of migration to the cities. The Workshop, however, felt that this by itself could not, at least in the short run, have a noticeable reduction in the migration rate. In any case, the existing conditions in cities required special and urgent attention. This was also important in the context of the emerging programmes of industrialization in the offing.

The Workshop noted that in some countries in the region, attempts had been made to implement projects with a community development approach in the urban areas. It, however, felt that there was need to take up a well-planned, composite urban community development programme in the metropolitan areas, at least on a pilot project basis to begin with.

The Workshop suggested the following activities that could be taken up as part of urban development programmes in the different countries. The Workshop emphasized that this was but an illustrative list.

Physical Improvements and Civic Amenities

- i. Water supply.
- ii. Drainage.
- iii. Public convenience.
- iv. Street lighting.
- v. Improvement and repairs to houses.
- vi. Self-help and low-cost co-operative housing schemes.
- vii. Paving lanes and internal roads mainly through community action.
- viii. Removal of slums.
- ix. Planting and maintenance of trees alongside streets and roads.

Health and Sanitation

- i. Immunization measures.
- ii. Medical check-up.
- iii. Education in first-aid measures.
- iv. Pre-natal and ante-natal guidance.
- v. Health education.
- vi. Education in child-care and mother-craft.
- vii. Family planning counsel.
- viii. Environmental sanitation.
- ix. Collective preventive measures like fly control, mosquito control etc.

Education and Welfare Programmes

- i. Literacy campaigns.
- ii. Campaigns to ensure regular attendance in schools.
- iii. Promotion of extra-curricular activities in school children.
- iv. Programmes for pre-school children, especially for those suffering from conspicuous neglect.
- v. Educational film shows.
- vi. Libraries and reading rooms.
- vii. Study clubs and discussions.
- viii. Wall newspapers and bulletins.
- ix. Establishment of day-care nurseries, which would be a great benefit to working mothers.
- x. Provision of baby-sitting services mainly through voluntary organizations
- xi. Mobilisation of voluntary organizations to supplement the work of central government and statutory authorities.
- xii. Case work.

Cultural and Recreational Programmes

- i. Promotion of indoor and outdoor games.
- ii. Organization of art festivals and cultural-evenings.
- iii. Establishment of local theatres.
- iv. Promotion of youth and women's clubs.

Economic Programmes

- i. Embroidery, knitting and sewing, cookery and nutrition classes for women.
- ii. Establishment of small food processing and preservation units.
- iii. Organization of craft classes.
- iv. Manpower survey.
- v. Vocational guidance and employment services.
- vi. Promotion of pre-vocational education and supplementary education for early drop-outs from schools.
- vii. Special projects structured to relieve unemployment.
- viii. Promotion of consumers' corporative stores.
- ix. Promotion of small savings and thrift groups.
- x. Organization of neighbourhood, district and area councils.

The Workshop was strongly of the view that in undertaking a programme of urban community development, the local government authority concerned should be actively and fully involved in it. Also, there should be close consultation and liaison with the various authorities responsible for the provision of different services. In view of the importance of the subject, the Workshop recommended that aspects of urban community development be a subject of specific deliberation by the proposed ministerial level seminar on Community Development.

III CONTENT, ORGANIZATION AND METHODS
OF TRAINING FOR COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

The Workshop recognised the importance of training in Community Development and stressed that the training should be geared to reappraisals in concepts and reformulation of methods as might occur from time to time, based upon the lessons of working experience.

Reviewing recent trends, the Workshop particularly noted the growing tendency towards the adoption of the concept of "persuasive needs" or "counselled needs" as against the earlier theory of "felt needs" and was strongly in favour of the new development.

It was felt that since Community Development was a means of securing the overall advance of the communities in economic, social and cultural spheres, all projects taken up under Community Development should be integrated with the general framework of national planning.

Furthermore, since we were living in an increasingly competitive international situation, newly independent countries should keep abreast of the new developments and trends which would enhance the capability of individual communities at local levels, and which would enable them to play their part in national development. Community Development, it was recognised, had a vital role in this behalf. In this process, it was inevitable that there should be redefinition of principles, re-direction of efforts and revision of emphases. Nevertheless, certain fundamental objectives of Community Development should always be kept in view. These were:

- a. "Development of man and development for man" as the ultimate objective and central concern;
- b. promotion of a partnership basis between the Government and the communities, with due recognition of the status of equality of the partnership;
- c. integrated approach to development and the attendant provision of extension and technical services to the communities in a co-ordinated way;
- d. stress on local initiative and popular participation; and
- e. focus on building local institutions for development.

With these factors in view, the Workshop suggested that all training be governed by the following general guidelines:

The training should aim at

- i. "(A) Imparting knowledge and information regarding human behaviour and its cultural pattern, the basic economic principles affecting the community, and the administrative organization.

(B) Teaching of skills which conveniently can be classified into (a) manipulative and (b) skills in human relations.

(C) Inculcating the right attitudes" */
- ii. The training should aim at shaping the trainee both as a 'development agent', with knowledge of the basic objectives and strategies of national planning and of the various aspects of different sectoral programmes of development and as a 'community worker', with the skills and insights required to improve the communities' capability of participation in development.
- iii. The training, whilst including the requisite academic content, should be geared to actual problems in the national and local contexts; it should be the "promotion and encouragement of the study and practice of the art and science" of Community Development.
- iv. The accent in training should be on inter-disciplinary approach and team work.
- v. The training should specifically seek to develop skills of organizing communities, working with people, their organizations and institutions and identification and promotion of functional leadership.
- vi. the training programme should remain attuned to programme priorities and emphases.
- vii. The training programme should take into account the training needs not only of rural community development but also of urban community development, in the context of the trends of increasing urbanization in the region.
- viii. The content, methods and techniques of training should be kept under close and constant review, so that they keep abreast of the increasing body of knowledge on Community Development and allied disciplines and remain responsive to emerging trends in the field.

- ix. The training programme should have a built-in system of evaluation - both 'participation-evaluation' and 'observation-evaluation' - including arrangements for feed-back from ex-trainees.

TYPES AND LEVELS OF TRAINING AND ORIENTATION

The Workshop was of the view that training in Community Development should include all categories of workers, as well as leaders of the community. Besides, since Community Development was not only a programme but was also an approach most efficacious in establishing contact and rapport with the local communities, it was necessary that developmental activities of all Government organizations involving contact with the communities should bear the strategy of Community Development and adopt its techniques. Also, there was need to orient leaders in the political field and top-level civil servants assisting the political administrators in policy-formulation and decision-making to facilitate their discernment of the potential and prospects of Community Development in the economics and sociology of overall development and to enlist their sympathetic understanding of its problems. Based on these considerations, the Workshop outlined the following categories of training and orientation courses.

Training

A. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FUNCTIONARIES

- (i) Senior and middle-level officials at the policy-making level;
- (ii) training officers;
- (iii) field supervisory staff; and
- (iv) front-line workers (rural and urban)

B. VOLUNTARY WORKERS AND LOCAL LEADERS

- (i) Office-bearers and workers of voluntary agencies engaged in Community Development and allied fields of constructive social service;
- (ii) office-bearers and members of county/district/parish community development committees and of community/village councils; and
- (iii) select local leaders.

Orientation

A. OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

- (i) Top-level planners and administrators; and
- (ii) finance-officers and information officers attached to or dealing with the Community Development Ministry/Department.

B. PERSONNEL OF OTHER MINISTRIES/AGENCIES

- (i) Leaders in the political field and top-level civil servants concerned with development;
- (ii) senior personnel - both administrative and technical - of other central government ministries/departments/authorities concerned with development and welfare;
- (iii) senior officers at the policy-making level dealing with Local Government;
- (iv) field staff of ministries/departments/authorities concerned with development and welfare;
- (v) staff of local government bodies; and
- (vi) office-bearers and members of local government institutions.

C. NON-GOVERNMENTAL CATEGORIES

- (i) Leading public men; and
- (ii) office-bearers of youth and women's organizations, co-operative societies, functionally specific interest - groups like farmers' associations, trade unions, etc.

Apart from the functional training and attitudinal orientation there was need for efforts at developing professional education in Community Development, which to begin with, might cover senior Community Development officers involved in policy-making and programme-planning.

There should also be periodic refresher courses for various categories of personnel to equip them with knowledge of new trends and development which might call for new methods and techniques. A well conceived programme of action-oriented research and case studies should be meaningfully linked with such refresher courses.

Besides, there was also a strong case for inclusion of the topic of Community Development in an appropriate form in the school curriculum, introduction of a diploma course on Community Development at the University level and incorporation of the general principles of Community Development in teachers' training programmes. The last mentioned was of particular importance and special relevance to the region, considering the influence and the informal leadership position of school teachers in the rural areas.

The Workshop recognised that it might not be possible for all the countries in the region to embark at once on all the courses of training suggested in an adequate measure. It was, however, strongly of the view that the Governments in the region should purposively strive towards introducing as many of these courses as possible at an early date - especially orientation for senior civil servants and technical officers of the various other ministries concerned with development.

FOCUS AND CONTENT OF TRAINING

The Workshop recommended the following outlines of syllabi for the different types of orientation and training courses suggested.

Orientation of various categories of personnel in other ministries

- i. Philosophy, concepts and processes of Community Development;
- ii. shaping of attitudes in working with individuals, groups, communities and local institutions;
- iii. the role and methodology of Community Development in overall national planning effort;
- iv. importance of mobilisation of human resources and promotion of popular participation in the development process;
- v. utilization of local leadership and resources in planning and executing development programmes;
- vi. historical factors and current social factors favourable to and hindering Community Development;
- vii. basic principles of development administration; and
- viii. promotion of an understanding of the inter-dependence and inter-relationship between the various technical extension and welfare services.

Orientation of leaders in the political field and top-level civil servants

- a. Perspective and objectives of the national plan and its role in developing human resources;
- b. historical factors favourable to and obstructing the realisation of the goals of national planning;
- c. current social factors affecting development;
- d. basic concepts and methods of Community Development;
- e. problems and potential of Community Development;
- f. brief review of the experience of Community Development and Local Government in various countries; and
- g. importance of adoption of the Community Development approach in implementing development plans, co-ordination in the provision of technical services and modification of administrative and financial procedures to facilitate the growth of Community Development.

Functional training for Community Development workers and officers

- i. More intensive treatment of the subjects included in the orientation syllabus;
- ii. emerging trends in Community Development in different countries;
- iii. skills of working with individuals, groups, communities and people's institutions;
- iv. general and specific functions of community development workers;
- v. more intensive knowledge of historical factors affecting the development process in the country and current social factors affecting development and social change;
- vi. communication in Community Development, including aspects of public relations;
- vii. basic information on the programmes and services allied to Community Development, e.g. agricultural development, co-operatives, nutrition, adult education, vocational training and guidance etc., their inter-relationship with Community Development and knowledge of the functions and roles of the ministries/agencies responsible for them;
- viii. details of programme-planning and programme-administration in Community Development;

- a. Identification of problems in the light of the emerging concepts and trends in Community Development;
 - b. programme-planning: fusion of community development and area development and fitting it into national planning;
 - c. basic principles of development administration;
 - d. personnel management in the context of Community Development;
 - e. importance of the process of continuous self-education and self-development;
 - f. financial aspects and procedures in regard to the Community Development programmes;
 - g. principles of supervision and guidance in the context of Community Development;
 - h. aspects of co-ordination and team work; and
 - i. principles and methods of evaluation.
- ix. means of location and promotion of functional local leadership;
- x. aspects of institution-building;
- xi. role and responsibilities of local government;
- xii. the link between community development and local government; and
- xiii. the essentials of local planning techniques and the role of voluntary agencies.

The course should also attempt to secure some acquaintance with the elementary principles of social sciences like rural sociology, social psychology, social work, government and rural economics, including rudiments of social science research methodology, relevant for equipping the participants with clearer insights into the call of their profession and operational competence.

The training programme for the front-line workers and the field supervisory staff should include field-work as one of its components. Field-work, which should be geared to acquisition of practical experience in working with people and their institutions, might be composed of three elements, viz., field observations, attachment to an experienced field-worker whilst undergoing institutional training and independent field assignment on a probationary basis at the conclusion of the 'class room' training. Field work, which was an essential tool for refining the practical skills of the functionary in fulfilling his 'social engineering' role, should be

closely dovetailed with the theoretical aspects of training and should afford first hand experience in the planning, execution and evaluation of actual programmes. Basic knowledge of conduct of social surveys might also be part of the field-work component. Also, the course for the front line workers and their immediate supervisory staff could, with advantage, include greater details of community organization, group dynamics, methods of social work, preparation, selection and use of audio-visual aids and planning, execution and management of local projects. Theory and practice of the basic principles of public speaking could also be part of the course.

Trainer's Training Course

A. INSTRUCTIONAL COURSE

- i. Importance of understanding historical factors and current social factors affecting development process and social change;
- ii. Community development theory and practice:
 - a. Emerging concepts and functions;
 - b. inter-relationship between Community Development and national planning;
 - c. programmes and services allied to Community Development like agricultural extension, co-operatives, nutrition etc., and the role of Community Development in these programmes;
 - d. analytical study of the evolution and present stage of Community Development in selected countries;
 - e. importance of inter-disciplinary approach in Community Development training; and
 - f. problems and factors in institution building.
- iii. Role of social science research:
 - a. basic principles of research methodology;
 - b. construction of questionnaire and survey schedules; and
 - c. use of reports, documents and research findings in training.
- iv. Teaching methods.
- v. Elements of syllabus-construction and course-formulation.
- vi. Means of evaluation of training programmes.

B. PRACTICAL WORK

- i. Field visits, including visits to other territories in the region.
- ii. Participant-observation of programme planning and execution at the local level.
- iii. Practical use of various teaching aids in different situations.
- iv. Practice of syllabus-construction and course-formulation.

Urban Community Development Training

Where urban community development programmes were in operation or were planned to be implemented, there should be a distinct functional training programme on urban community development, as many of its problems, scope and content were different from those of rural community development.

The training might include:

- i. Conduct of individual interviews and community surveys;
- ii. principles of vocational guidance and employment counsel in an urban situation;
- iii. education for urban living;
- iv. aspects of development of neighbourhood units in urban communities;
- v. aspects of improvement of physical surroundings and environmental sanitation;
- vi. aspects of nutrition and health education;
- vii. aspects of training in home management and child care;
- viii. principles of adult education;
- ix. promotion of group activities in an urban situation, with special emphasis on youth and women;
- x. organization of group cultural and recreation programmes;
- xi. principles of positive social welfare methods;
- xii. youth delinquency in cities - causes and cure;
- xiii. liaison between the various authorities dealing with metropolitan development; and

xiv. basic knowledge of the constitution, rules and procedures of the urban local government body.

Refresher training for various categories of personnel should aim at familiarisation with new trends and procedures, further refinement of professional skills, identification of common problems encountered and exchange of experience. Field visits might also be part of the course. Periodic staff meetings and short duration staff conferences would be useful supplements to refresher training courses.

Training and orientation courses for local leaders, and members and office bearers of local government institutions and other voluntary agencies and associations should aim at acquainting the participants with the role and functions of Government agencies and other authorities who deal with their problems, helping them understand their own responsibility in the various local and national development programmes, educating them on the essential concepts of Community Development with its stress on local resource-mobilisation, initiative and popular participation and enabling them to visualise the role of local leadership in promoting and co-ordinating concerted co-operative efforts for development. The curriculum might include simple principles of civics and government, basic knowledge of planning, implementation and maintenance of local projects, the structure and functions of local institutions, including local government bodies, leadership functions and elementary procedural aspects of meetings and committees. Observational visits to selected projects could also be undertaken.

Peripatetic short term courses in leadership training were also recommended by the Workshop.

The professional course for senior level Community Development might have had an intensive inter-disciplinary academic content in the fields of rural sociology, social psychology, rural economics and public administration, with specialisation in selected fields like social work, home economics, adult education and co-operatives.

ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS

Considering the specialised nature of the work of planning and conducting training courses for different functionaries and in view of the constant attention it would demand, it was necessary that a separate senior official in the Ministry be given exclusive responsibility for training. Where the circumstances so warranted - as they did in some countries in the region - the Workshop recommended that a small training unit be established. The possibility of constituting a division consisting of a team of persons engaged on training, research and evaluation might be considered, too. Such a step, it was felt, would be very welcome considering the close link that had to be forged between training, research and evaluation.

It was essential that the training officer or the training unit functioned in close collaboration with the other sections of the Ministry dealing with programme planning and administration. This would be necessary from the points of view of (a) ensuring that changes in priority and emphasis in the programme were reflected without delay in the training curricula, (b) making a proper selection of trainees for the various courses, and (c) maintaining contact with ex-trainees after they had completed their training. Also, selection of the type of field work, attachment of trainees to seasoned workers in the field and the actual conduct of field visits could be done only in close consultation with the 'operative arm' of the Ministry. Besides, there was also need for close liaison between the training wing of the Community Development Ministry and the overall public services training unit, which was in most cases located in the Ministry of Home Affairs and/or Public Services.

In promoting training, co-ordination between the government agency, academic institutions, and concerned voluntary agencies was of great importance. The Workshop suggested the following measures for bringing this about:

- a. Involvement of the concerned University faculty in lecture sessions;
- b. consultation with the University faculty in planning the academic content of the orientation and the training courses;
- c. joint conduct of seminars and workshops;
- d. association of the University faculty and representatives of active voluntary agencies in case studies, evaluation of programmes and conduct of base-line and repeat surveys;
- e. formulation of a broad-based National Community Development Association composed of representatives of all Ministries dealing with development, leading voluntary agencies engaged in constructive social service and of the concerned University faculty, to facilitate harmonisation of the efforts of various bodies engaged in Community Development and exchange of experience.

It might be that not in all countries facilities and resources were adequate to organise the much needed training and orientation at different levels on the scale, intensity and periodicity required. The Workshop, therefore, strongly recommended that a regional centre for study and research in Community Development be established, whose activities might include:

- a. Systematic orientation of higher level administrators and leading public men in the different countries in the region;

- b. provision of professional education in Community Development to higher level officials;
- c. organization of periodic trainers' training programmes in Community Development;
- d. conduct of a programme of inter-disciplinary research (including case studies) whose findings would throw useful and suggestive leads which may be of interest and benefit to programme planners, administrators and trainers in the various governments;
- e. assistance to national training programmes by way of academic guidance, suggestions for refinement of teaching techniques and materials, staff development etc;
- f. collection of teaching material, and facilitating exchange of teaching material and initiating experimental projects to explore the suitability of new materials; and
- g. arrangement of regular exchange of regional and other international experiences in Community Development.

The Workshop recommended that this centre be established as a UNDP Special Fund project. The possibility of obtaining the collaboration of the Universities in the region might be explored, too.

METHODS OF TRAINING

The Workshop thought that there could be no specification of any particular method or methods as the most suitable for different situations, different learners and different topics. It generally stated, however, that the purpose of training in Community Development was not to teach but to educate and that its function was not to prescribe but to suggest.

Methods which could be employed in Community Development training would include:

- i. Lectures and lecture-discussions;
- ii. group discussions;
- iii. circular discussions;
- iv. role-playing
- v. role-reversal;
- vi. seminars;
- vii. workshops;
- viii. conferences;
- ix. syndicate discussions;
- x. symposiums;
- xi. panel discussions;
- xii. panel forums;
- xiii. debates;
- xiv. demonstrations;

- xv. field trips;
- xvi. case studies;
- xvii. work camps;
- xviii. audio-visual aids like charts, maps, graphs, diagrams, flip-charts, records like case-records and process records, boards like chalk-boards, flannel-boards and bulletin boards, exhibits, models, radios, television, tape recordings, film slides etc.

The choice of methods was no doubt, to be left to the judgement and perception of the trainer; but it might be stated as a general rule that he should relate the methods not only to the level of audience, but also to the kind and content of the topic, the major aims of the training course and the availability of time to stimulate the teaching-learning process.

The Workshop underlined the need for developing teaching materials in Community Development training and recommended the following measures:

1. Developing indigenous teaching materials, including audio-visual aids like films, film-strips etc;
2. securing the co-operation of academic bodies and other organisations, national or foreign in this behalf;
3. provision of adequate funds by the Governments for developing teaching materials; and
4. seeking technical assistance from appropriate international agencies.

The Workshop also fully endorsed the suggestion made by the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago in the course of his inaugural address that the next step from the present workshop could be a regional seminar at the ministerial level from which could evolve a 'co-ordinated policy in Community Development for Caribbean progress'. The Workshop urged the United Nations to have such a seminar organized as early as possible.

IV PREREQUISITES FOR LOCAL PLANNING

The Workshop noted that one of the main objectives of Community Development was to create social norms and attitudes conducive to overall economic and social development. Promoting local leadership, generating local initiative, facilitating clarity of objectives at the local level and guiding local action in such a way as to infuse national significance in it were among the tasks of Community Development. In this connection, the Workshop was of the view that preparation and implementation of local area plans in consultation with the local communities was a good means of building up local initiative and developing their capacity for intelligent participation in development effort. This was especially important in the context of the current trend towards a greater fusion between community development and area development, which had particular relevance to the Caribbean region.

The Workshop, however, noted that often lack of systematic survey of the needs and potential of the area and absence of study of the typology of the communities living in the area had seriously impaired the usefulness of local plans and hindered their meaningful link with the national plan. It was, therefore, necessary to have a framework of study of the types and characteristics of societies living in the area and an outline of a survey of the needs and potential of the area and the level of responsiveness of the communities.

TYPOLOGY OF COMMUNITIES: A FRAMEWORK OF STUDY

The Workshop noted that whilst Community Development programme could not be established on a piece-meal basis, depending solely on the peculiar details of each community, it was, however, necessary to have a panoramic survey of the communities in the area and to arrive at a classification of the communities according to their key characteristics. This would facilitate the formulation of local plans on scientific lines and a clearer understanding of the local needs and would pave the way for preparing a proper meeting ground between the local and the national plans.

The Workshop studied the classification scheme adopted by Dr. Robert Redfield based on anthropological research in Mexico and felt that the scheme, with suitable expansion and modification, would provide an analytical tool for studying the types of non-urban societies in the Caribbean.

Dr. Redfield's scheme of folk-urban continuum identified five types of societies, viz.,

- a. Folk society;
- b. horticultural tribes;
- c. corporate peasant communities and castes;
- d. independent family farming peasants; and
- e. plantation estate communities.

The Workshop addressed itself to the following questions:-

- (1) Did these types occur in the Caribbean and were there other important types?

- (2) Did they in fact possess contrasting characteristics?
- (3) Could these, if they were present in the region, be used as a guide to community development strategy and tactics?

On a detailed discussion of the concepts and methods of analysis, the Workshop was of the view that there were no folk-societies in the region. As regards the other four types, the Workshop found as follows:

1. Horticultural Society:

Generally the characteristics of this type of society could be found among the Bush Negroes of Suriname. This community, however, differed from Redfield's horticultural type in the following respects:-

- i. Contacts beyond lineage;
- ii. part literacy;
- iii. strong local leadership;
- iv. the social control aspects of religion; and
- v. internal power politics.

2. Corporate Peasant Societies:+/

Examples of these could be found only in Suriname e.g. "De Dorpsgemeente" (village councils)

3. Independent Family Farming Peasant:

Examples of this type could be found in:-

- i. the coastal strip of Guyana;
- ii. the coastal strip of Suriname; and
- iii. the island territories.

4. Plantation Estates:

This type was present in the whole region.

The Workshop felt that this typology-analysis would be a useful guide in preparing local area plans and determining local priorities. Programme-planning without an adequate knowledge of the basic characteristics of the various types of communities might result in apathy if not resistance to the programme on the part of the communities.

+/ It was noted that the East Indian Community in the Caribbean had generally lost the characteristics of caste-system and would now fit into either type (d) or (e) of Dr. Redfield's classification.

SURVEY OF THE NEEDS AND POTENTIAL OF THE AREA

The Workshop considered that besides identifying the types of communities, it would be necessary to make a survey of the needs and potential of the area as a preliminary to the formulation of local plans. This would ensure that the local plans were framed in a realistic manner, without being a mere aggregate of the 'felt needs' of the local communities. It might be that on general indications, broad programmes could be suggested for each area; but if the programmes should take into account local requirements and ensure close local involvement, it was necessary to take recourse to the findings of a survey. The study would also be useful with regard to the techniques to be employed in programme - implementation at the local level. If necessary, preparation of local plans, based on surveys could be undertaken initially as a pilot project in selected areas in each country.

The Workshop suggested that in conducting the survey, data from various existing sources like census documents, statistical information compiled by different ministries, land registration particulars, periodic household surveys undertaken by the central statistical units should be fully utilised. The survey suggested should aim at filling the gaps in these statistics and at tabulating the data with a view to preparing an integrated area plan. The Workshop recommended a suggested outline for the conduct of such surveys, which is appended to this chapter.

The Workshop, whilst commending local plans as an effective tool in the process of planned change, suggested the following specific measures in regard to their formulation and execution besides the general proposal that such plans should be based on a study of the characteristics of the communities living in the area and a survey of the needs and potential of the area:

- i. Local plans should be within the framework of national priorities and potential for resource mobilisation; the whole philosophy and implementation of the local plans should aim at facilitating an acceptance of and participation in planned change by the people towards achieving national goals.
- ii. The co-operation of technical and administrative officers of the various ministries should be sought in drawing up sectoral programmes and in integrating them into a composite plan.
- iii. There should be as much involvement as possible of local groups both in the planning and the execution phases.
- iv. Local resources should to the maximum extent be drawn upon and local needs taken into consideration.

- v. In formulating the plan, there should be a clear focus on the provision of employment opportunities for the people of the area, not only on the basis of their existing skills, but with a built-in element of deliberate promotion of new skills, especially in the younger members of the working force.
- vi. In drawing up the plan, the possibility of identifying what could be called "focal points of growth" in the area and designing special measures for the development of these centres should be explored.
- vii. In preparing and executing local plans, the basic human values of Community Development must not be forgotten in the preoccupation with physical achievements; the aim should be sustaining these values and promoting attitudes for their acceptance.
- viii. There should be periodic evaluation of the implementation of local plans.

Appendix to Chapter IV

1. GENERAL PARTICULARS OF THE VILLAGE (R & E) */

- 1.1 Name of the village
- 1.2 Area of the village
- 1.3 Total Population - Males
- Females
- 1.4 Population break-up by ethnic groups (specify) Males 1....
2.....3.....4.....
Females 1.....2.....3.....4.....
- 1.5 Number of households in the village
- 1.6 Average size of the family
- 1.7 Adequacy of housing in the village (on a five year perspective) Quite adequate.....Just adequate.....
Inadequate(specify)
- 1.8 Is the village electrified? Yes.....No.....
- 1.9 System of Drainage. Good.....Fair.....Bad.....
- 1.10 Number of radios and television sets in the village
- 1.11 Number of newspapers received in the village
- 1.12 Distance of some important facilities from the village
check one)

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| Facility available | Less than a | 1-3 miles | More than |
| in the village | mile away | away | 3 miles away |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
- 1.12.1 Safe and adequate drinking water facility.
- 1.12.2 Primary school
- 1.12.3 Secondary school
- 1.12.4 Dispensary
- 1.12.5 Maternity services

Data on the areas of inquiry indicated in the schedule can be collected from official documents and reports, through local enquiries and by canvassing questionnaires for interviews. Code letter indications have been given in brackets against each section of the schedule, suggesting possible modes of obtaining the data. Key to the letters in brackets is:

(R).. Data can be collected through recourse to records.

(E).. Information may be obtained through local enquiries and discussions.

(Q).. Data to be compiled after interviews.

- 1.12.6 Day-care nurseries
- 1.12.7 Motorable road
- 1.12.8 Post-office
- 1.12.9 Reading room
- 1.12.10 Public library
- 1.12.11 Community centre
- 1.12.12 Veterinary facilities
- 1.12.13 Institution for the distribution of essential agricultural inputs like fertilizers.
- 1.12.14 Agricultural marketing facilities
- 1.12.15 Cooperative society (specify)
- 1.12.16 Vocational training facilities
- 1.12.17 Small-scale industrial unit

2. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION (R)

| <u>Age-range</u> | <u>Males</u> | <u>Females</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|----------------|
| <u>Less than 5</u> | | |
| 5-14 | | |
| 15-19 | | |
| 20-24 | | |
| 25-34 | | |
| 35-60 | | |
| 60 plus | | |
| Total | | |

3. MANPOWER PARTICULARS (Q & E)

- 3.1 Particulars of all households members
 - 3.1.1 Name
 - 3.1.2 Relationship to head of household
 - 3.1.3 Age
 - 3.1.4 Educational attainments - GCE and above
Primary to GCE
Up to Primary
Just literate
Illiterate
 - 3.1.5 Skills possessed (specify)
 - 3.1.6 Whether employed Yes.....No.....
 - 3.1.7 If employed, are you under-employed? Yes.....No.....
- 3.2 Work turned out by the employed
 - 3.2.1 Agricultural Work
 - 3.2.1.1 Nature of Work
 - 3.2.1.2 Number of days employed in a year
 - 3.2.1.3 Number of hours employed per day in - agricultural
season.....
off-season
 - 3.2.1.4 Average income/wages per month
 - 3.2.2. Non-agricultural Work

| | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Activity | Nature of work | Days employed in a year | Income/wages per month |
|----------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|

- 3.2.2.1 Industrial establishment
(specify)
- 3.2.2.2 Small industries (specify)
- 3.2.2.3 Construction
- 3.2.2.4 Trade and Commerce
- 3.2.2.5 Domestic help
- 3.2.2.6 Other services (specify)
- 3.2.3 Search for work by the unemployed and the under-employed
- 3.2.3.1 Since when unemployed?
- 3.2.3.2 Type of work looking for?
- 3.2.3.3 Want more work in any part of the year? Yes.....No.....
- 3.2.4 Migration */
- 3.2.4.1 Did anyone in the family migrate out in the last five years?
Yes.....No.....IF YES,
- 3.2.4.2 Number of persons migrated
- 3.2.4.3 Nature of migration Temporary.....Permanent.....
- 3.2.4.4 Sex distribution of migrants Males.....Females.....
- 3.2.4.5 Age at date of migration
- 3.2.4.6 Date (Year) of migration
- 3.2.4.7 Educational qualifications of migrant(s)
- 3.2.4.8 Place to which migrated. Metropolitan areas (specify)
other places in the country.....outside the country,....
(specify)
- 3.2.4.9 Purpose of migration (specify)
- 3.2.4.10 Any remittances home? (specify, if yes).....No.....

4. LAND AND WATER UTILISATION(R & E)

- 4.1 Total cultivable area +/-
- 4.2 Net cultivated area
- 4.3 Pasture lands +/-
- 4.4 Area under food crops (specify) +/-
- 4.5 Area under permanent crops (specify) +/-
- 4.6 Area under forests +/-
- 4.7 Current fallows
- 4.8 Marginal lands (where generally costs and returns
adversely balance)
- 4.9 Badly eroded areas
- 4.10 Average rainfall in a year
- 4.11 Area with adequate irrigation facilities
- 4.12 Feasibility for improving and increasing irrigation
facilities (specify)

/ Other than due in marriage

/ Particulars for the last three years may be furnished.

5. LAND TENURE AND HOLDINGS (R & E)

- 5.1 System of land tenure in the village (specify)
- 5.2 Size of holding No. of holdings Acreage
 - Less than 1 acre
 - 1-5 acres
 - 5-10 acres
 - 10-25 acres
 - 25 plus

6. LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT (R & E)

- 6.1 Dairy Farming:
 - 6.1.1 Number of heads of cattle in the village, (specify breeds)
 - 6.1.2 Number of dairy farms
 - 6.1.3 Availability of fodder
 - 6.1.4 Pattern of production and marketing of milk - problems and prospects
- 6.2 Poultry farming:
 - 6.2.1 Number of poultry units in the village. (specify breed)
 - 6.2.2. Total number of birds
 - 6.2.3 Needs - current and projected - of feed, equipment, poultry houses etc.
 - 6.2.4 Marketing arrangements - Problems and prospects
- 6.3 Piggery
 - 6.3.1. Number of pigs (specify breed)
 - 6.3.2 Number of established pig-farms
 - 6.3.3. Needs - current and projected - of feed, equipment etc.
 - 6.3.4 Marketing arrangements - Problems and prospects

7. COOPERATION (R & E)

- 7.1 Different types and number of co-operative societies existing in the village e.g. credit unions, marketing societies, thrift societies, consumer's societies, etc. (specify)
- 7.2 Data on membership, share capital, loans obtained and distributed, turnover or sales or other scales of operation.
- 7.3 Scope for further development of the existing co-operatives and for the organization of other types of societies. (specify)

8. EDUCATION (R & E)

- 8.1 Type of school (if any) in the village
- 8.2 Type of management
- 8.3 Pupils on rolls */ (boys and girls, separately)
- 8.4 Enrolment as percentage of the total number of children of "school-going-age" in the village

*/ Particulars for the last three years may be given

- 8.5 Difficulties, if any, in enrolment (specify for boys and girls)
- 8.6 Average percentage of attendance in school */(boys and girls separately)
- 8.7 Wastage and stagnation in different classes. (boys and girls separately)
- 8.8 Number of teachers in the school
- 8.9 Accomodation in the school Sufficient.....
Just sufficient.....Insufficient
- 8.10 Equipment like furniture, map etc. and games facilities in the school. Sufficient.....Insufficient.....

9. HEALTH & SANITATION (R & E)

- 9.1 Refuse disposal - existing facilitiestype and number - open dumps - closed
- 9.2 Methods of collecting - individual - Communal - Mobile Units
- 9.3 Final disposal incinerators - Number -----Mass dumps for filling and reclaiming
- 9.4 Nuisance control - Spray treatment - Covering - burning
- 9.5 Facilities adequate - inadequate - Used fully - Partly - Poorly -
- 9.6 Domestic Sanitation - Toilet System - Water borne - Pit - Others -
- 9.7 Communal baths -----Communal toilets -----
Adequate -----inadequate-----Used fully -----
Partly -----Poorly-----

10. NUTRITION (R & E)

- 10.1 Main Diet -----Content and food values - balanced - Not balanced -----Emphases -----
- 10.2 Main difficulties -----
- 10.3 Local products used -----entirely-----largely-----marginally -----
- 10.4 Eating habits -----regular-----irregular-----
how many times daily -----spacing -----
heavy -----light-----
- 10.5 Child feeding - efficient-----not efficient-----
adequate nutrition -----inadequate nutrition-----

11. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION (E)

- 11.1 Number of organizations like youth clubs, women's clubs, 4H clubs etc. (Specify) in the village.
- 11.2 Membership in each */

*/ Particulars for the last three years may be obtained.

- 11.3 Main activities of the organizations (specify)
- 11.4 The organizations are
active, sustained -----active, at times -----
fairly active, at times ---- not active -----
- 11.5 Possibilities of further activizing the existing organizations and of forming new ones.
- 11.6 Range of possibilities of activities for the organizations like:
 - 11.6.1 promoting recreational programmes;
 - 11.6.2 providing opportunities for creative expression through discussion groups, cultural programmes, youth rallies etc;
 - 11.6.3 developing occupational interest in agriculture, animal husbandry, small industry etc. through individual projects demonstrations, educational visits etc;
 - 11.6.4 utilizing the services of youth in various campaigns for village improvement;
 - 11.6.5 promoting economic activities of a self-employment nature (specify) through youth and women's groups;
 - 11.6.6 organizing through the youth and women's groups informal health and nutrition education programmes; and
 - 11.6.7 promoting any other activity (specify)
- 11.7 Particulars of self-help activities, group activities etc. in the village already undertaken or proposed to be undertaken

V. INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Workshop, whilst recognising the multi-faceted nature of Community Development, noted that one of its distinct characteristics was its accent on public participation in development and its emphasis on building up an institutional structure to make this process sustaining and self-generating. Indeed, it could be said that this was at once the goal and the method of Community Development. From this point of view, the Workshop felt, the study of the inter-relationship between community development and local government was important, particularly in the Caribbean context: for the country statements had revealed that local government in the various countries in the region was not yet, in many cases, functionally and financially strong and that there was much scope for closer co-operation between community development and local government.

On a study and discussion of the United Nations publications on the subject under consideration, the Workshop was of the view that the general indications of these studies were:

- i. For the community development effort to be successful and the process to be enduring, there should be a close and meaningful link between the community development agency and the people's representative institutions at different levels;
- ii. as a community develops the needed capability of discerning and active participation in public affairs, the extent to which it articulates through regular representative institutions at various levels; and
- iii. the measure of success of overall development effort is directly related to the degree of involvement of people's institutions not only in the provision of economic and social overheads, but in the very process of economic and social growth.

The Workshop identified, based on working experience, the following areas of inter-relationship between Community Development and Local Government, which could support and complement each other:

HOW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COULD SUPPORT LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- i. Community development, by promoting group-action and encouraging popular participation in local activities, facilitates the process of political development and the modernisation of the political culture. In this way, community development contributes to the development of the capabilities of 'integration', 'mobilisation' and 'participation' in the local communities. The stage is thus set for the wholesome growth of local governments.

- ii. In many developing countries, the tradition-bound local communities are not equal to the demands made on them by the process of nation-building. In such a situation, the gradual effect of the operation of community development, with its educational and organizational processes, is to enable the people to develop the requisite competence called for by the process of economic and social development.
- iii. One of the barriers inhibiting the building-up of local institutions is the prevalence of 'diffused distrust' among the communities. The group-action approach introduced by successful community development programmes generates a realisation among the people that it is possible to trust others and work with them for common benefit. The atmosphere conducive to the proper functioning of existing local government institutions and to the creation of new ones is thus created.
- iv. Social participation, i.e. membership in different voluntary associations, is a prerequisite to the growth of local government. In many developing countries, however, such local participation is lacking. Execution of community development projects in consultation with individuals and groups, which have a direct and demonstrable benefit to the village people, catalyses increased and more intensive social participation.
- v. Lack of perspective among the local people and inexperience in operating within a formal impersonal institutional framework impede the growth of local government in rural areas. Experience in participating in the deliberations of community councils, which are generally formed in the wake of implementation of community development programmes, helps remove these barriers.
- vi. The process of operation of community development councils enables local government authorities to acquire wider perspective and deeper insights into the human factors of development.

HOW LOCAL GOVERNMENT COULD SUPPORT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

- i. For the initial effects of community development to be enduring, there is need for providing an institutional structure for it at the local level. This process of institutionalization is very important in successful community development. Local government bodies, once they take root, will provide this institutional support for community development.

- ii. Local government institutions, with their prestige and statutory powers, can supplement the activities of the community development agency, especially in regard to the maintenance and proper upkeep of the assets created by community self-help effort.
- iii. The very existence of local government bodies and the increase in their programme responsibilities leads gradually to the emergence of a new functional local leadership, which is very valuable for lasting community development.
- iv. Preparation of local area plans, in the process of community development programming, in consultation with the local communities and based on a realistic survey of the needs and potential of the area, is an important factor in promoting planned change. Local government bodies would be of great help in the formulation and execution of such local plans.
- v. On many occasions, it has been observed that community development has ushered in a process of administrative reform, seeking to bring about a change in the attitudes of the officials towards the public. Though by the very nature of their work, the community development functionaries are found to adopt new attitudes, it is generally seen that it is not paralleled by a similar development in the officials of other ministries. Emergence of strong local government institutions help bring about a change in the attitude of public officials toward local communities, thus supplementing the efforts of community development in this behalf.
- vi. Since the functions and responsibilities of local government bodies are multi-faceted, they can, in the course of the discharge of their responsibilities, facilitate greater co-ordination between the functioning of various technical services of the government, a process which community development seeks to initiate and sustain. Such an integral channelling of various government service to the areas, especially when the local government institution is used as a 'funnel' for government grant-in-aid to augment self-help efforts, will be of particular usefulness and importance in the current context of the trend towards a closer tie between community development and area development.

AREAS OF DISTINCTION

The Workshop noted that despite such a close link between community development and local government there were some areas of distinction which should be kept in mind. For example, community development might comprehend activities, which were beyond the usual ambit of local government bodies. Or else, whilst community development worked on the principle of persuasion

and encouragement of voluntary efforts, local government bodies with their statutory responsibilities, would at times have to resort to coercive methods. The Workshop felt that if these were not kept in view in the mutual working of community development and local government, each might unwittingly affect the other's work adversely. For instance, Community Development programmes might result in some weakening of local government by making the central government agency carry out functions which could and should be undertaken by local government. Likewise, the application of compulsory measures by local government authorities for resource mobilisation for community efforts, where voluntary action was called for, would stifle the progress of community development.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS

Case for Devolution

In analysing the administrative implications and organizational requirements of the complementary functions of community development and local government, the Workshop first examined the case for devolution of responsibility for community and local development programmes on local government bodies. The following factors would appear relevant:

- i. One of the principal goals of Community Development being to enable local leadership and local institutions to participate effectively in development, it is necessary that a beginning is made in this direction by involving local government bodies in community development programmes.
- ii. With the advent of independence, and the initiation of national planning, the work of the central government ministries and departments become increasingly larger, both in volume and in dimensions: in this context, in the interests of administrative efficiency, local government bodies will have to be given increasing roles and functions in local development.
- iii. The major aims of a welfare democracy include protecting the individual from arbitrary administrative action, affording the people's representatives opportunities for concrete participation in public affairs and placing government services at a point readily accessible to the people, so that an improvement in the effectiveness, and efficiency of their provision is ensured. Increasing devolution of development activities on local government bodies would be necessary to secure these ends.

- iv. Delegating responsibility to the local government institutions would help increase their sense of responsibility and commitment and would facilitate a closer interplay of political and technical competence at the local level.
- v. A scheme of decentralisation of all local development programmes to local units would result in a greater co-ordination of the provision of various services at the area level.
- vi. In the context of the increasing Government outlay on plan schemes against the background of scarcity of financial resources, local resource-mobilisation would be of paramount importance. People's representative institutions taking charge of local development projects would facilitate and accelerate the process of mobilisation of local resources.

The Workshop took note of the argument sometimes raised that in countries which were not big in size, the need for delegation of responsibility for development to local government bodies was not very compelling. It was felt that the various arguments advanced for increasing the programme content of local government institutions were independent of the physical size of the country. The Workshop was of the view that the qualitative change in local leadership and local institutions, which a good blending of community development and strong local government would bring about, was necessary and desirable for all countries, irrespective of size.

For these reasons, the Workshop recommended that the Governments in the region take concerted steps to strengthen existing local institutions and to create new ones gradually as might be found necessary. It was further recommended that in order to ensure a fully representative character of the local government bodies, the nominated element in these institutions be removed, however gradually, by amending the statute as had recently been done in Trinidad and Tobago.

The Workshop, however, recognised the importance of the role of the central government in community and local development and the need for its counsel. The following areas of responsibilities and concern of the central government in a system of devolution of community and local development functions on local government were identified:

- i. Programme planning at the national level and fixation of country-wide targets;
- ii. training of community development workers and the staff of the local government bodies to increase their competence, develop their capabilities, and refine their skills;

- iii. training of the office-bearers and members of local government units, to give them the requisite orientation and education;
- iv. provision of technical assistance to the local bodies to enable them to discharge their delegated functions soundly and efficiently.
- v. making available to the local units facilities for social consultations with the senior officials and technicians of the central ministries;
- vi. prescribing standards for evaluation;
- vii. providing facilities whereby the community development agency can strengthen local government bodies where they are weak;
- viii. issuing general instructions and guidelines periodically;
- ix. devising means of supervision like work-spot inspections, prescription of the form and periodicity for regular progress reports, measures of budgetary control and audit, etc.;
- x. introducing an appropriate system of incentives (monetary and non-monetary) and safeguards;
- xi. devising and implementing measures for co-ordination between the various central technical departments connected with development, the community development agency and local government; and
- xii. taking steps, politically and administratively, to improve the capability of the local governments bodies to discharge their delegated functions with industry, integrity and despatch.

Range and type of functions

The Workshop noted that the range and type of functions that could be entrusted to local government would depend on the circumstances in each country, especially the degree of enlightenment, responsiveness and competence of local government bodies and their leadership. The following general guidelines in this behalf, were, however, recommended:

- i. The functions to be devolved on local government bodies should not be confined to traditional local government duties such as civic and maintenance functions, like village lighting, regulation of markets, control of cemeteries etc., which are mostly non-developmental in character, but should include development activities which are best planned and executed at the local level and which

would increase the capability of the local population to participate effectively in the overall process of development;

- ii. the functions relating to urban community development may be devolved on urban local government bodies; and
- iii. in the preparation of local area development plans, the urban local government units as may be existing in the area, should be consulted so that the area plan will ensure complementarity between rural and urban development.

The Workshop also suggested the following safeguards to be kept in mind whilst delegating functions to local government units:

- i. Care should be taken to see that a model in a developed situation is not just 'transplanted'; and
- ii. functions involving large capital outlay and calling for highly specialised technical service are not to be transferred to local bodies.

The Workshop noted that entrustment of responsibility for development to local government was necessarily a long and gradual process, especially in the Caribbean context, but it was strongly of the view that there should be a conscious national policy to involve people's representatives institutions in the development process. A clear enunciation of such a policy was necessary in view of the hesitancy, and even opposition on the part of these in authority at the central level, especially senior civil servants, to delegate functions to the local institutions. It was also felt that once it had been decided to transfer certain areas of responsibilities to the local government bodies, there should be a genuine willingness on the part of the central government and its political leadership to enable the local units to perform the functions freely and without hindrance. This was of special importance in the case of provision of financial resources and adequate trained personnel to the local government bodies commensurate with the quantum and nature of functions delegated to them.

The Workshop also recommended that pending active involvement of local government in executing and planning local development schemes, the various Governments in the region might seek to associate existing local government bodies in the process of formulating and implementing development projects at least in an advisory capacity to begin with. It was specifically suggested that field officials of various technical ministries be asked to attend the meetings of the local government bodies regularly and explain to them the various schemes planned for that area and elicit their views on them.

Method of Devolution

The Workshop noted the various methods found to be employed by different governments for devolving functions and responsibility on local government bodies. It recommended that whatever be the method employed, it was important to ensure that the functions were clearly spelled out and the local government authorities were made fully aware of their part in the development process, as it had been observed that ambiguity of the role of local governments had been one of the serious limiting factors of their effectiveness as institutions of planned change.

Local Government Areas

The Workshop took note of the general guideline indicated by the Working Group on Administrative Aspects of Decentralisation for National Development convened by the United Nations in 1961 that the local authority areas should be as large as might be appropriate for the functions they had to perform. It noted that in some cases, the traditional local government areas were too small for the performance of the functions in the context of development. Conversely, the existing local government unit in some instances, covered too large an area to facilitate close contact with village communities living in their jurisdiction. It was felt that in the former case, a second tier of local government institutions might have to be constituted and that in the latter case, smaller units, possibly as sub-divisions of the existing larger areas, might have to be delimited.

The Workshop observed that this gap was seen to be filled to some extent by ad hoc community development communities formed in the wake of implementing community development programmes. It was possible that these informal associations grew gradually into statutory local government bodies. For instance, in Trinidad and Tobago, whilst the existing statutory local government bodies was at the county level, with the advent of community development, village councils, which were not yet statutory bodies, had sprung up, grown in recognition and developed in articulation. In Dominica, on the other hand, village councils were the statutory bodies and the process of execution of self-help programmes had led to the formation of informal district councils, composed of delegates from every village council in the district area. The Workshop recommended that where such informal associations had grown in strength and taken root, the governments might take steps over time to make them statutory local government bodies, with clearly defined functions and responsibilities, ensuring at the same time that they did not lose their distinctive character.

From the point of view of a combination of community development and area development, which was of special importance to the region, the Workshop favoured a two-tier system of local government. Whilst the unit nearest to the community would ensure close contact with the people, the second-tier unit, covering a larger area, would be better suited for the provision of technical

services and would afford a wider spatial perspective for the formulation of integrated local area plans. The Workshop suggested that the following two factors be kept in mind in a system of demarcation of local government units:

- i. The units should be so demarcated as to ensure close enough public participation in development, adequacy of financial capacity, efficiency of performance and effectiveness of supervision; and
- ii. the different tiers of decentralisation are so arranged as to provide for a process of co-ordination, means of inter-departmental and inter-agency cooperation and an organic link between the different levels of local governments which enables them to act separately and independently as well as in concert.

Finally, considering the importance of the complementary roles of community development and local government as vehicles for change and instruments of development, the Workshop felt that it would be very useful for a group of concerned officials of this region to study at first hand successful experiments in this field in some Asian and African countries. The Workshop urged that such a study tour be sponsored by the United Nations.

VI. EVALUATION OF THE WORKSHOP

It was felt that an expression of collective opinion by the participants on the various aspects of the Workshop would provide its sponsors useful guidance for similar future efforts. The participants were thus requested, at the close of the session, to answer a questionnaire. To ensure frank and objective statement of views, they were asked not to disclose their names or those of their countries. All the delegates were good enough to complete the form and hand it in before they left. A summary of tabulated results is appended to this chapter.

Advance information on the programme of work and other functional aspects of the Workshop is an important factor. 17 of the 19 delegates considered the receipt of general information in advance was good and 18 of them rated the information on the Workshop on arrival and informal briefing before the commencement of the Workshop as good.

Documentation appeared to have been satisfactory, too. Of the 18 who replied to the questionnaire, 13 considered it adequate and four felt it was too much. One thought it poor.

The proforma for the country statements was considered comprehensive by 18 of the respondents, though only six thought the statements themselves to be so; nine felt that the statements but just covered the ground.

As regards the distribution of time between the various components of the Workshop, the overall impression was that it was well distributed, except that seven participants felt that more time could have been allotted for field trips.

The choice of topics for lecture discussions and syndicate study also evoked a favourable response. It was particularly noteworthy that 18 delegates rated the choice of topics for depth discussion in the regional context as judicious. Even the one who gave a critical vote amplified it by stating that "a paper on social/social-economic problems particularly applicable to our islands as a result of our social history" could have been included.

As between discussions in syndicate groups and deliberations in the plenaries, the former were considered to be stimulating by more participants than the latter.

Sixteen delegates were of the view that the Workshop fulfilled its stated objectives fully.

Some respondents had qualified or explained a few of their checkings in the questionnaire. Additional suggestions made by a participant are outlined below:

- a. An analytical critical look at the existing curriculum now used at the University of the West Indies might have been useful.
- b. Individual vocal presentation of country statements in open sessions would have ensured more obvious (sic) participation.
- c. Selected participants might have presented brief papers on specific topics - selected or offered by them in advance. +/-
- d. Working papers could have been distributed in advance.

The sponsors of the Workshop express their gratefulness to the participants for their appraisal of the course, which has thrown useful leads for the organization of like projects in the future.

+/ In the work-schedule, there was a session allotted for 'Presentation of Individual Papers'. Only one delegate desired to present a paper; but he later expressed his inability to do so.

Appendix to Chapter VI.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE EVALUATION
OF THE WORKSHOP

1. Regarding the preparation of the Workshop.
 - 1.1 Receipt of general information in advance
was good 17 1/ Poor 2
 - 1.2 Welcome and arrangements on arrival were
Good 19 Poor -
 - 1.3 Information on the Workshop on arrival
was Good 18 Poor - (One did not respond)
 - 1.4 Informal briefing before the commence-
ment of the Workshop was Good 18
Poor - (One did not respond)
 - 1.5 Physical facilities and arrangements
were Good 16 Poor 2 (One did not respond)
2. The duration of the Workshop was Too long 3
Too short 5 Just adequate 11
3. The documentation was Too much 4 Adequate 13
Poor 1 (One did not respond)

4. Please comment on the time-distribution between the
various components of the Workshop: (check one)
Time Given

| | Component | Much | Adequate | Little | |
|-----|---------------------|------|----------|--------|-----------------------|
| 4.1 | Field Problems | 1 | 12 | 5 | (One did not respond) |
| 4.2 | Lecture-discussions | 2 | 15 | 2 | |
| 4.3 | Syndicate-study | 3 | 13 | 2 | (One did not respond) |
| 4.4 | Field trips | 1 | 9 | 7 | <u>2/</u> |
| 4.5 | Plenary sessions | 2 | 15 | - | (Two did not respond) |

1/ One respondent who checked 'good' added the proviso, 'except for the distribution of country statements'.

2/ One did not respond: another commented 'smaller units might have been tried'.

5. The choice of lecture-discussion topics was
Balanced 13 Not so 5 (One did not respond)
6. The choice of topics for detailed study by the syndicates was, in the regional context, Judicious 18
Not so 13/ (If you check the latter, please indicate the subjects (not more than three) you would have liked included and the subject (§) deleted)
7. The quality of the working papers was Good 16 4/
Average 3 Poor -
8. The syndicate discussions were Stimulating 7
Average 9 Dull 2 (One did not respond)
9. The plenary discussions were Stimulating 4
Average 12 Dull 3
10. The Workshop fulfilled its stated objectives Fully 16
Inadequately 3 Not at all -
11. Did the Workshop provide opportunity to all delegates to contribute fully? Yes 16 5/ No 1 (Two did not respond)
12. The proforma for the country-statements was comprehensive 18 Not so 1
(If you check the latter, please indicate the additional areas to be included)
13. The country-statements sent by participants were comprehensive 6 just covered the ground 2 6/ sketchy and incomplete 1 (Three did not respond)
(If you check the last, please specify comments).

3/ This respondent amplified the negative checking thus: "A paper on social/socio-economic problems particularly applicable to our islands as a result of our social history" (could have been included).

4/ One respondent who checked 'good' added "Two papers were good: one poor".

5/ One who checked 'Yes' added "Not always fully used by delegates".

6/ One of these thought that the statements by the "larger territories were comprehensive. Some others were vague and veiled the truth in idealistic terms. Generally, however, they seemed to reflect the picture adequately".

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE REGIONAL
TRAINING WORKSHOP ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>PARTICIPANTS</u> |
|--------------------------------|--|
| ANTIGUA | Miss RUTH AMBROSE Community Development Officer |
| BARBADOS | Mr. WOODBINE DAVIS Junior Chamber of Commerce Representing Voluntary Services Mr. CLYDE GOLLOP Social Welfare Officer |
| DOMINICA | Mr. S.V. JOSEPH Local Government Officer Premier's Office |
| GRENADA | Miss GLORIA PAYNE Ministry of Social Services Mr. FERDINAND PUNCH Ministry of Social Services |
| GUYANA | Mr. A.M. BULKAN District Community Develop- ment Officer Miss C.Y. LONCKE District Community Develop- ment Officer |
| ST.KITTS - NEVIS - ANGUILLA | Mr. C.S. ELMES Community Development Officer Mr. R.S. BYRON Government Secretary Nevis |

ST. LUCIA

Mr. JON ODLUM
Community Development
Officer

Mr. RUDY LUBIN
Community Development
Officer

ST. VINCENT

Mr. PETER ALEXIS
Junior Chamber of
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SURINAME

Mr. H.L. BRUNNINGS
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Mr. HARRY DILROSUN
Ministry of Education

Mr. H. LAMUR
Sociologist, National
Planning Bureau

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

Mrs. GRACE BASON
Community Development
Planning Adviser
Ministry of Planning and
Development

Mr. ALFRED DUKHAN
Administrative Officer I
Nariva/Mayaro County Council

Mrs. MAY JAMES
Community Development
Officer II.

OBSERVER:
(Voluntary Services)

Mrs. S.V. JOSEPH (DOMINICA)

Address by the Prime Minister of
Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. the Rt.
Honourable Eric Williams, at the
Inaugural Session of the Regional
Workshop on Community Develop-
ment and Local Government on
Monday, March 18, 1968.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It affords me a great deal of pleasure to be with you this morning at the inaugural session of this Caribbean Seminar on Community Development and Local Government, which has been organised by the office of the Economic Commission for Latin America, in co-operation with Governments within the region.

I am very happy that with the exception of Montserrat all Commonwealth territories in the West Indies have accepted the invitation of ECLA to attend the Seminar. I am particularly happy to welcome the delegates from Surinam. This is particularly gratifying in view of the steps that have been taken to establish a Caribbean Trade area.

The case for economic integration and development of Commonwealth Caribbean countries rests to a very large extent on the greater opportunities available to them, resulting from enlarged markets for light industries, and for manufactured agricultural and marine products. But co-operation between these countries also presents outstanding opportunities for more efficient use of our human and material resources.

While Governments, it is true, may formalize agreements, and provide the legal and institutional framework for such co-operation, in the long run, the success or failure of these co-ordinated efforts, will depend on their acceptance or rejection by the people themselves. In such circumstances, it becomes evident that the political, economic and social aspects of Caribbean life must be viewed as a common entity in which the whole becomes greater than the sum of its parts. It is in the area of the successful deployment and improvement through education, of the human capital of the region that Community Development with its emphases on the evolution of social changes in attitude and values, and in the raising of technical competence, has its most important role to play.

The education of the entire community in the political, economic, historical and social patterns of life in the area is in my opinion a prerequisite for successful efforts at Caribbean integration, and it is here that you Community Development officers can show your mettle and help to lead the community out of the degradation of the past.

In Trinidad and Tobago, Community Development is afforded the highest priority in Government's plans, as a means of people improving their lives through adult education and self-help efforts working hand-in-hand with Government through its Community Development Division and Better Village Programme. We also believe that social and economic changes can only be effected where the population as a whole is in a position to discover and analyze its problems, and search for solutions for them, taking measures at time to effect remedies for them from its own resources, and on its own initiative, and at other times seeking the assistance of Government to do so. That in essence is the policy in Community Development in Trinidad and Tobago.

To implement this policy, we have over the years encouraged the growth of the Village Council Movement, the Women's Groups, Youth Movements and other voluntary organizations. We have assisted with the erection of Community Centres by the people themselves, by providing them with a degree of financial and technical help. The Community Development Division of the Ministry of Planning and Development is now considering plans to launch a national programme of adult education in community centres. While this programme is all-embracing in its coverage, emphasis is being placed on training our people in what is commonly called civics or citizenship, home making and nutrition, and in the vocations and trades. Special attention is being given to handicrafts, which the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has good reason to believe will in the near future develop into a major industry which will help to alleviate the problem of unemployment and under-employment with which your territories and ours are at present bedevilled.

Coming back to the wider issues, it is clear that the diversifications of our economies will of necessity require changes in our thinking and behaviour patterns. The development of what may now be a cottage industry, which I have just mentioned, into a viable and economic industry, will of necessity require complementary skills in processing, packaging and marketing, and in a national determination to buy local. These corollary skills and concepts must be taught to our people now, and this is the role of adult education and community development as we see it in Trinidad and Tobago.

One of the problems with which we will be faced in the light of the larger markets for the product of local industries as a result of Caribbean economic unity will certainly be in the area of over-production and more seriously still in that of a lowering of standards.

This latter problem lies to a certain extent in the field of consumer education with which Community Development Officers must necessarily be concerned. If consumers are prepared to reject low standards then the manufacturer will of necessity have to keep his standard high or go out of business.

The re-orientation of West Indian society must in the long run depend on a re-orientation by West Indian peoples of attitudes and values, many of them two and three hundred years old, which might have served the territories in goodstead in the plantation era, but which today are entirely at variance with our free democratic and progressive way of life.

Another regional problem which calls for the education of the adult population and which constitutes a major and urgent task for all Community Development officers in the region is the control of our population growth. An awareness on the part of our people of this urgency, in all territories, is essential if we are to press onwards with our programme for better living. Unless we can bring our population into some relationship with our material resources in the next decade, then we may find ourselves just where we are today, despite the herculean regional efforts which are being made on all fronts by all the Governments of the region to provide an adequate standard of living for our people.

It is clear, from what I have already said that the Community Development officers of the region face an onerous but important challenge to prepare the community at large to adjust itself to the new environment, and to the technological and regional changes which are taking place at breakneck speed around us. If regionalism is to be an ultimate success then the entire community must be encouraged to think regionally, act regionally, and work towards the development of the region even to the extent of enduring shortages and inconveniences during this process of growth.

In this context, a meeting of Community Development and Local Government officers of this nature is very welcome and appropriate at this time in our history. But this should not be the end of the road as far as this effort towards regionalism in the utilization of the Community Development approach to our problems is concerned. Its significance as a means of nation - building for economic and social reform must need be accepted at the highest level in all Governments. The next step may well be a seminar at ministerial level, so that from it, may evolve a co-ordinated policy in Community Development for Caribbean progress, oriented towards the improvement of the human resources of the region, as a means of complementing the economic unity which is now imminent.

Finally, I am pleased to note that your training workshop has among its objectives:-

- a. to expose the participants to the latest trend of thought in the theory and practice of community development; and
- b. to help formulate a common basic framework of orientation and job training.

I would go further, however, and suggest that in considering new trends and concepts, the participants of the seminar should pay particular attention to the means of involvement of all Caribbean communities towards awareness of what is now taking place in the region, so that the basic concept enshrined in community development, namely people and Governments working hand-in-hand towards the communities firstly into the national fold, and finally, into the regional grouping, may be accelerated and strengthened.

I look forward in due course to receiving a copy of the proceedings of your deliberations, and studying the recommendations which you may put forward.

I have great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen in formally declaring open this Seminar on Community Development and Local Government in the Caribbean.

Statement of the Director, ECLA
Regional Office for the Caribbean
at the opening of Regional Training
Workshop on Community Development
and Local Government.

Mr. Chairman, Rt. Hon. Prime Minister, Hon. Ministers, your Excellencies, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America I have great pleasure in addressing you at this inauguration of the Regional Workshop on Community Development and Local Government. This Workshop brings together a number of distinguished persons and specialties, whose participation guarantees a high-level of examination of actual problems and promises encouraging results.

When the proposal for this Regional Workshop was first discussed by our Regional Adviser, Mr. Balakrishnan, (who is serving as co-director of the Workshop) it was the very strong interest of the various participating governments that encouraged us to pursue the possible avenues. But the realization would not have been possible, were it not for the full and generous support of our hosts, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, and the close participation of the University of the West Indies.

Within the year and a half that the Office for the Caribbean has been in operation, the ECLA has had opportunity to assist with training programmes mounted by Governments in this sub-region. This Regional Workshop, however, marks the first training programme prompted by the ECLA in this sub-region; and we expect to derive from this Workshop valuable experience for further training programmes being presently contemplated.

The ECLA is very conscious of the direction and pace of current developments in the area, and one purpose of this Regional Workshop is to help ensure that the social aspects do not lag behind the purely economic aspects. It is very easy when devising plans for economic progress, especially in looking at statistics and projections, to forget the people; and this occurs because the essential ingredients of the human factor cannot be easily quantified.

In this Regional Workshop we hope to move a step towards correcting this balance, to help in finding solutions for actual problems that are encountered in the development of community, and to derive for ourselves a body of ideas and a perspective that will enable us to formulate a systematic and co-ordinated approach to the social development of the sub-region.

The main aims of current initiative for closer economic harmonization, are directed towards changing the traditional structures of the economies; and for this to really succeed, there must at the same time be progressive social change, and particularly more buoyant rural development. To respond to the generation of dynamic forces of development within the area, the people themselves must be equipped to take advantage of them. The effective approach requires that the problems are examined with a view to finding Caribbean solutions for Caribbean problems, and not merely accepting ready-made solutions which originate outside the area.

This calls for new approaches and fresh outlooks, to devise new means and to improve existing arrangements and practices. The ECLA is confident that the wealth of knowledge and experience being pooled in this Regional Workshop can yield insights into ways and means for improving the strategy for social advancement, and further the development of community within the countries and territories, and among them.

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LECTURES AND LECTURE TOPICS

| <u>LECTURERS</u> | <u>LECTURE TOPICS</u> |
|--|---|
| Mr. T. Balakrishnan UN Regional Adviser on Community Development | Concepts and Functions in Community Development: Some New Trends. Institution Building. Communication in Community Development |
| Mr. C.R. Ottley Director, Community Development, Trinidad and Tobago | Community Development in Trinidad & Tobago: A Case for Comprehensive Approach Village Council Movement. |
| Dr. M.P. Singh Project Director Crown Lands Development Programme (FAO Specialist) Trinidad and Tobago | Agricultural Extension and Community Development. |
| Mr. Oswald Morris Director, Productivity Centre, Trinidad & Tobago | Trends in Administration for Development. |
| Mr. Malcolm Cross Dept. of Sociology, University of the West Indies (St. Augustine Division) | Quest for Community in a Pluralistic Society. |
| Mr. Acton Comejo, Dept. of Sociology University of the West Indies (St. Augustine Division) | Organizational Aspects of Community Development. |

Dr. John MacDonald,
Dept. of Sociology,
University of the
West Indies
(St. Augustine Division)

Sociological Aspects
of Rural Development.

Mr. Hector L. Gibson
Chairman, Social
Development Commission
Jamaica

Community Development
in Jamaica: A Case for
Intensive Approach.

Mrs. Sybil Francis,
Social Welfare Training
Centre, University of
the West Indies, Mona,
Jamaica.

Emerging Trends in
Social Work.

Dr. Bertram Collins,
Dean, Faculty of
Social Sciences,
University of Guyana.

Public Administration
Problems in Community
Development.

Miss Isabel Foster,
Regional Home Economics/
Nutrition Expert, FAO,
Port of Spain.

Women's Activities in
Community Development.

LIST OF BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS
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FOR REFERENCE

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ANNEX 6: WORKING PAPERS

CONTENT, ORGANIZATION AND METHODS OF TRAINING FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT*

Among the objectives of the Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government are: review of the existing training programmes in the different countries in the Caribbean region with a view to further streamlining and systemizing them and formulation of a common basic framework of training, which could be adopted, with suitable local modifications, by the countries in the area. 1/ More specifically, the task of the Workshop in this behalf would be to draw up guidelines for planning various types and levels of training programmes in Community Development, including an outline of curricula for training and orientation and an analytical enumeration of various training methods, from which the training officers could select what are appropriate for the different training courses in their countries. This paper seeks to map the contours of the areas of study and discussion.

Some Basic Considerations

The need for training for Community Development is too well-known and well-recognised to call for any detailed exposition. Community Development - though with varying scope, emphasis and even nomenclature - has been accepted by almost all developing nations as a means of securing overall advance, economic and social. As a novel and dynamic strategy, Community Development to have maximum impact, calls for training and education in its basic concepts, approaches and methodology. In this context, the term 'training' includes 'orientation' and is taken to denote an aggregate of three components viz., imparting knowledge and skills, bringing about a clear understanding of aims and objectives and shaping of attitudes. 2/

Before analysing the types and levels of training, their content and methods, it is necessary to bear in mind that Community Development, though it has been widely accepted and adopted, is undergoing a process of reappraisal. Its concepts are being re-examined, its functions re-formulated and its efforts re-directed. The concept of 'community' in Community Development parlance, for instance, is now sought to be given a broader interpretation. A closer blending of area development and community development is emerging. The theory of 'felt needs' is slowly giving way to 'persuaded' or 'counselled' needs. The issue of 'consensus' in

* Prepared by Mr. T. Balakrishnan, United Nations Regional Community Development Adviser.

1/ vide the aide memoire on the Workshop.

2/ See Training for Social Work: Third International Survey, United Nations, Sales No.: 59.IV.1, (1958).

Community Development is being reviewed. It is being increasingly recognised that Community Development is not something separate from overall national development and that it should be regarded more as localisation of "the comprehensive set of national development actions so that communities, groups and associations may participate directly in them". 3/

Whilst this reassessment of concepts, roles and functions are to be borne in mind in preparing training programmes in Community Development, it should not be forgotten that certain basic elements which give Community Development its distinctive stamp and infuse it with a unique vitality are as valid today as they were when the first experiments in Community Development were made. These fundamentals of Community Development are:

- a. 'Development of man and development for man' as the ultimate objective and central concern;
- b. development of a partnership basis between the Government and the communities, with due recognition of the status of equality of the partnership;
- c. integrated approach to development and the attendant provision of extension and technical services to the communities in a co-ordinated way;
- d. stress on local initiative and popular participation; and
- e. focus on building local institutions for development.

With these basic considerations in view, certain key principles which should guide the net-work of different types of training programmes at various levels may be enunciated. These would be:-

- i. The training should aim at
 - "(A) Imparting knowledge and information regarding human behaviour and its cultural pattern, the basic economic principles affecting the community, and the administrative organization
 - (B) Teaching of skills which conveniently can be classified into (a) manipulative and (b) skills in human relations
 - (C) Inculcating the right attitudes". 4/

3/ See Notes on Conceptual Pre-requisites for Training in Community and Local Development Programmes, a working paper prepared for the Regional Inter-Agency Meeting on Community Development, January 1968, prepared by the Division of Social Affairs, Economic Commission for Latin America.

4/ Report on United Nations Asia and the Far East Seminar on Training for Community Development and Social Work, (TAA/AFE/4), 1957.

- ii. The training should aim at shaping the trainee both as a 'development agent' and as a 'community worker'.
- iii. The training, whilst including the requisite academic content, should be geared to actual problems in the national and local contexts: it should be the "promotion and encouragement of the study and practice of the art and science" 5/of Community Development.
- iv. The accent of training should be on an inter-disciplinary approach and team work.
- v. The training should specifically seek to develop skills of organizing communities, working with people, their organizations and institutions and identification and promotion of functional leadership.
- vi. The training programme should always be attuned to programme priorities and emphases.
- vii. The training programme should take into account the training needs not only of rural community development but also of urban community development, in the context of the trends of increasing urbanization.
- viii. The content, methods and techniques of training should be kept under close and constant review so that they keep abreast of the increasing body of knowledge on Community Development and allied disciplines and remain responsive to emerging trends in the field. 6/

5/ Occuring in the Charter of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

6/ The need for such a review was recognized even more than a decade ago when community development and related branches of work were in a comparatively early stage. It was stated in 1957: "Today the body of knowledge and the complexity of techniques grows so fast that the question how much should be taught, by whom and in what form to those who need to acquire some understanding of a science to help them with a special task ... needs constant and careful attention". Quoted in Training for Social Work: Third International Survey, op.cit.

- ix. The training programme should have a built-in system of evaluation - both 'participation evaluation' and 'observation evaluation' - including arrangements for feed-back from ex-trainees..

The Workshop may consider these guiding principles and suggest additions or modifications.

Types and Levels of Training

Community Development is not only a programme with its own social and economic targets and co-ordinating processes, but is also an approach most efficacious in establishing contact and rapprochement with the local communities. For the work of technical and administrative personnel of various 'development Ministries' like agriculture, Education and Health to be effective and its results lasting, they should be imparted education in basic Community Development principles and techniques, such as means of creating community spirit, sustaining community action, inducing attitudes receptive to innovations etc. For instance, an agricultural extension officer cannot get the improved practices he is advocating accepted by the farmers and a public health official cannot hope to 'sell' some of his measures so necessary to improve the health conditions of the village, unless he is familiar not only with the science of purveying his knowledge in readily comprehensible terms but also with the art of stimulating and increasing the receptivity and more importantly the assimilation potential of his audience. In other words, developmental activities of any Government organization which involve contact with the communities should bear the strategy of Community Development and adopt its techniques. This is particularly important in the case of 'seasoned' administrators drawn into development work consequent on the newly independent countries embarking on a systematic national planning effort, for many of the administrative personnel trained in different ways under dissimilar conditions in the past will have to be educated, however gently, in the methods of 'participative administration' and in the ways of advisory, non-coercive roles. Traditional directional techniques would be so much ingrained in most of them that their very skills would in the new context be their inadequacies and their very training their liability. They would be, to use Burke's aphorism, 'unfit by being fit in an unfit fitness'. Besides, leading public men like Members of Parliament and top-level officers like Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments would need to be enlightened on the efficacy of Community Development as a vehicle for planned change and as an instrument of economic and social progress.

It therefore, follows that training in Community Development should include not only training for workers, supervisors, and administrators working in the Ministry or Department that carries its name, but should also include orientation of all categories of personnel connected with the development process, including

national leaders and top-level civil servants. ^{7/} It is relevant in this context to refer to the discussion on community development training contained in the 20th report of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination to the Economic and Social Council. To quote:

"The content of the training of all categories of personnel includes both special and general elements. The special elements consist of skills, elementary or more advanced, in the various technical subject matters. The general elements relate to mental attitudes and to broad methods and techniques of education and of organization; upon these latter will depend the very effectiveness of the process and of the success inculcating the technical skills already mentioned."^{8/}

Again, as promotion of local initiative and building up of local institutions to take increasing responsibility for development is one of the primary goals of Community Development, the training programme should include appropriate courses for local leaders, volunteers and members and office bearers of local government institutions.

Based on the foregoing discussions, the following categories of training and orientation courses would appear called for:

Training

A. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FUNCTIONARIES

- (i) Senior and middle-level officials at the policy-making level;
- (ii) training officers;
- (iii) field supervising staff; and
- (iv) front-line workers (rural and urban).

^{7/} The need for training and orientation for the different types of functionaries mentioned has been repeatedly stressed by various international seminars e.g. the Lahore Seminar of 1957, the Athens Seminar of 1962 and the Bangkok Regional Institute of 1966.

^{8/} Quoted in Study Kit in Training for Community Development, United Nations, Sales No.: 57.IV.6.

B. VOLUNTARY WORKERS AND LOCAL LEADERS

- (i) Office-bearers and workers of voluntary agencies working in Community Development and allied fields;
- (ii) office-bearers and members of county/district/parish community development committees and of community/village councils; and
- (iii) select local leaders

Orientation

A. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS

- (i) Top-level planners and administrators;
- (ii) finance-officers and information officers attached to or dealing with the Community Development Ministry/department.

B. PERSONNEL OF OTHER MINISTRIES/AGENCIES

- (i) Senior civil servants concerned with planning and development;
- (ii) higher-level personnel of ministries/departments/authorities concerned with development and welfare;
- (iii) senior Officers at the policy-making level dealing with Local Government;
- (iv) field staff of ministries/departments/authorities concerned with development and welfare; and
- (v) staff of local government bodies.

C. NON-GOVERNMENTAL CATEGORIES

- (i) Leading public men;
- (ii) office-bearers and members of local government institutions;
- (iii) office-bearers of youth and women's organizations, Co-operative Societies, functionally specific interest - groups like farmers' associations, trade unions etc.

In respect of the front-line community development workers, there may be a course of pre-service or induction training, before they are assigned to their jobs. With regard to the other government functionaries the training would be in-service. Besides these, there should also be periodic refresher courses for various categories of personnel, which will enable the

participants to be equipped with knowledge of new trends and developments, which may call for new methods and techniques. A well-conceived programme of action-oriented research and case studies should be meaningfully linked with such refresher courses. The findings of such studies would be valuable aids for improving the quality and enriching the content of training.

Apart from the functional training and attitudinal orientation, there is need for efforts at developing professional education in Community Development. 9/ Higher level officials engaged in community development work, could, to begin with, be selected for such professional education.

Besides, there is also a strong case for introducing in the general educational curricula, knowledge of Community Development, considering its wider connotations and its pervasive character. Inclusion of the topic of Community Development in an appropriate form in the Syllabus of Study in the secondary education stage, introduction of a diploma course on Community Development at the University level, conduct of seminars and conferences on the subject with an academic bias by the social sciences faculty of the University and introduction of the general principles of Community Development in teachers' training programmes 10/ are some measures which suggest themselves in this behalf.

Focus and Content of Training

Orientation, as the name suggests, is intended to bring about better understanding and appreciation. As for orientation for various categories of personnel in different ministries concerned with development and welfare, the course may be so constructed as to focus on the philosophy, concepts and processes of Community Development in the country, shaping of attitudes in working with individuals, groups, communities and local institutions, the role and methodology of Community Development in overall national planning effort, importance of mobilisation of human resources and promotion of popular participation in the development process, the significance of social and human factors in development and promotion of an understanding of the interdependence and inter-relationship between the various technical extension and welfare services.

9/ The Sub-Regional Workshop on Professional Education in Community Development, jointly organised by ECAFE and the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations in Bangkok in December, 1965 was of the view that "professionalization of Community Development was an effective means of increasing (its) impact on the improvement of people's living conditions and the promotion of national prosperity".

10/ This is especially important considering the influence and the informal leadership position of the school teachers in rural areas.

Orientation of political leaders of importance and top-level civil servants assisting the political administrators in policy-formulation and decision-making should endeavour to facilitate their discernment of the potential and prospects of Community Development in the economics and sociology of development and to enlist their sympathetic understanding of its problems.

As regards functional training for community development workers and officers, the content may include, besides the areas suggested for the orientation courses, emerging trends in Community Development in different countries, skills of working with individuals, groups, communities and people's institutions, communication in Community Development, basic information on the programmes and services allied to Community Development (e.g. agricultural production, land reform, small scale industries, co-operatives, housing, social work, youth development, vocational training and guidance, education, adult-literacy, health and sanitation, women's welfare and nutrition), their inter-relationship and knowledge of the functions and roles of the ministries and agencies responsible for them, details of programme-planning and programme-administration in Community Development including the public administration, financial and management aspects, principles and practice of programme-evaluation, means of location and promotion of functional local leadership, aspects of institution-building, role and responsibilities of local government, the link between Community Development and local government, the essentials of local planning techniques and the role of voluntary agencies. The course should also aim at securing some acquaintance with the elementary principles of social sciences like rural sociology, social work, social psychology, government and rural economics, including rudiments of social science research methodology, relevant for equipping the participants with clearer insights into the call of their profession and operational competence.

The training programme for the front-line workers and the field supervisory staff should include field-work as one of its components. Field-work, which should be geared to acquisition of practical experience in working with people and their institutions, will be composed of three elements, viz., field observations, attachment to an experienced field-worker whilst undergoing institutional training and independent field-assignment on a probationary basis at the conclusion of the 'class-room' training. Field-work, which is an essential tool for refining the practical skills of the functionary in fulfilling his 'social engineering' role, should be closely dovetailed with the theoretical aspects of training and should afford experience in the planning, execution and evaluation of actual programmes. Basic knowledge of conduct of social surveys may also be part of the field-work component. Also, the course for the front-line workers and their immediate supervisory staff may include greater details of community organization, group-dynamics, methods of social work, preparation, selection and use of audio-visual aids and planning, execution and management of local projects.

The training course for officers in charge of training in Community Development - the trainers' training course - should have a heavier slant on the academic content and should include details of teaching-methods, principles of the learning process, elements of syllabus-construction and course-formulation, development of teaching material and means of evaluation of training.

Where urban community development programmes are in operation or are planned to be implemented, there may be a distinct functional training programme on urban community development, as its problems, scope and approach are different from those of rural community development.

Refresher training for various categories of personnel should aim at familiarisation with new trends and development, further refinement of professional skills, identification of common problems encountered and exchange of experience. Field visits may also be part of the course.

Training and orientation courses for local leaders, and members and office bearers of local government institutions and other voluntary agencies and associations should aim at acquainting the participants with the role and functions of Government agencies and other authorities who deal with their problems, helping them understand their own responsibility in the various local and national development programmes, educating them on the essential concepts of Community Development with its stress on local resource-mobilisation, initiative and popular participation and enabling them to visualise the role of local leadership in promoting and coordinating concerted cooperative efforts for development. The curriculum may include simple principles of civics and government, basic knowledge of planning, implementation and maintenance of local projects, the structure and functions of local institutions including local government bodies, leadership functions and elementary procedural aspects of meetings and committees. Observational visits to selected projects may also be undertaken.

The professional course may have an intensive inter-disciplinary academic content in the fields of rural sociology, social psychology rural economics and public administration, with specialisation in selective fields like social work, home economics, adult education and cooperatives.

The Workshop may consider this suggested framework of curriculum areas and may outline more detailed syllabi for the various types of training programmes, and indicate the desirable duration for each.

Organizational Aspects

Considering the specialised nature of the work of planning and conducting training courses for different functionaries and in view of the constant attention it would demand, it is necessary that a separate senior official in the Ministry be given exclusive responsibility for training. Where the circumstances so warrant -

as they do in some countries in the region - a small training unit may be established. The possibility of constituting a division consisting of a team of persons engaged on training, research and evaluation may be considered, too. Such a step, it is felt, would be very welcome considering the close link that has to be forged between training, research and evaluation.

It is essential that the training officer or the training unit functions in close collaboration with the other sections of the Ministry dealing with programme planning and administration. This would be necessary from the points of view of (a) ensuring that changes in priority and emphasis in the programme are reflected without delay in the training curricula, (b) making a proper selection of trainees for the various courses, and (c) maintaining contact with ex-trainees after they have completed their training. Also, selection of the type of field work, attachment of trainees to seasoned workers in the field and the actual conduct of field visits can be done only in close consultation with the 'operative arm' of the Ministry.

In promoting training, coordination between the government agency, academic institutions, and concerned voluntary agencies is of great importance. Some suggested measures for bringing this about are:-

- a. Involvement of the concerned University faculty in lecture sessions;
- b. consultation with the University faculty in planning the academic content of the orientation and the training courses;
- c. joint conduct of seminars and workshops;
- d. association of the University faculty and representatives of active voluntary agencies in case studies, evaluation of programmes and conduct of base-line and repeat surveys; and
- e. formulation of a broad-based national community development association to facilitate harmonisation of the efforts of various bodies engaged in Community Development and exchange of experience.

The Workshop may consider these proposals and offer its suggestions.

It may be that not in all countries facilities and resources are adequate to organise the much-needed training and orientation at different levels on the scale, intensity and periodicity required. The Workshop may consider the desirability of establishing a regional centre or institute of study and research in Community Development, whose activities may include:-

- a. Systematic orientation of higher level administrators and leading public men in the different countries in the region;
- b. provision of professional education in Community Development to higher and middle level workers;
- c. organization of periodic trainers' training programmes in Community Development;
- d. conduct of a programme of inter-disciplinary research 11/ (including case studies) whose findings would throw useful and suggestive leads which may be of interest and benefit to programme planners, administrators and trainers in the various governments;
- e. assistance to national training programmes by way of academic guidance, suggestions for refinement of teaching techniques and materials, staff development etc; and
- f. arrangement of regular exchange of regional and other international experiences in Community Development.

Methods of Training

The quality of training, it is evident, depends as much on its content as on the effective and imaginative use of various teaching methods like lectures, group-discussions, role-playing, demonstrations etc. These are the means by which the trainees are sensitivised, stimulated and attuned to acquire new knowledge, skills and attitudes. But, there can be no specification of any particular method or methods as the most suitable for different situations, different learners, and different topics. It may, however, be generally stated that the purpose of training in Community Development is not to teach but to educate and that its function is not to prescribe but to suggest. Except in the case of pre-service or induction training of the front-line workers, which may involve considerable informative and institutional element, what Mr. T.R. Batten calls 'non-directive methods' are most suited for the training programme. In 'non-directive training, the trainer is first of all to create in the trainees an awareness of the need for training and then to devise the process by which the trainees are enabled to identify problems and think out solutions.

A 'tool-kit' of various methods employed in community development training is described below. The catalogue is by no means exhaustive. It is for the instructors to choose the tool best

11/ This may be confined only to applied research; basic research and methodological experiments in critical areas of inquiry may be entrusted to the University or other appropriate institutions.

suited for the particular training course at a given situation. The 'tools in the kit' include:

1. Lectures and lecture-discussions.
2. Group discussions.
3. Circular discussions.
4. Role-playing.
5. Role-reversal
6. Seminars.
7. Workshops.
8. Conferences.
9. Syndicate discussions.
10. Symposiums
11. Panel discussions.
12. Panel forums.
13. Debates.
14. Demonstrations.
15. Field trips.
16. Case Studies.
17. Work camps.
18. Audio-visual aids ^{12/} like charts, maps, graphs, diagrams, flip-charts, records like case-records and process records, boards like chalk-boards, flannel-boards and bulletin boards, exhibits, models, radios, television, tape recordings, film slides etc.

The choice of methods are no doubt to be left to the judgment and perception of the trainer; but it may be stated as a general rule that he should relate the methods not only to the level of audience, but also to the kind and content of the topic, major aim of the training course and the availability of time to stimulate the teaching-learning process.

The chart in Table 1 ^{13/} gives a birdseye view of the correlation between different training methods and the objectives of training and the categories of trainees.

12/ It is interesting to note in this context Mr. Edgar Dale's concept of 'Cone of Experience' (See Edgar Dale, Audio-visual Methods of Teaching, 1957). The cone represents a picture of the learning experiences ranging from the most concrete (the base of the cone) to the most abstract (the apex of the cone). From the base upwards the different layers are: direct, purposeful experiences, contrived experiences, dramatized experiences, demonstrations, field-trips, exhibits, television, motion-pictures, recordings, radio, still-pictures, visual symbols and verbal symbols.

13/ Taken from the Report of the Regional Institute for Training of Community Development Instructors, United Nations ECAFE, 1967

Table 1

RELATIONSHIP OF METHODS TO THE OBJECTIVES
OF TRAINING AND CATEGORIES OF TRAINEES

| Methods most effectively used | Objectives | | | Categories of trainees | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|----------|--------|------------------------|---|----|----|---|
| | Know-ledge | Attitude | Skills | VW | S | IN | AD | O |
| Lecture | x | | | x | x | x | | x |
| Demonstrations | x | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Question-answer | x | | | x | x | x | x | |
| Seminars | x | x | x | | x | x | x | x |
| Workshop | | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Syndicate | x | x | x | | | x | x | |
| Conference | x | x | | x | x | x | x | x |
| Work Camps | | x | x | x | | | | x |
| Process recording | x | x | x | x | x | x | | |
| Correspondence courses | x | | | x | x | | | |
| Forums | x | x | | x | x | x | x | x |
| Individual and group term papers | x | | x | x | x | x | | |
| Home and Farm visits | x | x | | x | | | | |
| Role Play | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Role Reversal | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Dramatic presentation | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Plays and Playlets | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Case Studies | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Field Work | x | x | x | x | | | | |
| Field Trips | x | | | x | x | x | x | x |
| Skills Practice | | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| Individual Consultation and Tutorial | x | x | | x | | | | |
| Symposium | | x | | x | x | x | x | |

Key: VW - village level
S - short-term
IN - Instructors
AD - Administrators
O - Others

An illustrative linkage of teaching methods and topics is given in Table 2.

| Topic | Nature of Topic | Suggested Methods | Sequence of Methods | Remarks |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Evolution of Community Development in the country | Factual and Informative | i. Circulation of descriptive papers ii. Lectures iii. Library reading iv. Home assignment | i. Circulation of papers followed by library reading ii. Lectures iii. Home assignment | |
| Marriage - its influence on family and community | Conceptual and empirical | i. Lecture-discussions ii. Case-records iii. Seminar iv. Field observations | i. Field-observations followed by lecture-discussions ii. Case-records iii. Seminar | Seminar to pool together the experience of field observations and case-records. |
| Occupational pattern in a village/county/parish/district | Informative and analytical | i. Circulation of analytical papers ii. Charts iii. Lecture-discussions | Advance circulation of paper initiation of subject in the lecture with the aid of charts, followed by discussions. | |
| Implications of Social change | Conceptual empirical and analytical | i. Case-records ii. Syndicate study iii. Lecture-discussions | Study of case-records in syndicate groups, followed by lecture and discussions. | |
| Role of the Ministry of Agriculture in rural development | Factual and Informative | i. Synoptic notes ii. Lecture discussions iii. Library reading iv. Group discussions | i. Synoptic notes ii. Library-reading iii. Lecture-discussions iv. Group-discussions | Synoptic notes to be circulated in advance. |

The Workshop may consider the methods outlined and offer its suggestions.

Table 2

AN ILLUSTRATIVE LINKAGE OF
METHODS AND TOPICS OF TRAINING

| Topic | Nature of Topic | Suggested Methods | Sequence of Methods | Remarks |
|---|--------------------------|---|--|---|
| Concept of rural community | Conceptual | i. Lecture-discussions ii. Individual study iii. Presentation of papers iv. Syndicate study | i. Individual study followed by presentation of papers ii. Lecture iii. Discussions iv. Syndicate study | |
| Role of Government officials and local leaders in Community Development | Conceptual and Factual | i. Lecture-discussions ii. Syndicate study iii. Panel discussions iv. Role-play v. Process-observations | i. Lecture-discussions-one of the discussion forums ii. Role-play iii. Process-observations | i. Process observations consists of observations and discussions of real situation ii. Selection of the type of group-discussions would depend on the level of participants and the structure of the course-design |
| Tradition and its influence on planned change | Conceptual and empirical | i. Field-observations ii. Lecture-discussions iii. Role-play Group-discussions | i. Role-play ii. Lecture-discussions iii. Field-observations followed by group discussions | Sequence depends on level of participants. |

IDENTIFYING TYPES OF RURAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE:
THE FORMULATION OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS*

In the community development movement, great inspiration has been drawn from anthropology. Faith in community development methods owes a great deal to the sentiment glorifying the little community; a sentiment which runs through so much Western social thought. Rejection of large-scale urban society, and the distaste for the formal apparatus of State which the capital city imposes on its rural hinterland, took its most extreme form among the Anarchists. But the Anarchists are by no means alone. The town meeting of New England and the village moot of Anglo-Saxon England are good examples of these community ideologies in actual practice. Nostalgia for more personal, intimate, face-to-face relationship in an idealized little community had great influence over British and North American anthropology.

Anthropologists have been practically the only observers from the social sciences who have taken a close look at community development and given advice, until very recent years. Also the great majority of text books and publications on community development are by anthropologists if they are not by community development specialists. Anthropologists have brought a special view of society to community development. In their own professional work, they have tended to look for relatively isolated, fairly autonomous little communities. Until not many years ago, they specialized almost exclusively on small tribes and bands of hunters and foragers who had remained outside of history in remote parts of the world, for example, aborigines of the Australian deserts, pygmies in the Congo rain forests and Eskimos in the Arctic. When anthropologists shifted their attention to peasant society, that is, village life based on sedentary agriculture, they took with them preconceptions which they had worked out while studying extremely self-contained primitives. It is clear that anthropologists were passionately involved in their primitive communities. Their devotion to personal relationships was transferred to their analysis of little peasant communities which formed integral parts of vast city-centred agrarian civilizations.

The first to make this transfer was Robert Redfield who, in 1926, went to the Aztec highlands of Mexico to study a semi-literate village which was in the forefront of national politics, instead of going off to some remote and illiterate group

* Prepared by Dr. J.S. MacDonald, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies (St. Augustine Division).

on the edge of history. ^{1/} Numerous other anthropologists, finding that they were running short of tiny bands of hunters to study, followed in Redfield's footsteps to do field studies of peasant communities which had been a no-man's-land between sociology and anthropology.

Redfield, being the pathfinder, had a tremendous influence on subsequent thinking about peasant society, and indeed, about all rural society. He had a tremendous influence, not only because of his pioneer field-work in a peasant society, but also because he drew up a panoramic scheme for studying all kinds of society whether rural or urban. ^{2/} Generally the other anthropologists who moved over to study agricultural communities refused to generalize. On the one hand, many concentrated on finding weaknesses in Redfield's scheme of empirical evidence which contradicted it. ^{3/} On the other hand much anthropological fieldwork has been inspired by the axiom that every way of life is unique, rejecting any general comparative scheme out-of-hand. To-day much thinking by community specialists who are not bound by a rigid official programme follows this particularistic and relativistic emphasis of anthropology. As a rule, when community developers are given their own way, they prefer that each community be studied in great detail in its own terms before any programme can be decided.

Our purpose here is to examine Redfield's grand scheme, amend and expand it, rather than reject it. Community development programmes cannot be established on a piece-meal basis dependent solely on the peculiar details of each community. Of course, particular projects should take into account the peculiarities of each community. But the overall programme into which local projects fit need a general scheme summarizing the realities of community life which are to be worked on. There are not only compelling political, administrative and technical reasons for a panoramic view as a basis for community development programming. There are also solid academic grounds for generalizing and assembling typologies. Without classification and generalization, empirical data do not become knowledge in the real sense of the word.

Despite telling criticisms of Redfield's facts and concepts, his influence lives on. In particular, if a non-anthropologist - such as a community developer, a social worker, an economist or a sociologist - wishes to get acquainted with peasant society, he naturally turns to the established texts, rather than become embroiled in the continuing in-fighting within the anthropological family. ^{4/} Redfield's Peasant Society and The Little Community are the customary texts for a layman's introduction to rural society. This paper tries to give positive guidance to the non-anthropologist consulting Redfield's classics.

It is only fair to emphasize that Redfield's views on folk society and rural communities passed through a number of stages. He eventually altered his original position to accomodate some of the major criticisms. Most important: he distinguished clearly

between folk society and peasant society, which, at first, he had lumped together.

He had originally ascribed the same characteristics to independent small holders, day labourers on large estates, share-croppers and tenants in villages, as well as shifting cultivators living in tribes and hunters living in tiny bands. Redfield had seen all non-urban, non-industrial peoples as having essentially the same characteristics. Do community developers persist in this view?

Later Redfield separated horticultural tribes and hunting bands - the folk - from peasants, who were identified as peoples settled in villages with sedentary agriculture. Peasants societies, he realized, are part-societies, being dependent on cities, politically, economically and culturally. In our view, even this three-way classification - folk, peasant, urban - is too indiscriminate.

We propose five major types of non-urban society as in the table appended to this paper: folk society (primitive bands of hunters and foragers); horticultural tribes; corporate peasant communities (including Hindu-type castes with corporate form); independent family farming peasants; and modern plantation estates. All five dominate the Caribbean and they are predominant in most rural regions of the world. 5/

Folk societies are exemplified by the Amerindians of the Amazonian jungles, as well as the hunters of the North American prairies and South American Pampas before the introduction of the horse. Horticulture is also known as shifting cultivation, slash-and-burn agriculture, swidden agriculture or dibble-stick agriculture: in short, low yield agriculture. Horticultural tribes occupied the Orinoco Valley and much of the lowlands around the Caribbean. They are also well represented in sub-Saharan Africa and in the jungles and hills of South-East Asia. The Maya of Yucatan, the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Khmer of Cambodia have achieved high yields from horticulture, providing the basis for cities. In effect, they are peasant societies. Fortunately for the simplicity of our scheme, the Yoruba remain the only important exception, and thus, as it were, prove the broad rule that horticulture is usually associated with tribalism. For the ancient tropical forest civilizations of Cambodia and Yucatan are long since extinct. The horticultural tribes we are referring to are those which have not achieved large-scale political consolidation. Even aside from the Yoruba, there were in sub-Saharan Africa, horticultural regimes like Dahomey, Ganda and Igbo which did not achieve substantial cities, but whose people had more in common with peasantries and less with folk bands than the ordinary run of simpler tribes. 6/

Redfield's revised picture of peasantries, after he distinguished them from folk societies, confuses two contrasting types.

He focussed on peasants living in corporate communities and generalized from these to all peasants. There is a bitter debate within anthropology as to whether Redfield in fact exaggerated the cultural integration and social equilibrium in the relatively corporate communities he studied at first hand.* Undoubtedly he was transplanting the a priori expectation of coherence and equilibrium from the anthropology of small bands and tribes. However, the interdependence and integration which he detected within his cases of peasant communities can, on re-examination, be found to be relatively strong compared to the contrasting type, independent family farming peasantry, which have convincingly been shown to be extremely unorganized and non-conforming on the community level. It is for this reason that we admit both types.

Good examples of corporate peasant communities are the Alpine municipalities of Central Europe, the encomienda villages for Amerindians in the Spanish American colonies, and the Norman manor of feudal England. 7/ We have included organized Hindu-type castes with corporate peasant communities. It is true that a caste does not occupy a separate territory of its own as a community does, being spread over a district alongside of other castes. But, having definite boundaries and a corporate character represented by its panchayat, it shares the same characteristics along the dimension drawn from Redfield's work.

Good examples of independent family farming peasants are found in much of Greece, Italy and Spain. They are also important in Haiti and Jamaica, as well as in "mestizo" Latin America when the common people are small holders or rent land. 9/

The plantation estate system so well exemplified around the Caribbean has so far remained largely outside the mainstream of anthropology. 10/ The study of large holdings practicing advanced monoculture has remained a separate specialty. Today there is a great deal of cross-fertilization of ideas between specialists in horticultural tribes and specialists in peasant communities. This paper seeks to bring the plantation estate under the same focus. This is important in that part of the Caribbean which concerns this conference because here the main contrast to be made is between independent family peasantry and plantation estates.

Numerically unimportant exceptions are the Maroons in Jamaica, the Black Caribs in British Honduras (Belize) and the Bush Negroes of Surinam, the tribal and de-tribalized Amerindians practising shifting cultivation in the interior of the mainland territories, and government-controlled land settlement schemes. These official colonization schemes, like Waller Field (Trinidad) and recent Government polders in Surinam are clearly corporate peasant communities. The Bush Negroes of Surinam are clearly horticultural.

* Vide footnote 4.

tribes, as are the Amerindian tribes which are still functioning entities. We do not have information to fit the Maroons and Black Caribs into our scheme. De-tribalized horticulturalists are not dealt with by our scheme, but observations in Venezuela, where they squat on vast tracts, suggest that they can be classified with independent family farming peasants. 11/ However they have very little to do with the market economy. We are not considering the old-style of plantation estate which has been eclipsed by the larger modern company organization over the last 100 years. It seems that the family-owned plantation estate in the days of slavery or indentured labour combined characteristics of the modern plantation estate and the corporate peasant community.

The accompanying table represents what the present writer imagines Redfield would have said if he had discriminated among these five types of rural society. Redfield's characterizations of folk society have been left intact in the left hand column. Modifications have been introduced as we move from left to right. Not all of these modifications occur together in a progressive gradient toward more and more urban characteristics, and less and less folk characteristics. Taking the usual risks of exegesis, we have derived 25 characteristics or dimensions in Redfield's folk.

He stressed four key characteristics: Smallness, Isolation, Non-Literacy and Cultural Distinctiveness. We should discuss these and the other traits in some detail to clarify the telegraphic labels used in the list.

Smallness: Folk societies, if we confine them to hunting and foraging peoples, are certainly small. For this sort of economy rarely can support long-term agglomerations of more than a few score of people. In most cases, the band consists of only a few closely related nuclear families in each camp.

Tribal horticultural peoples live in small hamlets and villages of in interrelated homesteads which exceed the hunters' and food gatherers' bands in size. In some cases, horticultural economies can support large cities as in ancient Yucatan or present-day Western Nigeria. Only in Yorubaland, however, have the actual cultivators themselves settled together in scores of thousands to live in cities. In the other cases of ancient tropical forest civilisations, it was not the cultivators but the population dependent on the horticulturalists who lived in cities. Usually tribal horticulturalists dwell in population centres of a few hundred families, at most.

The two contrasting types of peasant societies both feature sedentary villages of several hundred or several thousand households. The general rule as to their intermediate size between hunting bands and cities is excepted only in Southern Italy where agglomerations of peasants running into scores of thousands are found. Generally the two types of peasantry and the sub-type,

corporate Hindu-style castes, cannot be distinguished as to their size range.

Both types of peasantry are minor parts of large kingdoms or nations centred on a capital city. For this reason, they are considered on two levels simultaneously; first, internally as communities or castes; and, secondly, in their larger context in relation to other communities, particularly the non-rural world. Having regular channels of communication, trade, migration, formal education, administration with a city or cities, their social scale is enlarged far beyond the usual sort of horticultural tribe. Even when horticulturalists are subject to urban domination, the scope and intensity of their community's external relations are much less intense.

Plantation estates, as in the sugar belts around the Caribbean, may have a permanent population of only a few hundred households if they rely on seasonal labour drawn from outside. But, in total, their dependent population may run into tens of thousands of people. This is particularly true of the vast modern plantation estates run by corporations which have become the norm over the last 100 years between Washington, D.C. and Rio de Janeiro. Whether these plantation estates have their man-power in residence or draw seasonal labourers from distant districts, they generally have a much broader scope than peasant communities which, in turn, are on a greater scale than tribal horticultural societies. Hunting and food-gathering bands stand at the bottom of this progression. The top of a plantation estate community really spreads far out and above the particular community. The executive stratum links up directly with its nearest urban equivalent as well as to its peers in other plantation estates, including branches of the same company in other countries as well as the head office. In this sense, the plantation estate community is extremely open at the top and, if it draws in migrant labour, is also extremely open at the bottom. It has no mediating broker stratum, unlike peasant communities. Its own apparatus provides direct relationships with the outside world.

Isolation: Folk societies, in the narrow sense used here, certainly have slight outside contacts amounting to little more than occasional exchange of ceremonial objects, unless they have been forced into a one-way relationship of subjection to colonial administrators, missionaries, traders or employers from a society of a different order. These relations of subjection are not the same as those within other kinds of societies, even in the asymmetrical balance between peasant communities and dominant capital cities.

In tribal horticultural societies, the community may be open to the immediate outside world and in regular contact with a number of other communities because descent group relationships, which are not localized, cross-cut community solidarity. Indeed these tribal societies' main organizing principle is usually the

lineage with its members in a number of communities rather than in a single hamlet or village. Lineage relationships thus necessarily negate isolation of the community, although they cannot give the intensity or regularity of far-flung relationships which the apparatus of state permits.

Both types of peasant community - corporate and familial - are, roughly speaking, semi-isolated. Corporate peasant communities and corporate castes are more bounded than individualistic farming communities. The former may have an organization of office-holders of their own who act as buffers between the general population and the outside world. Family farming peasant communities by their nature, have no such mediating apparatus of their own. In any case, a corporate peasant community may also be penetrated by an enclave of "brokers", that is, intermediaries such as government administrators, non-congregational clergy, state school teachers, public nurses, state public works contractors, traders and so forth. While the smaller-scale extra-community relationships of tribal horticultural societies are relatively personal, the outside contacts between peasants and the outside world are more impersonal. The peasant's relations with resident brokers and the community's own functionaries' relations with the outside apparatus may be personal at the first step, but more remote linkages will necessarily be impersonal, particularly as they reach the capital city. This is equally true of castes of the Hindu-type. Although they cut across village organization and nominally stretch across immense distances, the effective continuing solidarity of a particular caste usually encompasses only members of the same caste in a cluster of villages. The members of this caste-district are more or less in the same position toward the outside world as corporate peasant communities.

The plantation estate is very much a direct part of the outside world as has already been pointed out. If its labour is entirely resident, its executives are in direct intense contact with the regional and national upper class as well as with the company's top echelons which may be international. Moreover their controls over the lower strata are much more strict and thorough than the superordination of brokers over peasants. This is especially true under systems of slavery, indentured labouring and peonage. Furthermore, the frequent resort to seasonal migrants from a variety of communities or to the importation of successive ethnic groups increases the exposure of this system. At the end of this list, we shall see also that the politicization of the plantation estate puts this kind of community into much more direct contact with the state and regional or nationwide political parties than any sort of peasantries.

Illiteracy: Without education introduced by societies of types 3, 4, 5, or 6, neither hunters and food-gatherers nor tribal horticultural societies are literate. Peasant societies are semi-literate internally; for their own functionaries or the intermediate stratum of

brokers are literate. Or at least these in-betweens use arithmetic and other elaborate symboling. Beyond the community, the city and the networks and apparatus which bind the peasants to it are largely literate. In ancient civilisations, literacy and arithmetic were often confined to the inner circle of the royal court and the upper theocracy. But, in this last century, the dividing line has shifted to lie between a scarcely literate peasantry and a highly literate outside world. The recent spread of low-grade public education among peasant communities has not shifted this balance to parity, as we can see in Jamaica and Surinam.

Plantation estates may be practically illiterate, as far as the mass of labourers is concerned. Neither slaves nor indentured labourers were literate. In the classic plantation estate, brawn was labour's only contribution to production. Literacy has come to the plantation estate population only as a result of their own political pressures within the plantation, or by reformist movements in the villages from which they are drawn. However, the executive and managerial stratum of the plantation estate is as actively literate as the outside world into which it meshes so directly.

Cultural Homogeneity is the first of twenty-one secondary characteristics which can be picked up from Redfield's work. Hunters and food-gatherers conform nicely to this label. Tribal horticultural peoples are also remarkably homogenous. Occasional exceptions - a slave, pariah, craftsman or royal stratum or lineage with its own sub-culture - are relatively slight deviations from the cultural mainstream, even among the Ganda, Igbo or Yoruba.

Peasant communities are more complicated. Closed corporate peasant communities and organized Hindu castes, having their own functionaries and intermediaries, rather than enclave of brokers from outside, can be remarkably homogenous. Peasant communities - whether corporate or not - are of course homogenous, compared to modern plantation estates or cities. But family-farming peasant communities, being open, have, within themselves, brokers representing the "high" culture of the outside world. This also holds for Hindu-type castes and sub-castes when they are open, that is, when they do not have established boundaries across which their own intermediaries deal with the outside world. In any case, the outside world confronts the community with "high" and "low" culture; most important, the Culture of the urban and upper classes. In the new world, Hindu-type castes have lost their panchayats and their corporatives and their members can be treated as family-farming peasants. In recent times, mass culture (popular urban culture) also has its impact. Since the Culture of the elites enters the little community via brokers including school teachers, it may penetrate less profoundly than mass culture, which can enter every household directly via the transistor radio and other mass media.

Plantation estates are even more complex. They have a juxtaposition of high and low cultures inside their boundaries. This juxtaposition is closer than that of "alien" brokers as in peasant society. While these brokers typically present a poor imitation of urban "high" culture, the elites on plantation estates bring in a close facsimile. Rather is it an integral part of the corporate structure with its resident executives, managers, technicians and craftsmen, all exercising continuing, efficient and intensive control over plantation life, even if the labour is not in bondage. Moreover, unlike peasant communities, there is usually the juxtaposition of contrasting ethnic subcultures among the lower echelons. Guyana, Surinam and Trinidad in particular, have confrontations among Asian, Portuguese, Creole Negro and tribal African cultures below the high culture of the metropolitan elites. The political culture of the labourers is often a direct extension of nation-wide working class movements. In addition, this system seems to be the most open to mass national culture via the urban-centred mass media.

Community Solidarity: While hunters and food-gatherers demonstrate extreme group solidarity, tribal horticultural peoples' solidarity resides primarily in their descent groups and secondarily in their communities. Corporate peasant communities, like the corporate lineages of tribal horticultural peoples, are very solidary. For this is the basis of their corporateness as compared to the individualism of independent family farming peasants. 12/ This type of peasant is not individualistic in the precise sense. Actually he is familistic: solidarity and morality stop at the boundary of the family, which is paramount over its individual members.

The outside world, along this dimension, is indeterminate. In the case of independent family farming peasantry, the minimal items of community living - water supply, town square, market place, school, church - are provided by the formal apparatus of state. The community itself is not organized to provide any services beyond the limits of each family. The outside world may be organized along a variety of lines. Among the rulers and their agents, there may not necessarily be organizational solidarity, but simply feudal-style patron-client reciprocal rights and duties. But, of course, the outside world must be stronger and more effective than the peasants. If not, the latter would be independent. Historically, this occurs only when peasants withdraw into isolation, as among the North American hillbillies and frontiersmen, or when they win parity with other sections - as in the northern United States or Northern Europe today.

On plantation estates, solidarity in the service of the economic enterprise is ideally as strong as it is in manufacturing enterprises. Where the labourers dwell on the plantation estate or in a company town, solidarity runs through all the social institutions, especially under the strict controls of slavery or other forms of bondage. The exception is the family, which is typically unstable and wracked by problems over responsibility

for dependents. However another form of solidarity arises in this environment: labour unions and pro-labour political parties.

Integrated Culture: The rapid demoralization of hunters and food gatherers after the intrusion of alien social institutions from more complex societies implies the great coherence of their traditional cultures as a closely integrated whole. Compared to less homogenous peoples, horticultural tribes have a very large measure of social equilibrium, but do not suffer the cultural collapse of hunting bands when suddenly exposed to the world.

No such social equilibrium and cultural wholeness hold in the case of peasant society. Closed corporate peasant communities come closest to this interdependence among groups and institutions. Even they, however, have to keep on reconciling the continuing introduction of high culture with their own established variant of low culture. This holds true of castes too. Open corporate peasant communities, having resident brokers bearing high culture from outside, are subject to more rapid cultural intrusions and must repeatedly re-adjust to balance new combinations of high and low culture. Needless to say, however, they are less exposed than independent family farming peasants.

In their extreme forms, the cultural integration of independent family farming stops with the family. Indeed, beyond the family, these independent family farmers have no culture except in defining the broadest limits of behaviour. This is amoral familism. 13/ It does not mean that behaviour beyond the family is irregular and unpatterned. Rather is this a system of transactions, especially dyadic contracts, based on dealing and negotiating. 14/ Recurrent transactions between the same families are typically clustered together into patron-client axes. In view of sociology and anthropology's long insistence on culturally dictated values and norms as the keys of human behaviour, our insistence on transactions must be disturbing. Yet our high-school history books tell us of one important case. It was not culture - values and norms - which was the basis of Western European feudalism. Rather was it based on patronage and clientship subject to re-negotiation. 15/ Of course, the amoral familism of family-farming peasant can persist within a kingdom or nation which is run on quite different lines, for example, by a bureaucracy.

The plantation estate system cannot have a coherent culture. The elite's culture meshes directly in with the national or metropolitan culture at the same level. The ethnic groups brought in from abroad or from the village communities in the hinterland to supply the common labour are culturally decapitated, as it were when their people enter the plantation estate. The problem then is to work out an approximation to a moving equilibrium which, of course, cannot be achieved with such great sub-cultural divergencies and a rapid population in and out-flow. Peasant communities and horticultural tribes rarely

receive many in-migrants, other than their own returning out-migrants. As a rule, plantation estates are repeatedly inducting new waves of resident or seasonal labour, constantly upsetting any tendency to cultural integration.

Traditionalism: This dimension scarcely differentiates among the first four types, although obviously the extreme folk society is the most conservative. There seems to be no clear distinction between closed corporate peasant communities and independent family farmers: some are progressive, and others are not. The modern plantation estate is, by contrast, definitely modernizing. The encompassing larger society in which a peasant society is set may be tradition-bound or not, hence the use of question marks in the table. The larger national and international setting of the plantation estate is modernizing.

Spontaneity: There is a down-gradient from extremely spontaneous to scarcely spontaneous with folk society at one end and the transactional style of independent family farming peasant at the other. Life in corporate peasant communities is quite highly ordered because the whole community is, in a sense, one economic unit in which all families must play their appropriate part. The surrounding world outside the peasant community cannot of course be spontaneous. It is usually an organized apparatus, except under the more capricious types of tyranny. In the plantation estate, cultural conflict, rationalization and politicization make life far removed from the spontaneity of folk society, and the larger world around it is of the same order.

Lack of Criticism: Here, too, is a simple gradient from more to less as one moves from left to right. Corporate peasant communities must have as great measure of consensus as the corporate descent groups of horticultural tribes if they are to function as collective economic enterprises. The gradient is simplified by the fact that neither sort of peasant community is associated with a particular degree of criticism in the superordinate outside world. The national elites may be harmonious and complacent, or wracked by violent polemics. Independent family farming peasants are highly critical between families, but each family is, in effect, a community unto itself. The supporting hamlet or village is too disorganized by criticism between families to function as an organic community, hence the need for organization by the apparatus of state. Whether the assumption of responsibility for community services by the state encourages inter-family irresponsibility, or vice-versa, is hard to say. The people on plantation estates are not uncritical like folk societies, but they are not torn by the individualistic bitterness and suspiciousness of independent family farming peasantry. Rather are the individual conflicts within the family itself. It is not simply that the family of the lower strata on the plantation estate is unstable. For family instability can be smooth as it often is in corporate peasant communities and horticultural tribes. The point is that the ordinary family on the plantation estate is subject to bitter

disputes over support of dependents and responsibility for child care. Conflicts outside the family are along sectional lines, such as ethnic group rivalry or violence and political moves by labour or management. These conflicts are paralleled on the national and international scene. There are no such parallels between the inner life of peasant communities and the national life of which they form a small part.

Personal Relations: Owing to the small scale of hunting and food-gathering bands, inter-personal relations inevitably involve whole people, personally, face-to-face. Horticultural tribes extend this intimacy by expanding warm personal relationships over a great span of an individual's descent group. A lineage in some horticultural tribes may number scores of thousands of people bound by a common ancestor. This bond gives wide scope to intimate personal relations even though more distant relations within the lineage are more ceremonial than intimate.

Corporate peasant communities, not being cross-cut by descent group loyalties, permit more personal relations than do far-flung lineages. A caste joining together people of the same status in several adjacent villages permits the same intimacy among whole persons because marriage and its attendant preparations, ceremonies and special ties occur within the particular caste. Lineages, by contrast, marry out, so the marriage process cements bonds between descent groups, not within them. Independent family farming peasants have a preponderance of instrumental service relationships outside the family, but repeated transactions tend to be personalized into patron-client axes where the whole person is involved. Personalized patronage through networks of brokers may extend far into the outside world, as it did Western European feudalism. Often so-called corruption in a state bureaucracy is really a personalized patron-client network operating behind the official scenes. However, since peasants are, by definition, dependent peoples, the nature of the encircling apparatus of state cannot be prejudged. Plantation estates are the least personal of all; and they rest in an even more impersonal world. As with independent family farming peasants, relations are largely instrumental, but with the difference that plantation estate life and its world are bureaucratized, not personalized into patronage and clientelism.

No Legislation: Neither primitive bands nor horticultural tribes have legislation. Corporate peasant communities, however, have internal legislation, or quasi-legislation, as seen in the Anglo-Saxon moot and the New England town meeting. The atomistic type of family farming peasantry cannot produce its own legislation. Its laws come from the outside. The closed corporate peasant community, by contrast, can have a great deal of autonomy in its own deliberations, although the outside world passes laws about its sphere. The plantation estate, being a bureaucratic entity, makes its own quasi-legal regulations, but is generally not a legislative entity. In the old days, it was the national representatives of the plantocracy who made the laws which were applied to the inner workings of the plantation estates. In recent times,

the internal formulation of bureaucratic instructions as well as the penetration of the national legislatures into the plantation estates have become elaborate dynamic processes.

No Experimentation: There is a definite gradient up toward great experimentation as one moves from folk to plantation estate. Little can be said about the degree of experimentation in the cities which dominate peasant communities: it may vary considerably from civilisation to civilisation. In recent times, however, cities have been fountains of creativity and innovation. Indeed, it is these upsurges of innovation in the cities which create new forms of high culture, which then diffuse to the peasant communities to come into conflict with or be re-worked into their own low culture. As to experimentation, the plantation estate is the most "urban" of rural communities and also has direct unmediated communications with highly experimental cities.

Intellectually Unreflective: Little intellectualism is found in any of these rural communities. In peasant communities, intellectual reflection is confined to the brokers from outside. The bureaucratized plantation estate of the last 100 years is scarcely intellectual, but, in the old, less capitalistic plantation estate, one found an insistence on intellectuality among the elites. In the case of peasantries and plantations, we cannot presume the intellectualism of the embracing urban society, although it is there where the universities lie.

Kinship and Family Basis: This holds true of hunters and foragers and horticultural tribes. However, while the way of life in corporate peasant communities revolves around the community rather than family and kinship interests, the opposite is the case among independent family farming peasants. The plantation estate is characterized by the extreme weakness of family and kinship bonds, which may be even weaker inside the plantation estate than in the outside urban world. As for the world encompassing peasant communities, it must, by its nature, be built around some sort of formal apparatus, unless it is a feudal hierarchy in the classic sense. In medieval Europe and many countries in the mediterranean tradition, vertical linkages up the pyramid of vassalage are not only personalized, but also enmeshed with kinship connexions.

Sacredness: While the way of life of hunting bands and horticultural tribes is permeated by supernatural values, peasant societies are less religious. Independent family farming peasants are generally less sensitive to the supernatural than corporate community peasants. Modern plantation estates are relatively secular too. Although the labourers may cling to cults which represent their ethnic identity or be active in new religious movements such as fundamentalist congregational sects, broad expanses of their lives are extremely secular. Beyond the tribal stage, little can be said a priori about the extent of secularization of the societies in which peasant communities or plantation estates are embedded.

Economy of Status: Both simple bands and horticultural tribes have their economic behaviour based on rights and obligations derived from the status of the persons involved. In this way, they are non-market economies. There are partial exceptions, such as the large horticultural tribes of Yorubaland and Gandaland in West and East Africa, respectively, but they contrast sharply with the extreme exposure to the market among family farming peasants. Closed corporate peasant communities, like all peasantries, participate in trade with towns and cities, but internally may preserve a non-market economy. Plantation estates are a combination of rationalistic bureaucracy and ascriptive stratification, often based on sharp ethnic or educational distinctions. This means their internal economic organization has both status and market elements, with the latter paramount. The national and internal market for the plantation estate has also become permeated with status, in particular, preferential tariffs and import quotas. Nevertheless this is a market economy, as it is with peasantries embedded in modern nations. This was not always so. Exchange and distribution in Western European feudalism and in the great irrigation civilizations, such as Imperial China and the pre-Colombian Peru, was largely based on status, rather than the market.

Slight Division of Labour: Here we find a remarkably regular progression toward greater division of labour from left to right.

Tool-making Tools: The use of tools to make tools, which is most rudimentary or non-existent among primitive bands, cannot be arranged on a gradient of ascending complexity of tool-making. Plantation estates minimize the technical knowledge of their mass manpower and procure their complicated equipment mostly from the outside world. Peasants do much more tool-making and combining of tool-making processes than do plantation estate labourers. In a plantation estate, a stratum of highly skilled technicians and craftsmen may service the complex machinery and perhaps make new parts on lathes or in a foundry on the property, but this is only a small end-phase of the mechanized tool-making process vested in the urban factory.

Economic Self-Sufficiency: Along this dimension, there is a most definite progression away from closure. Not only are plantation estates, being monocultural, extremely dependent on complementary and supplementary production in the outside world. Also the independent farming family, being, as it were, a tiny community unto itself, is extremely dependent on the outside world for supplies and consumer goods. The urban-dominated world which encompasses peasant communities and plantation estates is, of course, not self-sufficient. Non-industrial cities simply lived off their subordinate peasantries and estates. Manufacturing centres have not yet become self-sufficient and, with rare exception, dominate their rural hinterland.

Ascription: Achievement and ascription are opposed principles of social organization. Folk societies and tribal horticultural societies are ascriptive because a person's various positions are assigned on the basis of technically extraneous criteria. For example, wisdom is supposed to increase with age, so old men are in charge of esoteric knowledge and religion. Another example: Superiority or inferiority are derived from one's birth. At first glance, it might be expected that there is a progression toward achievement at the expense of ascription, as we go from folk to plantation society. Yet, in fact, peasant communities are often organized internally with little regard to accidents of birth and other privileges. Ascription, among peasantries, applies more to the family advantage and ethnic distinctions used by the outside society and its intermediary brokers, rather than inside the community proper. In plantation estates, ascription in the form of ethnic discrimination and family advantage, particularly giving differential access to education, is very important. It may seem strange that a modern enterprise can harbour so much ascription within its formally bureaucratic structure. But it is one of the paradoxes of modern society in general that, along with the movement toward greater rationality and achievement, there is perhaps more racism, ethnic separatism and family advantage than in peasant society.

Cultural Distinctiveness: Hunting and foraging bands or clusters or bands numbering rarely more than a couple of thousand members possess comparatively unique cultures. Both horticultural tribes and peasant communities may share similar institutions with their neighbours over vast culture areas, even when they are not subject to a common political regime or, in the case of peasants, influenced by the same urban high culture. To this writer, it seems odd that anthropologists like Redfield have insisted on the peculiarity of each tribe's and each village culture. In fact, large tracts of tribal Africa and tribal South America before the Conquest, as well as vast belts occupied by peasants, can easily be classified as being relatively homogenous culturally. In peasant societies, cultural diversity is found outside the community or marginally as represented by brokers coming from outside. Plantation estates are not culturally distinctive, having resident elites representing urban high culture. They are not mere brokers as in peasant societies, but rather are integral parts of the community and exercise powerful and profound controls. The ethnic distinctions which stratify and segment the plantation estate and the continuing identification of the ethnic groups with their home communities or their own racial bloc is another factor making it impossible to have a culture in a particular plantation estate.

Group Consciousness: Primitive bands have extreme group consciousness, but, in horticultural tribes, collective consciousness is likely to be stronger within a descent group than within a community. In corporate peasant communities and also in castes within the ambit of a district, there is also marked collective

consciousness. But, among independent family farming peasants, this stops at the family. In plantation estates, ethnic and class consciousness are the rule. As to the ambient society, little can be said a priori about this dimension of Redfield's scheme. Above all, the character of the larger society depends on the advent of nationalism and political ideologies.

Collective External Relations: This applies to hunting and foraging bands, horticultural tribes and corporate peasant communities, including castes. Communities of independent family farming peasants do not, of course, have collective external relations: it is the individual and his family who relate to the outside world and its brokers. The plantation estate exercises collective external relations in behalf of the enterprise as a whole. Also the constituent social classes or ethnic groups usually organize their own collective external relations.

No Politics: Primitive bands and horticultural tribes have no politics in the strict sense as a rule. The secret societies of some large West African tribes are a partial exception. In any event, internal politics are more manifest in corporate peasant communities including castes. Among independent family farming peasants, there is little politics, but rather manoeuvring through factions and patron-client relationships. In plantation estates, by contrast, there is politics in the familiar sense among the component strata and segments, as well as between the estate as a whole, or its component political groups and the outside world. Again we cannot prejudge whether or not the outside world of peasant communities is politicized.

Spelling out Redfield's scheme in this way for the present audience implies a number of basic questions:

- (1) Do any of these types occur in the Caribbean? Are there other important types?
- (2) Do they in fact possess the contrasting characteristics listed here? Are there other characteristics which should be added?
- (3) If they occur in our region with the characteristics as described, can these characteristics be used as a guide to community development strategy and tactics?

The present writer must leave the answers to questions (1) and (2) to the members of the conference. Assuming that we can answer them in the affirmative, the first point to make regarding question (3) is that community development strategy or tactics should be different for each distinct type. Let us make a few illustrative suggestions. A rural community which is corporate does not have to be taught organizational procedures in the same way as an atomized independent family farming community which

has no successful experience in maintaining collective external relations and running grassroots problem-solving groups other than the family household. Community development work in a plantation estate split by ethnic antagonisms might best start with techniques for improving race relations. This approach would not be called for in an ethnically homogeneous peasant village. It is no use assuming that a functioning community in the useful sense of the word is actually operating. Community development work has special problems when the community is merely an agglomeration of independent families clustered around minimal services provided from outside. Cleavages between castes whose loyalties cross-cut communities and extend over wide districts pose different initial problems. The use of local leadership will depend on whether leadership is in the hands of "insiders" or in the hands of brokers from outside the community. Corporate peasant communities take easily to economic cooperatives as the success of cooperatives inspired by catholic democracy or socialism in central and north-western Europe testifies. A key problem for the community developer is to marshal idle man-power in the service of broad interests which do not correspond with established interest groups. Great skill is required to re-align established interest groups to avoid conflict. Such re-alignment cannot be made without identifying the existing cleavages which will vary from one type of society to another.

II

As a preliminary to formulating development plans, it is necessary to make a survey of the needs and potentials of an area which is characterized by a particular type of social structure. It is not enough to identify the broad type of social structure prevailing in a district, without examining its peculiarities in some detail by bringing together existing data and filling in the gaps with a field study. In this way, composite local plans can be formed in a realistic way, taking into account the objective problems of the area, rather than being a mere aggregate of the 'felt needs' of the local communities. Some suggested practical guidelines and approaches are outlined below:

I

Detailed surveys of particular communities cause too much delay. Governments usually insist on uniform nation-wide programmes which are not appropriate for distinct districts. Time in selecting the best projects for a particular village or district can be saved in two ways.

- (a) first, we can simply identify the general type of local economic and political organization, for example, corporate peasant community or modern plantation estate. This can be done by on-the-spot observation in a few weeks. Then we can draw on anthropological and sociological knowledge to deduce the various social and cultural characteristics usually associated with that type. This first method of time-saving must be checked against the realities of the particular district or village by on-the-spot investigations by the community developer, before he starts his project, or by engaging a visiting specialized anthropological adviser. It would be best if the community developer had a short training course in sociology and anthropology, but this is not absolutely necessary in all cases. A substitute for sociological training would be a brief pamphlet giving guiding instructions on the points to be checked and the methods to be used. A general framework for an instruction sheet to be adapted to each country could be prepared by a committee of Caribbean anthropologists and sociologists under the advice of micro-development planners from governments;
- (b) second, greater use should be made of existing statistics from population censuses, agricultural censuses, national household surveys, land title registers, district government reports, agricultural extension officers' reports, etc. The work of governmental statistical offices and census offices depends on the demands made by other government authorities and the public. Community developers have not realized that they, too, should press for the kind of statistics they need for their own purposes; and that they, too, should press for early publication.
- (i) Community developers need social, economic and demographic statistics classified by small districts and/or by villages. Statistical offices and census offices usually first publish statistics on the national and regional level. These large-scale figures are built up from village and district statistics, so there is no additional work involved in giving copies of small-scale statistical tables to micro-development planners. To save money, it may be necessary not to publish local statistics. But the IBM-type machines which do the tabulations can print a couple of extra copies of these district or village statistics at no extra charge. They can then be mimeographed by the community development authorities for internal dis-

tribution.

- (ii) Community development authorities need to make certain in advance that the government's statistical-collection plans include their most useful data, for example, the total population of "natural" or "potential" communities (instead of using arbitrary divisions, such as main roads which chop up communities). If separate statistics for each village are impractical, statistics should be tabulated for districts or clusters of villages which have common interests.
- (iii) For example, the population classified by age in at least 4 categories: under one year of age, one year through 14 years of age, 15 years of age through 59 (or 64) years of age (depending on the usual age of retirement); and 60 (or 65) years of age and over; cross-classified by sex. Children of school-age. Number of households; number of households with 7 or more members; number of multiple households (containing 3 or more families); proportion of households with female heads; proportion of households with principal source of income from agriculture; proportion of formal marriages compared to consensual unions; number of persons per room per dwelling. The male population of working age (15-59 or 15-64) classified by sector of activity; (agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, mining, construction, administration, etc.); by occupational status (professional, other white-collar, skilled workers, semi-skilled, unskilled), by employment status (self-employed, employee, employer, unemployed); working population which has actually worked for less than 7 months (or 4 months) in last year. Repeat separately for the female population of working age. In rural areas, it is desirable to cross-classify occupational status and employment status by the two major sectors, agricultural versus non-agricultural, separately. Among other things, this information shows how many of the agricultural people work on their own account independently. Average number of children ever born to women aged 15 through 44 years; number of children aged 0-4, as ratio to the number of women aged 15 through 44. Literacy and education completed by major stages (0,1-3 years, 4-6 years, intermediate high school, full high school, university) for the population over 14 years of age or normal school-leaving age. School enrolment and school attendance among school-age population (7-14 years). Individual yearly or monthly income of working population at work. Total yearly or monthly income of each household, with distinction between those over or below poverty-line. Ethnic groups, distinguishing between tribal and de-tribalised, where appropriate. Place of residence of heads of household twelve months previously (same district, contiguous districts, more distant districts);

place of residence of total population now one year old and over twelve months previously. Repeat for residence five years previously. Time travelling to and from work each day for working population at work (under one half hour; 30-60 minutes; over one hour). Consumer durables and utilities present in each household; proportions of households with electricity, piped water, toilet, car, refrigerator, etc. (These indicators of levels of living and the poverty line must be adapted to the realities of the particular country). Households owning or renting house, as proportion of total houses. Proportion of household income spent for house rent. Mass media in households: radio, newspaper, magazines.

- (iv) Poverty surveys and surveys of levels of living already done by private bodies, welfare authorities and the United Nations provide numerous other good indicators which may be useful to micro-development planners in particular countries.
- (v) The FAO has provided guidelines and standardized tabulations for censuses of agriculture, land holdings and agricultural employment. These standardized statistics are very useful to community developers and local government planning. In Trinidad and Tobago, FAO international standards have yielded clear data on the economic structure and man-land relationships of rural districts. In other countries where these standards have been followed, similar syntheses could be made to serve as graphic guides to the community development and local government planner.
- (vi) The existing statistics must suffice for the time being in many countries. For new censuses will not be carried out, in most cases, until 1970 or 1971. Moreover, the first results will not normally become available in the form needed for local planning and development until at least an additional two years will have passed. In the meantime, those interested in micro-development planning should negotiate for appropriate sample surveys and have a say in the design of the next population and agricultural censuses.
- (vii) It should be remembered that very recent advances in sampling techniques are much less costly than the established type of national sample survey.
- (viii) It is important to design clear tabulations from surveys and censuses in advance. If not, the data-processing programmers and operators will print out the required data in a form which is illegible to the non-specialist or needs further calculating to make sense. All but the very simplest computers can immediately produce percentages instead of raw figures; percentages are more useful,

giving an immediate perspective. Tabulations can be designed so that they will be printed by the computer with self-explanatory captions, labels and footnotes. In this way, the computer print-out emerges from the machine looking like a book which can be read by any educated person. It can be immediately mimeographed without editing, only requiring a few explanatory notes. Tabulations with self-explanatory titles and percentages instead of raw figures are quickly digestable.

- (ix) These data can be made more digestable by putting them on maps, district by district, so that the micro-development planner in a particular district can assess the problems there relative to other districts simply by scanning. Graphs and charts can also be used to make data more presentable and put particular districts in proper perspective. Without such comparisons, resources cannot be concentrated in the neediest districts.

Mapping various social and economic characteristics of a country, district-by-district, should lead to the identification of distinct types of districts, that is two or more districts which share the same crucial characteristics. In this way, micro-development plans can be drawn up for each type of district, rather than having a separate programme for every single district. For example, Trinidad and Tobago have 37 wards, but we can identify a small number of general types of ward, let us say 6, so that 37 different programmes do not have to be drawn up separately. In some small Caribbean countries there may be a great uniformity so that there is no need to adapt national policy to different districts.

2. The village or district approach in statistics and planning runs into a serious problem where, as in Trinidad, many rural residents travel long distances to work across their district (ward) boundaries. For this reason, it is important to get information on travel time to work, or whether place of work is outside district of residence.

3. Such commuting poses the problem of winning the support of commuters to serve their hometowns. Once that they are involved in hometown micro-development, they can serve as a pipe-line of money and new ideas from the more advanced districts to the more backward.

4. When people migrate for long periods away from their home districts, they too could be won over to support micro-development projects in their original homes. However, they may in their first years away from home have problems of their own which require special projects for hostel accommodation, social clubs, etc. Institutions built up to solve migrants' urban problems may later serve as bases for channelling assistance to home districts.

The workshop may consider these approaches and recommend a schedule for the conduct of surveys as a preliminary to the formulation of local area plans.

REDFIELD'S FOLK-URBAN CONTINUUM: EXPANSION AND AMENDMENT

| REDFIELD'S DIMENSIONS: FOLK SOCIETY | HORTICULTURAL TRIBES | CORPORATE PEASANT COMMUNITIES AND CASTES | | INDEPENDENT FAMILY FARMING PEASANT | | PLANTATION ESTATES | |
|---|---|--|---|---|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| | | INSIDE | OUTSIDE | INSIDE | OUTSIDE | INSIDE | OUTSIDE |
| Small | Small Communi- ties but Lineage Contacts | Larger Communities | Impersonal, Regional or National Con- tacts through Brokers | Larger Communities | Impersonal, Regional or National Contacts through Intrusive Brokers | Largest Communities and/or Regional Migration | Elites in Direct Urban Contact |
| Isolated | Occasional, Impersonal Contacts be- yond Lineage | Semi-Isolated | Same | Open Communi- ties: With- drawn Families | Same | Catchment Area and/ or International Labour Flow | International Horizon |
| Non-Literate | Non-Literate | Part-Literate | Literate | Part-Literate | Literate | Part-Literate | Literate |
| Culturally Distinctive | Segment of Culture area | Segment of Culture area | Diversity | Segment of Culture area | Diversity | Culturally Heterogenous | Culturally Heterogenous |
| Homogeneous | Homogeneous: Slightly Diff- erentiated elite | Relatively Homogeneous plus Broker sub Culture | High and Low Cultures | Relatively Homogeneous with Intru- sive Broker Culture | High and Low Cultures | High and Low Cultures plus Ethnic sub Cultures | Same |
| Strong Group Solidarity | Strong Soli- darity, espe- cially Line- ages | Strong Community Solidarity | ? | Amoral Familism | ? | Economic Solidarity | ? |
| Coherent Culture | Relatively Coherent | Moderately Inte- grated despite broker sub-culture | Unintegrated | Strong Family Integration plus Trans- actions and Patronage | Unintegrated | Unintegrated | Unintegrated |
| Conservative | Conservative | Relatively Conservative | ? | Relatively Conservative | ? | Modernizing | Modernizing |
| Spontaneous | Relatively Spontaneous | Less Spontaneous | Some Apparatus | Less Spontan- eous Trans- actions | Some Apparatus | Rationalization & Politicization | Rationalization & Politicization |

| REDFIELD'S DIMENSIONS: FOLK SOCIETY | HORTICULTURAL TRIBES | CORPORATE PEASANT COMMUNITIES AND CASTES | | | INDEPENDENT FAMILY FARMING PEASANT | | PLANTATION ESTATES | |
|---|----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|---|--|--|
| | | INSIDE | OUTSIDE | | INSIDE | OUTSIDE | INSIDE | OUTSIDE |
| Uncritical | Relatively Uncritical | More Critical | ? | | Very Critical | ? | Critical | Critical |
| Personal | Non- Instrumental | Less Personal | Largely Impersonal | | Impersonal outside family | Impersonal plus Patronage | Least Personal | Impersonal |
| No Legislation | No Legislation | Internal Quasi-Law | Legislation | | Family Law unto Self | Law and Patronage | Law and Internal Regulations | Legislation |
| No Experimen- tation | No Experimen- tation | Little Experiment | Some Experimen- tation | | Little Experiment | Some Experi- mentation | More Experimental | Experimental |
| Unintellectual | Unreflective | Little Intellect- ualism | Some Intellect- ualism | | Little Intell- ectualism | Some Intellect- ualism | Little Intellectualism | Reflective |
| Kinship Basic | Descent Group Basic | Kin secondary to Community | Some Apparatus | | Immediate Kin- ship, then Transactions | Some Apparatus plus kin-based Patronage | Non-Kin | Non-Kin |
| Family Basic | Lineage, Comm- unity & Family | Community before Family | Some Apparatus | | Extreme familism | Same | Least Familial | Least familial |
| Sacred | Sacred | Relatively sacred | ? | | Semi-sacred | ? | Secular | Secular |
| Economy of Status | Status Economy | Semi-Market Economy | Market Economy | | Market Economy | Market Economy | Market | Market |
| Little Divi- sion of Labour | Slight Division of Labour | Moderate Division of Labour | Greater Division of Labour | | Moderate Divi- sion of Labour | Greater Divi- sion of Labour | Greater Division of Labour incl- uding Totally Unskilled mass | Complex Division Labour |
| No Tool-making tools | Some Tool- making tools | Moderate use of tool-making tools | Greater use of tool-making tools | | Moderate use of tool-making tools | Greater use of tool-making tools | Moderate use of tool-making tools | Highest tech- nology supply- ing tools |

| REDFIELD'S DIMENSIONS: FOLK SOCIETY | HORTICULTURAL TRIBES | CORPORATE PEASANT COMMUNITIES AND CASTES | | INDEPENDENT FAMILY FARMING PEASANT | | PLANTATION ESTATES | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | INSIDE | OUTSIDE | INSIDE | OUTSIDE | INSIDE | OUTSIDE |
| Economically Self-Sufficient | Relatively Self- Sufficient | Moderately or Non- Self-Sufficient | Economically Dependent on Villages | Moderately or Non-Self- Sufficient | Economically Dependent on Villages | Non-Self- Sufficient | Interdependence of Specialized Processes |
| Ascriptive | Ascriptive | Relatively Ascriptive | ? | Ascriptive and Transactional | ? | Racial and Educational Differentia- tion | Achievement versus Race |
| Group Consciousness | Lineage Consciousness | Community or Caste Consciousness | ? | Familism | ? | Ethnic and Class Con- sciousness | ? |
| Collective External Relations | Collective Relations | Collective Relations | - | Direct Family Representation with Outside World | - | Collective External Relations | - |
| No Politics | No Politics | Internal Politics plus Party Politics | ? | Little Politics: Manoeuvring in Factions | ? | Company, Union, Party and Ethnic Politics | Modern National Politics |

FOOTNOTES

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- 3/ Outstanding among the general discussions arising out of Redfield's works are:
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- 4/ The debate about the nature of peasant society has focussed particularly on the question of harmony and cohesion as an essential attribute or individualism and suspiciousness.
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J. Paddock, "Oscar Lewis' Mexico". Anthropological Quarterly. Vol. 34, 1961, 129-149.

G. Foster, "The Dyadic Contract". I and II. American Anthropologist. Vols. 63 and 66, 1961 and 1963, resp.

The contrary positions taken by the antagonists in this debate are not simply the result of different interpretations of the same data. It is true that Lewis, Paddock and Redfield see harmony and cohesion or individualism and suspiciousness in rural Morelos in the Mexican Highlands, according to their own lights. However, the discussion about peasant communities being centrifugal or centripetal fails to distinguish between the closed corporate community, at one extreme, and the open independent family farming type, at the other. Moreover, there has been a failure to identify transitional communities. In fact, so many have been moving from the first toward the second extreme in free enterprise economies and welfare states and from the second toward the first type in centrally planned economies. Pitt-Rivers is arguing from his fieldwork in Andalusia, Spain, where the rural anarchist movement has aimed at reconstituting their closed corporate communities by winning village autonomy from the cities and the State. See: E. Hobsbawm. Primitive Rebels. New York, Praeger, 1963. Chapter 5. This anarchism is remarkably akin to the bucolic idyll which is the dream of Redfield and the more naive community developers. By contrast, Banfield, Cancian and Lopreato are arguing from field work among the independent family farming peasants of the Southern Appenines, Italy. Unfortunately they all generalize from their tiny non-random samples as if they represented all peasantries.

5/ For discussions of various types of rural society, see: M. Banton (ed.) The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. New York, Praeger, 1966.

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K. Wittfogel. Oriental Despotism. New Haven, Yale U.P., 1956.

- 6/ For a general review, see: H. Conklin. The Study of Shifting Cultivation. Studies and Monographs 6. Washington, Pan American Union, 1965.

For a comparison of the two most complex horticultural societies for which social data are available, see M. Coe, op.cit. 1961. The immense literature from Africanist Social anthropology, is rich in studies of horticultural peoples whose transplanted social structures still function in some Negro communities of Grenada, Trinidad and the Guianas. For a general discussion, see: L. Fallers, "Are African Cultivators properly to be called Peasants?" Current Anthropology. Vol. 2, 1961, 108-110.

For an introductory case study, see: V. Uchendu. The Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria. New York, Harcourt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

- 7/ For a general discussion, see: E. Wolf, "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities". Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. Vol. 13, 1957, 1-18.
For introductory case studies, see: S. and E. Dunn. The Peasants of Eastern Russia. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.

J. Halpern. A Serbian Village. New York, Columbia U.P., 1958.

J. Pitt-Rivers. The People of the Sierra. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1963.

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Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana. "Analisis Economico-Social". Reconocimiento Agropecuario Forestal del Oriente de la Guayana Venezolana. 6 Caracas, Consejo de Bienstar Rural y Ministerio de Agricultura y Cria, 1961.

- 11/ L. MacDonald and J. MacDonald, "Motives and Objectives of Migration: Selective Migration and Preferences toward Rural and Urban Life". Social and Economic Studies (at press) espec. footnote 10.

- 12/ The independent family farming peoples of the northern and western United States are not extremely individualistic since they engage in community endeavours for many collective purposes. It is suggested that this is possible for this exceptional sub-variety of family farmers because they have a peculiar moral order, Max Weber's so-called Protestant Ethic, with its balance among individual ambition, organizational discipline and collective service. This ideology inspires modern industrial behaviour too, but is rarely found among rural peoples, except in some tracts of North America and Northwestern Europe.

- 13/ E. Banfield. op.cit. 1958.

- 14/ G. Foster, op.cit. 1961 and 1963.

- 15/ Western European feudalism rigidified eventually, but its principles remained contractual in theory.

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT*

The link between Community Development and Local Government has been the subject of close and detailed study for over a decade. Quite a few publications of the United Nations 1/ have gone into the subject in depth, based upon working experiences in different parts of the world. Broadly speaking, the general indications are:

- i. For the community development effort to be successful and the process to be enduring, there should be a close and meaningful link between the community development agency and the people's representative institutions at different levels;
- ii. a community develops the needed capability of discerning and active participation in public affairs, the extent to which it articulates through regular representative institutions at various levels; and
- iii. the measure of success of overall development effort is directly related to the degree of involvement of people's institutions not only in the provision of economic and social over-heads, but in the very process of economic and social growth.

The importance attached to public participation in development can be gauged from the fact that the 1965 Report on the World Social Situation 2/ has directed its focus on the measures for building support among people at the local and the community level for social change and promotion of economic and social development. This paper seeks to outline, especially in the Caribbean context, the conceptual issues and the administrative and organizational aspects of the relationship between Community Development and Local Government.

Conceptual Issues

The very nature of the basic concept of Community Development viz., local development on the initiative and participation of local communities indicates the logical probability, in the process of execution of community development programmes, of local self-government institutions increasingly taking over responsibilities for development of their respective areas. In many countries, local government is being regarded as the institutional means of promoting and subserving the goals of Community Development. Indeed, promotion of local government is thought of as the second phase of Community Development.

* Prepared by Mr. T. Balakrishnan, United Nations Regional Community Development Adviser.

1/Notable among them are Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes, Sales No.:59.II.H2(1959) and Decentralisation for National and Local Development Sales No.:62II.H.2 (1962).

2/1965 Report on the World Social Situation, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 66.IV.7.

And the support is mutual. Community Development can lead to the creation or strengthening of local government institutions through its stimulation of people's common effort at overall advance, its encouragement of local initiative and the result- and emergence of a new functional leadership. On the other hand, local government bodies can be an invaluable ally of Community Development through the creation - which no official agency, however knowledgeable, imaginative and well-meaning, can accomplish with complete success - of a climate of new confidence, deeper understanding and greater efforts among the local people, so vital for successful Community Development. These complementary roles, however, give rise to a somewhat paradoxical situation. "The need for community development programmes is likely to be greatest where local government is weakest..... And yet, the success of community development programmes in a number of countries depends to a large extent on the strength of local government." 3/ The possible areas of mutual aid and support between Community Development and Local Government are sketched in the paragraphs that follow.

The role, if unobtrusive, of Community Development in the process of political development and modernisation of the political culture, though not widely appreciated, is not insignificant. Political scientists view political development in terms of the acquisition of the political community of certain basic capabilities, viz., those of "integration, mobilisation, participation and distribution". 4/ Community Development, by promoting group-action and ensuring popular participation in local development activities - in an advisory capacity to begin with, progressing to active involvement in project implementation and on to decision-making itself - contributes to the development of the four basic capabilities, especially those of 'mobilisation' and participation'. The stage is thus set for the wholesome growth of local government.

In many developing countries, it is found that the tradition-bound local communities are not able to meet the demands made on them by the nascent national communities, who are impelled by the awareness of the imperatives of operating in a highly competitive international situation. The gradual effect of the operation of Community Development in the traditional rural communities would be to set in motion structural changes in them, enabling them to develop the requisite competence called for by the process of economic, political and social development.

In the transitional interregnum, certain social and cultural barriers inhibit the building up of local institutions. One of them is the prevalence of a feeling of 'diffused distrust' among the communities. 5/ This atmosphere is hardly conducive to the proper

3/ Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes, op.cit.

4/ This concept has been developed by Professor Gabriel Almond.

5/ See for instance, Edward C. Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society.

functioning of local government institutions, if any exist, and to the creation of new ones. The social-cohesion approach introduced by successful community development generates a realisation among the people that it is possible to trust others and work with them for common benefit.

Propensity to social participation i.e. membership in different voluntary associations, which has shown to be correlated to the degree of mutual trust, is a necessary requisite to the development of local government. In many developing nations, however, it has been observed that such social participation is lacking in many village communities, especially among the poorer sections, who hesitate to come forward. This is understandable, because "economic underprivilege is also psychological underprivilege". 6/ Execution of community development projects in consultation with individuals and groups, which have a direct and demonstrable benefit to the village people, have generally known to catalyse increased and more intensive social participation.

Lack of perspective among the local people and inexperience in operating within an impersonal institutional framework are among other impediments to the growth of local government in rural areas. Participation in the deliberations of village councils or community councils, which are generally formed in the wake of implementation of community development programmes, helps remove these barriers.

Whilst Community Development can thus be a useful tool for developing and strengthening local government institutions, the latter can be of reciprocal assistance, too.

Whilst the community development agency can and does shape attitudes and induce change, the sustenance of its efforts would depend on the availability of an organizational structure at the local level. Institutionalization of ideas and trends towards modernization is an essential factor in making the results of the initial accomplishments of Community Development enduring. As it has been said, "Organization is particularly important in the maintenance of innovation." 7/ Local government institutions, once they take root, will provide the required institutional support in this behalf.

In the more pragmatic plane, local government institutions, with their prestige and legal sanction, can supplement the activities of the community development agency, especially in regard to the maintenance and proper upkeep of the assets created by community self-help effort.

6/ Genevieve Coupfer, Portrait of the Underdog, quoted by S.M.Lipset, Political Man.

7/ See the 1965 Report on the World Social Situation, op.cit. (underlining not in original).

The very existence of local government bodies results over time in the emergence of a new competent local leadership, who are to assume the new roles created by the stimulus of Community Development. Strengthening of existing local government institutions, financially and physically, can be a means of promoting, and more importantly, sustaining local leadership. ^{8/} The importance of such new leadership for successful and lasting Community Development can hardly be overstated.

Promotion of meaningful local planning with 'inputs of local thought', is one of the major aims of Community Development. The process of involving the local communities in planning, based on a realistic survey of the needs and potential of the area, is important not only for facilitating their discerning participation in development activities, but also for counselling them in identifying their needs. This assumes special significance in the context of forging a closer link between community development and national and regional planning. Representative local government bodies would be of great help in the various stages of formulation and execution of local plans.

In many developing countries, it has been observed that the community development staff have been the "champions of administrative reform". Community Development being a new strategy, it calls for new attitudes on the part of its practitioners, entirely different from the usual authoritarian approach of the old bureaucracy. Having adopted the new approach and found its effectiveness and wholesomeness, the community development officials are first surprised and then disappointed at the old attitudes and obstructive ways of their colleagues in other ministries and departments. Community Development being an interrelated activity, the success of the community development functionary depends to a considerable extent on the adoption of sympathetic and more flexible attitudes by the administrators and technicians of other ministries concerned with the various sectors of development. On many occasions, however, the voice of the community development official is, not understandably, lone and unheeded. Emergence of strong local government institutions invariably leads to a change in the attitude of public officials towards local communities, a situation very favourable to Community Development.

The functions and responsibilities of local government bodies being multi-faceted, they can, in the course of the discharge of their responsibilities, bring about greater co-ordination between the functioning of various technical services of the government. Such an integral channelling of various government services to the area, especially when the local government institution is used as a 'conduit' for government grant-in-aid to augment self-help efforts, will be of particular usefulness and importance in the current context of the trend towards a closer tie between community development and area development.

^{8/} See The Role of Local Leadership for Community Development in Asian Countries, the Report of the ECAFE workshop held in Bangkok in August 1963.

Such a link between Community Development and Local Government notwithstanding, there are some noticeable areas of distinction. For instance, Community Development, with its almost unbounded scope, may comprehend activities which are beyond the usual ambit of local government institutions. Or else, whilst the community development agency works on the principle of persuasion and encouragement of voluntary efforts, local government bodies, with their statutory responsibilities for certain programmes and for a specified minimum quantum of resource-mobilisation, will have at times to use coercive methods. If differences like these are not borne in mind in the mutual working of Community Development and Local Government, a situation may arise in which either of them, however unwittingly, affects the other's work adversely. To cite an instance: community development programmes may result in some weakening of local government by making the central government agency carry out functions which could and should be undertaken by the local government. Likewise, the application of compulsory measures by local government authorities for resource mobilisation for community efforts, where voluntary action is called for, would stifle the progress of community development. 9/

Administrative and Organizational Aspects

Having recounted the conceptual considerations in the inter-relationship between Community Development and Local Government, an analysis of its administrative implications and organizational requirements may now be proceeded with.

At the outset, the case for devolution of responsibility for community development programmes on local government institutions may be stated:

- i. One of the principal goals of Community Development being to enable local leadership and local institutions to take charge of development, 10/ it is necessary that a beginning is made in this direction by entrusting responsibility for community development programmes to the local government institutions.
- ii. With the advent of independence, and the initiation of national planning, the work of the central government ministries and departments become increasingly larger, both in volume and in dimensions, and in the interests of administrative efficiency, local government bodies will have to be given roles and functions in local development.

9/ For a fuller discussion on this, see Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes, op.cit.

10/ Indeed, it has been observed that 'effective local self-government' is the 'administrative end of community development'. See Annex IV to the Report of the Asian Seminar on Planning and Administration of National Community Development Programmes, Bangkok, 1961.

- iii. It may be stated that the aim of a political community is, in macro-terms, to secure for all its members the three basic values of liberty, equality and welfare. Translated into practical terms, this would mean protecting the individual from arbitrary administrative action, affording the people's representatives opportunities for concrete participation in public affairs and placing Government services at a point readily accessible to the people, so that an improvement in the effectiveness and efficiency of their provision is ensured. Increasing devolution of development activities on the local government bodies would be necessary to secure these ends. 11/
- iv. Delegating responsibility to the local government institutions would help increase their sense of responsibility and commitment and would facilitate a closer interplay of political and technical competence at the local level.
- v. A scheme of decentralisation of local and community development programmes to local units would result in a greater co-ordination of the provision of various services at the area level.
- vi. In the context of the increasing Government outlay on plan schemes against the background of scarcity of financial resources, local resource-mobilisation would be of paramount importance. Making the people's representative institutions in charge of local development projects would facilitate and accelerate the process of mobilisation of local resources.

It is sometimes argued that the need for a system of delegation of responsibility for community development and local development programmes to local government institutions is not so compelling in countries which are not big in size. It should, however, be remembered that the various arguments advanced for a system of strengthening the programme content of local government units are independent of the physical size of the country. The qualitative change in local leadership and local institutions, which a good blending of community development and strong local government would bring about, is necessary and desirable for all countries irrespective of size. To quote from a report on Jamaica by Dr. and Mrs. Hicks: "We should, however, like to take this opportunity of saying that in our view, it is quite definitely right that some such system (of local government) should be continued Local government, even diminutive local government, has a part to play in the making of a healthy democracy, which is undergoing or has lately undergone, a rapid constitutional development, this part may well be of particular importance."12/ Indeed, even the 1938 Royal

11/ For an elaboration of this theme, see Area and Power, ed. Arthur Maas.

12/ Dr. J.R. and Mrs. U.K. Hicks, Report on Finance and Taxation in Jamaica, 1955, p 125.

Commission, which was by no means a passionate advocate of local autonomy, expressed a view in favour of local authorities. To quote: "It is our view that the improvement of social conditions in these territories depends in a large measure on the cooperation between the central administration and the people through properly constituted and well-conducted local authorities." 13/

This is not to deny or belittle the importance of the role of the central government in community and local development and the need for its counsel and supervision. The well-known dictum that 'delegation is not an abdication of responsibility, but an enlargement of it' applies fully to this situation. The areas of responsibility and concern of the central government in a system of devolution of community and local development functions on local government would include:

- i. Programme planning at the national level and fixation of country-wide targets;
- ii. training of community development workers and the staff of the local government bodies to increase their competence, develop their capabilities, and refine their skills;
- iii. training of the office-bearers and members of local government units to give them the requisite orientation and education;
- iv. provision of technical assistance to the local bodies to enable them to discharge their delegated functions soundly and efficiently;
- v. making available to the local units facilities of close consultations with the senior officials and technicians of the central ministries;
- vi. prescribing standards for evaluation;
- vii. gearing the community development agency to take the lead in strengthening local government bodies where they are weak;
- viii. issuing general instructions and guidelines periodically;
- ix. devising means of supervision like work-spot inspections, prescriptions of the form and periodicity for regular progress reports, measures of budgetary control and audit, etc.;
- x. introducing a system of incentives (monetary and non-monetary) and safeguards;

- xi. devising and implementing measures for coordination between the various central technical departments connected with development and the community development agency and local government; and
- xii. taking steps, politically and administratively, to improve the capability of the local government bodies to discharge their delegated functions with industry, integrity and despatch.

The range and the type of functions in community and local development to be devolved on local government would naturally depend on the circumstances in each country, the most important of which would be the degree of enlightenment, responsiveness and competence of local government bodies and their leadership. It may, however, be stated that the functions should not be confined to traditional local government duties such as civic and maintenance functions, mostly non-developmental in character. The responsibilities should include development activities, which are best planned and executed at the local level and which would go to increase the capacity of the local population to participate effectively in the overall process of advance. ^{14/} Care should also be taken to see that a model in a developed situation is not just 'transplanted' and that functions involving large capital outlay and calling for highly specialized technical services are not transferred to the local bodies. It should also be noted that the term community development covers both rural and urban community development. The functions of the latter could be devolved on urban local government bodies. Also, in the preparation of local area development plans, the urban local government units should be consulted so that the area plan will ensure complementarity between rural and urban development.

Whatever be the type of extent of devolution practical considerations may dictate, there should be a conscious national policy to involve people's representative institutions in the development process. A clear enunciation of such a policy would be necessary in view of the hesitancy, and even opposition, on the part of those in power and authority, especially senior civil servants, to delegate

^{14/} In the Caribbean Countries, the functions entrusted to local government bodies are generally civic functions like village sanitation, village lighting, regulation of markets, prevention of pollution of public water sources, regulation of pounds, disposal of refuse, control of cemeteries and functions like construction and maintenance of minor roads and bridges.

functions to local institutions. 15/ Again, once it has been decided to delegate certain areas of responsibilities to the local bodies, there should be a genuine willingness and effort on the part of the central government and its political leadership to enable the local units to perform the functions freely and without hindrance. This is important, because instances have been many where the central government has been maintaining local government in word and deterring it in deed. Inadequate support from the central government in the matter of both finances and provision of adequate trained personnel has been one of the major difficulties local government has often and in many places had to encounter. There should be a purposive endeavour on the part of the central government to break the usual vicious circle of "responsibility is not being entrusted because of presumed incapacity; incapacity has been perpetuated owing to lack of opportunity to exercise responsibility". As a broad generalisation, the following guidelines may govern the devolution of development functions on local government authorities:

- i. The assignment of functions to local units should be a general one covering the whole range of development activities rather than a partial one;
- ii. the functions delegated should be allowed to be exercised by the local government bodies unfettered and unrestricted, both formally and informally, directly and indirectly; and
- iii. the financial resources made available to the local units should be adequate to meet the functional requirements and the financial procedures sufficiently flexible to provide for efficient performance of the functions.

The method of devolution of functions and responsibilities is a crucial factor. 16/ Various methods have been found to be employed by different governments. They include:

15/ The following was the recorded reaction of the head of a technical service in a country to proposals for transferring some functions regarding provision of services and social welfare to local government bodies. "The majority of the inhabitants of any country", he wrote, "want to be left alone to pursue their ordinary occupations and interests with the assurance that adequate social services are provided for them in much the same way that an ordinary man wants his dinner without having to serve on a committee to decide what he is to eat and the details of its cooking." The reaction, if not the facetiousness, is not atypical.

16/ For a detailed discussion on the subject, see Decentralisation for National and Local Development, op.cit.

- i. General authorization of the local government, either by constitutional provision or by statute to 'do any act or thing' to promote the welfare of the people of the area;
- ii. specification in a single statute of a list of functions to be devolved on local government either wholly or in part;
- iii. allocation of functions by separate statutes;
- iv. treatment of local authorities as integral parts of the central government machinery; and
- v. contract with local authorities for the performance of specific functions and provision of specific services.

Whatever be the method employed, it is important to ensure that the functions are clearly spelled out and the local government authorities are made fully aware of their part in the development process. 17/

The question of local government areas is an important consideration in the context of entrustment of development functions to local government. The general guideline indicated by the Working Group on Administrative Aspects of Decentralisation for National Development convened by the United Nations in 1961 was that the local authority areas should be as large as may be appropriate for the functions they have to perform. In some cases, the traditional local government areas have been found to be too small for the performance of the new functions in the context of development. In such cases, a second tier of local government institutions may have to be constituted. Conversely, in some cases, the existing local government units may cover too large an area to facilitate close conduct with village communities living in their jurisdiction. On such occasions, smaller units, as sub-divisions of the existing larger areas, may have to be delimited. It is generally seen that these gaps are filled to some extent by ad hoc community development committees formed in the wake of implementing community development programmes. Gradually, these informal associations may grow into statutory local govern-

17/ Ambiguity of the role of local governments has been stated to be one of the serious limiting factors of their effectiveness as formal institutions of planned change. See 1965 Report on the World Social Situation, op.cit.

ment bodies. 18/ From the point of view of a combination of community development and area development, a two-tier system of local government seems desirable in the region. The unit nearest to the community would ensure close contact with the people and facilitate direct citizens participation in local services and development efforts. The second tier unit, covering a larger area, would be better suited for the provision of technical services and would afford a wider spatial perspective for the formulation of integrated local area plans. In any system of areal demarcation of local government units, the following two factors may be kept in mind:

- i. The units should be so demarcated as to ensure close enough public participation in development, adequacy of financial capacity, efficiency of performance and effectiveness of supervision; and
- ii. the different tiers of decentralisation are so arranged as to provide for a process of co-ordination, means of inter-departmental and inter-agency cooperation and an organic link between the different levels of local government, which enables them to act separately and independently as well as in concert.

As already stated, ad hoc associations and bodies set up for planning and implementing community development schemes would lay the foundation for the creation of local government institutions and for effecting basic changes in local government. Experience, however, indicates that the existence of general-purpose community development committees alongside existing local government bodies covering the same area has created some difficulties - especially after the latter have taken root and gained in strength - though in many cases the community development committees include members of the local government bodies. 19/ It would, therefore, be necessary to evolve a well-thought-out plan to relate the ad hoc community development committees in a meaningful way to local government.

18/ In Trinidad and Tobago for instance, the existing statutory local government body is at the county level. But with the advent of community development, village councils, which are not yet statutory bodies, have sprung up and have grown in recognition and articulation. In Dominica, on the other hand, village councils are the statutory bodies; but, the process of execution of self-help programmes has led to the formation of informal district councils, composed of delegates from every village council in the district area. Their role at present is advisory. They have no financial powers and have no supervisory functions over the village councils.

19/ For a fuller discussion on this, see Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes, op.cit.

In the matter of inter-relationship between Community Development and Local Government, as in any other field concerning human affairs, no overall generalisation is either possible or desirable. But it may be stated with confidence, based on trends shown by international experience, that as local government gets more and more involved in community development and as the latter strengthens and supports the former, the effectiveness and usefulness of both as vehicles for change and instruments of development are bound to increase.