

COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION

ITS ROLE IN THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

Prepared from Materials
in the Community Development Files of
the Technical Assistance Study Group

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WASHINGTON, DC 20523

FALL 1962

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The delineation of Community Mobilization's role in the transfer of technology to people of local communities is based largely upon an analysis of the experience of Community Development with this function over the past decade.

Community Development got into a lot of trouble in several countries trying to help technical ministries to extend their technology to local people. In fact, this appears to have been its area of greatest conflict and complications. It is evident from the analysis that the reasons for these strained relationships must be understood and appreciated if Community Mobilization is to formulate sound policies to make its maximum contribution in transferring technology. In order to focus consideration on the factors of greatest significance in this connection three questions are posed for discussion: (1) Why did Community Development become involved initially in the transfer of technology of other ministries? (2) What changes occurred in the situation generally to suggest the need for modification of Community Development's role in transferring technology? (3) In the light of Community Development's experience what should be the role of Community Mobilization in the transfer of technology to local people?

Why did Community Development become involved initially in transferring the technology of other ministries?

There were several reasons but among the most important were these:

1. The leaders of independence movements in many of the colonies of Asia and Africa focused attention upon the intolerable plight of people at the local level - the masses - to rally widespread popular support. Subsequently, these leaders of the independence movements usually became the leaders of the newly independent nations. Consequently, they had a carry-over obligation to deliver on pledges they had made, while agitating for independence, to improve the situation of the masses of their people. However, when many of these leaders attempted to redeem their pledges it became evident that it was easier to agitate than to administer, for the governments they headed were short on a number of essentials required for the rapid improvement they had envisioned. To illustrate:

a. They were short on the accumulation of reliable factual data which could be used as the basis for sound and sure national development planning.

b. They were short on trained personnel to serve as the spearheads of leadership to organize and administer new national programs which could be responsive to the recognized needs of the awakened masses of their people.

c. They were short on technicians to transfer improved technology to the local people who needed it to increase their production, educate their young, safeguard their health, and reduce their isolation.

d. They were short on leadership - professional and voluntary - who were trained to involve people and their resources at the local

level in the joint solution of their common problems. (This shortage denied the new leadership the possibility of achieving substantial progress with a minimum draw-down on national resources already tapped.)

e. They were short on institutions which were capable of, or interested in, assuming the greatly increased responsibilities which the new situation dictated.

f. They were short on funds to pay for the services and facilities which the public wanted and needed but for which the new leaders were often reluctant to increase the tax burden.

Confronted with these limitations some national leaders of the newly developing countries in the early 1950's turned to a new concept of Community Development as a partial solution to some of their most pressing national problems. They began to look upon Community Development as more than a local institution for local development; they began to view it and to use it as a new instrument for national development.

2. However, some of the foregoing statements must be amplified to indicate specifically why Community Development became so deeply involved in transferring the technologies of other ministries to local people. The most obvious factor was the shortage of technical institutions with trained technicians at the local level to do the job which the new situations dictated. The leaders of these new nations found only rudimentary technical ministries, if any at all, when they took over. Where technical ministries did exist they were normally without extension arms to

transfer their technologies to local people. In many instances the governments they were replacing had been organized with little attention to any functions at the local level except collecting taxes and maintaining order.

3. But at this point a logical question arises as to why the leadership of certain newly developing countries chose to establish Community Development as a new institution and to assign to it the very important function, among others, of transferring to local people the technology of other ministries of the government. Why didn't they expand or create extension arms of technical ministries for this purpose? Perhaps the chief reason to justify this policy was a pragmatic one. The Community Development approach appeared to be the easiest way for the new leadership to solve several "pressure" problems comparatively quickly and economically.

a. The new leadership needed to bridge the communications gap which had traditionally existed between the central government and the villagers. Community Development was advocated as a two-way channel of communications to keep each element, the governing elite and the villagers, in intimate touch with the problems, aspirations and efforts of the other.

b. After independence villagers expected good things to begin to happen where they lived. Some of the leaders who wished to respond to their expectations were convinced that Community Development could get rolling fast on many fronts with its new type of

civil servant, the multi-purpose village level worker. The concept of the multi-purpose village level worker was attractive to national leaders and villagers: (1) This new type of worker would be trained to understand and to work with people in a democracy - there would be no more of the partial, patronizing, snobbish, looking-down-the-nose attitude which had characterized in the past too many of the government's representatives in their relationships with villagers. (2) He would be able and authorized to work with a community on its total range of problems. If he couldn't supply personally all the technical assistance required, he knew where and how to get the balance that was needed. (3) He could serve as the local representative of all the technical ministries, thus not only giving most of them their first on-the-spot local contact man but also serving as the central government's local coordinator of technical services. Although he would not be as well trained as the technical specialists in their respective fields, he nevertheless would be sufficiently trained to provide the first-aid type of assistance that would go far in satisfying the expectations of local people who had been unaccustomed to receiving any technical assistance. (4) He would be trained to involve people on a community basis in the solution of their common problems. In this connection he would be able to help them to mobilize their own human and material resources for local undertakings which might take some of the pressure off the central government's limited resources. In any event, it would help to insure action on problems of local concern.

(5) He would be sufficiently experienced in the techniques of democratic group formation and action to help local leaders to develop democratic institutions and programs at the local level.

c. The comparative cost of alternate methods of responding to the needs of local people was also an important factor in arriving at a decision because of the shortage of financial resources. Tipping the scales in favor of Community Development and its personnel innovation, the multi-purpose local level worker, was the contention that this was the most economical approach - man-, money- and time-wise - to improving the lot of local people.

4. Inasmuch as the early 1950's was the practical beginning of the era of using Community Development on the national scale as an instrument of national development policy, there was little experience upon which the leadership of weak, technical ministries of the newly independent countries could challenge the validity of the claims of Community Development's advocates. Furthermore, the fact that the transfer of technology was only part of the total package of Community Development made resistance by the technical ministries to the partial take-over of their logical functions at the local level, in the early stages, even more difficult.

Having reviewed the reasons for Community Development becoming involved in the transfer of the technology of other ministries, often to the extent of serving as their only extension arm at the local level, we turn now to consideration of the second question.

What developments have taken place in the situation generally to justify modification of Community Development's role in transferring technology?

The situation in this connection has changed in three important respects since Community Development came into the spotlight as a significant instrument of national development policy in certain newly developing nations during the early 1950's.

1. The first of these is the friction which developed in several countries between Community Development and certain technical ministries concerned with extension of their technology to local people. This friction became so intense in some situations that the transfer of technology was impeded, while in others Community Development almost lost out as an institution. There were also some indications that Community Development did not spread to certain countries because of concern about probable difficult relationship problems which might develop with the extension arms of their technical ministries, particularly with agriculture extension. Serious relationship problems in this field have plagued AID and its predecessors. The Agency's efforts to resolve these have been abnormally ineffective. (See Appendix 1 for typical statements from several knowledgeable persons, often intimately involved and concerned with this problem.)

2. The second development is the overburdening of the key figure in Community Development's approach to the solution of the problems of local people - the multi-purpose village level worker. It was almost inevitable.

that he should become overloaded because he had been oversold very often in getting him established. This was not too unfortunate in the beginning of the operations when this new type of worker was getting started; in fact it may have been temporarily fortunate. But in time the cumulative build-up of functions which villagers and superiors expected the multi-purpose village level worker to perform became so diffused and heavy that he has had to give decreasing attention to some of the most fundamental functions originally conceived for him. (See Appendix 2 for a list of his many functions.) This situation has raised two fundamental questions: (a) should the multi-purpose worker pre-empt so completely the area of local operations and (b) should the multi-purpose worker concentrate much more of this effort to spreading the special technology of Community Development and much less to the direct transfer of the technology of other ministries?

3. The third development is a growing belief that technical ministries are stifled by a policy which excludes them largely from operations at the local level. This is the level of operations which would normally justify and usually encourage their most dynamic growth. The growing appreciation of the importance of transferring improved technology to local people as one of the basic means for achieving reasonably rapid development in the newly developing countries emphasizes the significance of this factor.

The impact of these three developments is considerable and it gives rise to the question: Is it wise to continue policies which (a) increase

friction between Community Development and the technical ministries, (b) overload multi-purpose development workers with many and diverse functions to the point where their effectiveness is impaired and their principal functions are neglected, and (c) stifle the urgently needed development of technical ministries which are required for the massive transfer of improved technology for local development?

The review of the reasons for Community Development becoming involved initially in transferring the technology of technical ministries and the identification of three subsequent developments which warrant some modification of this role bring us now to the jack-pot question.

In the light of Community Development's experience what should be the role of Community Mobilization in the transfer of technology in the newly developing countries?

This role should encompass three functions:

1. Community Mobilization should concentrate primarily on the transfer and diffusion of its own technology.

a. Initially, some disagreement may be anticipated as to the elements which should be included as the technology of Community Mobilization. This will arise because of the divergent definitions of Community Development, its predecessor, and the varying concepts of effective public administration at the local level. Some will want to include any technology which contributes to the mobilization and development of a community in the generic meaning of the terms

"community mobilization" and "community development."¹¹ However, practical operations require a less inclusive definition because the job of mobilizing communities for local development concerns many organizations and agencies required to follow through. Consequently the job must be organized not only to mobilize the maximum appropriate resources for local development but also to blueprint the roles of the major agents in the development process in such a way that they can work together effectively and in harmony. With these considerations in mind, the following elements are judged to be essentials in the basic technology of Community Mobilization:

- (1) the processes and procedures for mobilizing human and material resources, including technology, for local development;
- (2) the strategy, tactics and techniques for inducing and accelerating constructive change;
- (3) the art and science of introducing and institutionalizing democracy in community affairs; and
- (4) the methods for training and motivating leaders to mobilize local resources, induce constructive change, and institutionalize democracy in community affairs.

b. The special technology of Community Development must be transferred to local people primarily through the volunteer and professional leaders of each community, who will need training to do it. It should be diffused through the pre-service and in-service training programs of all officials in policy-making, administrative

or technical jobs who have now, or may have in the future, responsibility for the mobilization and use of local resources for development. Additionally, efforts must be made to create an understanding and appreciation of the elements of this technology throughout the society by using every other effective type of communication available.

2. The second function of Community Mobilization in connection with the transfer of technology is to serve as the nation's prime mobilizer of institutions with capabilities of transferring technology needed by local communities for their development.

a. This is a departure from the policy of Community Mobilization's predecessor, Community Development. As the reader may recall, Community Development, intended to serve as the local extension representative of the various technical ministries. The multi-purpose local level workers of Community Development undertook the towering task of trying to transfer everybody's technology. Community Mobilization, on the other hand, will identify and mobilize all institutions with capabilities of transferring needed technology to local communities for their development. The emphasis will be upon encouraging the technical institutions to do their utmost to extend their own technology where it is needed. Community Mobilization will further facilitate the process by helping to match priority needs with available resources.

b. Community Mobilization, as an integral part of the chief administrator's office, will have the authority and responsibility to take appropriate action to insure that the country's institutional capabilities for transferring technology to local people are used effectively for this purpose.

c. The immediate objective to be realized from the discharge of this function is to increase greatly the appreciation of the significance of technology in the development process.

d. The longer-term objective is to build and develop the institutional structures and policies which will insure the transfer of technology to local people on a massive basis.

3. The third function of Community Mobilization in this area is to mobilize public sentiment and to marshal official support for the increase and development of technological resources in the society which can be used to augment the transfer of improved technology to the masses at the local level in the nation.

In concluding this statement about the role of Community Mobilization in the transfer of technology, the reader is requested to allow his thoughts to dwell upon two factors of paramount significance to this discussion:

1. The single most effective way to help newly developing nations to modernize and industrialize, and their people to improve their lot, is to share with them on a massive basis our improved technology (our

best information, skills and attitudes for doing what people need to do to improve their operations and situations).

2. The transfer of technology must be on a massive basis within the country at the local level if rapid progress is to be expected among the masses. The two major factors in the massive spreading of technology within a country are the sanction and support of top leadership and the involvement and training of local leadership - volunteer and professional.

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October 30, 1962

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Appendix 1

SOME OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT'S RELATIONSHIP PROBLEMS

The purpose of this appendix is to supply some of the specific documentary evidence upon which the conclusion set forth on page 7, section 1 of the paper "Community Mobilization: Its Role in the Transfer of Technology" was based. The conclusion was essentially this: The friction which has developed in several countries between community development and certain technical ministries concerned with the extension of their technology to local people is one of three factors which justify modification of community development's role in the transfer of technology.

Community development has many relationship problems, but the most serious ones are normally associated with its efforts to help technical ministries to transfer their technology. The presentation here is admittedly rough but it should serve the purpose.

1. There are conflicts and confusion.

"The conflicts among technical services and between them and the community development agency over their respective roles and relationships in community development programmes, particularly those of the integrative type, are endemic and in some countries seriously weaken the programme. The problems appear to stem from conflicting concepts of roles, from departmentalism, from controversy over the village level worker and from weaknesses in coordinating machinery." 1/

"There is conflict between Community Development and technical services in many countries. There are contributing causes on both sides." 2/

1/ Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes 1959, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, ST/TAO/M/14, para. 44

2/ Conclusion of Robert W. Polson after an observation trip to several countries with community development programs.

"Community Development is an area which cuts across other areas in the Agency and Community Development, therefore, is very unpopular in certain of the technical services, and particularly in those concerned with agriculture, public health, and education." 1/

"The nature of a national community development program, which cuts across established technical ministries, and the great sense of urgency frequently associated with it are such that frequently host country goals cannot be effectively met through existing government organizations. This prompts the setting up of a new organization. Clearly, the effect on existing ministries needs to be considered before a decision is reached to establish a new ministry." 2/

"There is some opinion that the establishment of national community development programs has limited the growth of other ministries. This is likely to happen where there is a lack of resources - personnel, institutional and economic - and where a government must make a decision as to how its resources should be used in facilitating development. While other community development activities, other national services, e.g., agricultural extension, might have been more strongly supported, USOM/Pakistan stated 'other positive contributions of village-aid would surely have been neglected.'" 3/

"The early community development (in Iran) attempted to be all things to all people, and the program as operated did not draw in and make appropriate use of the various substantive ministries. People behind the community development program attempted to create an entirely new rationale and to treat community development as something separate and apart, to be pursued in and of itself, and addressed to the whole rural development complex. Such a total approach meant that the community development program attempted the unilateral performance of functions which properly belonged to the various substantive agencies. Since it was patently impossible for a separate community development program to develop its own services and since it did not succeed in

1/ From interview with an AID/Washington official.

2/ Herman Kleine, Redraft of Memorandum, "Review of ICA Community Development Policy and Activity," June 14, 1960.

3/ Ibid.

gaining the support of the ministries capable of providing such services, failure was inevitable." 1/

"The old problem of 'confused' responsibilities between agriculture and village development in the area of agriculture and village development in the area of agricultural extension, including home economics and rural youth, and the operation of training facilities for the preparation of field extension workers remains unsolved." 2/

"One of the principal current problems is the ancient one of reconciling and integrating the interests of traditionally organized government services with Village Aid activities." 3/

"There are two conflicting theories as to the role of Community Development. One maintains that Community Development serves the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Health, etc. The other holds that the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Health, etc., serve Community Development." 4/

2. There is rivalry.

"The unholy and unwarranted rivalry between doctrinaire groups, Community Development, Extension and Fundamental Education, makes one sometimes wonder whether our programs are really designed to 'help people help themselves' or perhaps we are trying to establish a brand name for some particular brand of technical assistance." 5/

"Community Development began in Pakistan as the village aid program and the Pakistan Government supported this program strongly but the trouble was getting USOM support. We were worried about

1/ Interview with technician who had served in USOM/Iran.

2/ USOM/_____ Technical Service Report U-233, Food and Agriculture, January/March 1961, May 7, 1961, p. 1.

3/ An evaluation of the Pakistan program.

4/ Interview with Edmund Overend.

5/ Stanley Andrews, "Case Report: Iran Summary and Comments," p. 13.

a power struggle. There was friction and competition between agriculture and community development in Pakistan." 1/

"...the rivalry between the Agricultural Division and the Community Development people (in Pakistan) was so great as to be almost incredible and it appeared that the community development program as then being carried out was not paying off." 2/

"The strong rivalry between the agricultural people and the community development people in the central government [in country X] represents an obstacle." 3/

"Community Development...must fight the vested interests of the Ministries of Agriculture, Health, etc., which, if they were able to operate effectively, would be meeting the objectives which community development is likewise intended to serve. Community Development must also contend with vested U.S. interests, as reflected in the agriculture, health, and other USOM technical divisions." 4/

"Rivalries as between ministries for being the sponsoring organization within the government for the CD or Village Aid program is a severe braking factor on Community Development." 5/

"While there is the usual rivalry between the Community Development workers and the rather well developed Agricultural Extension Service...this is not serious enough to cause trouble in the carrying out of their respective work programs (in Jordan). In the summer of 1960, both the extension bureau and the Village Development programs were in the process of being made a fully accredited agency of the government and supported in the national budget as a completely Jordan-based agency though in both Community

1/ Interview with USOM technician in Pakistan.

2/ Interview with USOM official in Pakistan.

3/ Interview with Isabel Kelly.

4/ Interview with an AID official, July 19, 1960.

5/ Stanley Andrews, Report on "Community Development as a Tool in ICA-Sponsored Programs 1961"

Development and Agricultural Extension there will be project and technical support supplied by the American mission for some time to come." 1/

"There are certain antagonisms which exist (in the Philippines) between the community development organization and the established technical agencies, although much has been done to reduce these by maintaining very clear lines of responsibility and establishing a sensible division of labor which permits the technical people to do the technical job." 2/

"There is constant criticism of Community Development and it has a minor role in the Agency. CD technicians are forever having to defend themselves vis-a-vis other offices in ICA/W or the USOM because of a lack of understanding of its role." 3/

"In [country X], unfortunately, the pressure to strengthen the technical ministries has resulted in practically non-cooperation with village development. The growing strength of the ministries leads to their asserting their right to do as they please. Since, by their own definition only they are technically competent and by exclusion no one else can be, they refuse to recognize any need for coordinating various technical programs. Education plans its programs without reference to anyone else, Health has a separate program with an effort to cooperate with Community Development, but Agriculture is trying to emulate Education. Public Works has never cooperated.

"After in-service training, Agriculture technicians refused to recognize the function of Block Development Officer to coordinate, and they denied the VDW any part in demonstrations. The Agriculture technicians set up a calendar of operations, their department holding them responsible for maintaining it, so that when a VDW asks for help, he is refused because the Agriculture technician has a calendar of operations to follow.

"[The] Government has become dissatisfied with the cooperation of the technical ministries and is seeking some way to assure results out in the field.

1/ Stanley Andrews, Report on "Jordan - Summary and Comment"

2/ Interview with Paul D. Summers, Dec. 23, 1959

3/ Interview with a USOM technician who had worked in Pakistan.

"...One [way] is to put the money in Village Development for the technical divisions." 1/

"Most of the points of disagreement center around who should do village work rather than around what should be done." 2/

3. There are fear and concern.

"There is fear of a new group's potential power." 3/

A group reviewing the situation in the Philippines in 1955 concluded that some agriculturists and educators at the bureau and provincial levels continued to feel threatened by the possibility that the barrio level worker might infringe on the technical prerogatives of the agricultural extension worker and the barrio school teacher. The group noted, however, that less misunderstanding was reported and observed at the barrio level. 4/

There is concern that community development "will run out of dramatic and interesting local jobs to do and will eventually try to take over the long time functions of Agricultural Extension, Public Health and Adult Education, rather than acting as a catalyst and a stimulator for these ministries in the barrios." 5/

"USOM/_____ has been concerned about the role that the National Community Development Bureau would play as an integrated Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture....It has been felt that the integrity of the community development program, its administration and operation, would be jeopardized if the Bureau were reorganized to engage the village level workers in a total agriculture effort.

1/ Excerpt from a letter of a USOM Community Development Chief.

2/ Robert A. Polson, Memo to Norman Burns, Director, USOM/Jordan, Oct. 5-13, Subj.: "Comments on the Jordan Agricultural Extension and Community Development Programs"

3/ Edmund de S. Brunner, "Community Organization and Adult Education - A Five Year Experiment"

4/ Source on record in TASG files.

5/ Stanley Andrews, "Technical Assistance Case Reports: Selected Projects in Nine Countries," Apr. 26, 1961, p. 181

"The Minister indicated his concern for the development of the National Community Development Bureau that had been placed in the Ministry of Agriculture. He felt that two major problem areas had to be evaluated, viz., relationship of NACOM to Agriculture Extension, and coordination of technical ministries' operations at the village level. The Minister stated that NACOM was placed in the Ministry of Agriculture as much of the work of NACOM was related to the farmer and rural communities....

"It was pointed out...that USOM was concerned with identity of NACOM as an integrated administrative unit in a technical ministry because of the difficulty of maintaining contact and coordination with operations of other technical ministries. 1/

4. There are many problems of relationship in the establishment of a new institution and its role in a national government.

"In spite of being given a very high priority in the (Pakistan) Five-Year Plan with an adequacy of funds that make it the envy of many other government departments, V-AID (Community Development) is not a permanent agency of the government. As yet it has no statutory position. This temporary status was of considerable advantage in the earlier stage of its growth and development, as it was thereby exempt from some of the rules and regulations of permanent departments and was permitted to take actions not usually available to permanent departments, e.g., give a deputation allowance of thirty percent to all those who were chosen to come over from other agencies for a period of service. However, now that the operation has become more or less routine and the amount of business to be transacted with other government departments grows larger with the addition of each development area, there is a need to be treated by these departments as one of themselves. But this requires establishment of V-AID as a permanent part of government. Failure to be so established lowers the prestige of the agency and makes the transactions of business with the established departments more difficult. Furthermore, there is uncertainty as to the permanence of the organization and the permanent departments are reluctant to make long range plans and take actions which are dependent at least in part for their execution upon an agency which may be here today and gone tomorrow.

"Impermanence may also lead to absorption. As V-AID grows larger, becomes more effective and is accepted by more and more of the public, it becomes a prize worth annexing by a permanent

1/ USOM/_____, TOICA A-407, subject: "Community Development,"
Aug. 5, 1961

technical ministry. This, at least, is the position currently taken by one technical ministry which has attempted to gain control of V-AID since its conception. Such a fate would mean its virtual end as a comprehensive community development agency serving as a link between all of the technical departments and the villagers. If it is to play the role for which it was established, it must be made a separate and distinctive permanent ministry of government as was done with the Communist Projects Administration in India in 1956. The only acceptable alternative is to make it a permanent part of the neutral non-technical planning ministry in which it is presently located." 1/

"Various professional groups - agricultural extension, adult or fundamental education, rural social work, and so on - regard themselves as the integrating discipline or service, concerned with the total improvement of rural life." 2/

No discipline has a monopoly on the technique of making people aware of their problems and guiding them to participate actively in the solution of their common problems. Although Community Development may be identified formally as such, the same technique may be used by Health, Agriculture, Education, Resettlement, and other fields. 3/

Community development technology is needed by all who serve communities but many do not have it. "Inability to effectively conceptualize in dynamic terms, problems of motivation, communications, human relations and organization often means that good intentions thwart rather than facilitate community competence." 4/

1/ James W. Green, "Rural Community Development: The Village Aid Program," Community Development Review, ICA/Washington, Sept. 1957, pp. 45-69.

2/ Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes 1959, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, ST/TAO/M/14, p. 16

3/ Adaptation of statement by Isabel Kelly, Anthropologist, "Technical Cooperation and the Culture of the Host Country," Community Development Division, ICA/Washington, June 1959.

4/ W. B. Baker, "Saskatchewan Approaches Community Development: Prerequisites for a Social Technology," Community Development Review, Vol. 6, No. 2, June 1961, p. 40

"There is the difficulty of developing understanding on the part of all program personnel of the methods by which local community groups learn to make decisions, learn to develop and use local, unpaid leaders, and learn to assume increasing responsibility in group undertakings.

"Some understanding of, or at least faith in, these methods is required on the part of all agencies and all persons who are elements in a program which has assumed the task of helping to develop and mobilize the maximum capacities of tens of thousands of local communities to help in their own and in their country's development. Because of the lack of this knowledge, national planners and directors of would-be community development programs have often unconsciously sabotaged their programs by insisting upon the accomplishment of results much more rapidly than can be expected to happen, or as a matter of fact will happen, by the use of community development methods.

"Persons well trained in fields of technical knowledge fail to make their maximum contributions because they do not recognize that this knowledge becomes useful in a development program only if and when it becomes the usable practice of tens of thousands of local people. They have little knowledge of the difficulty which inheres in changing the age-old folkways and thought ways of isolated villagers. Government technical agencies, therefore, do not always cooperate whole-heartedly in the coordinated or integrated program of technical assistance to village self-help groups." 1/

"Each technical service maintains it has been doing community development work for years....Community Development is not an accepted discipline." 2/

"Each of the ministries (in Thailand) primarily concerned (with the problems of local communities) - Education, Agriculture, and Public Health - has its own separate extension system, but also within many of these individual ministries separate divisions have their own separate extension systems." 3/

1/ Carl C. Taylor

2/ Interview with an ICA/W official, Oct. 15, 1959

3/ Interview with Thomas Naughten, Dec. 15, 1959

5. Sometimes the policy or the justification for it is not clear.

One source reported that a national official of X Government thought that the USOM presented a multiple face to his Government. This official had observed that the Mission had not only a multi-phased plan in its Community Development Division, but was working also on the fringes of community development in rural education, in the medical programs in rural areas, and in agricultural extension services. The official said that the presentation of all these various plans was puzzling to his Government. 1/

"When a Government finds in Community Development a device, an organization structure, it can use to get more directed action at the village level, the Government is criticized by the Community Development specialist as destroying the concept of Community Development." 2/

"Whenever government exercises some discretion in determining the directions of local development via the criteria and priority systems in the use of its resources, there is an ever present danger of its substituting its will and whatever it considers to be desirable development, to that of locally determined needs and programs. It does not matter whether the government concerned is municipal, provincial, city, or national; it will only be a difference in degree. It would seem desirable, therefore, for contributing higher levels of government to exercise great caution in demanding criteria and priority schemes so stiff that the communities that are the recipients of assistance are compelled to surrender or subordinate their will to those of the benefactors." 3/

1/ Source recorded in TASG community development files.

2/ Memorandum from one ICA/W official to another, Dec. 1, 1959

3/ Anthony Perpetua, "Community Development as a New Institution of Government," Community Development Review, Vol. 6, No. 2, ICA/Washington, D.C., June 1961

6. Views differ as to function and responsibility.

"Contrary to a prevalent notion that Community Development attempts to supplant technical services in health, education and agriculture, Community Development complements them by serving on their 'front line.' Successful Community Development creates the demand for more specialist services at a point where and when they are wanted." 1/

"...As people are stirred to action, their demands for services increase and become more immediate. A better life and a higher living standard require more income, and more services are needed from the established technical departments of the government. Often these departments already are overworked and understaffed. They are resentful of a new program which not only increases the pressure on them, but also may be a competitor for a share of the limited revenues of the government." 2/

"Agriculture Department blames CD for drumming up more business than they can handle and, therefore, they need their own barrio agricultural workers. The plan is to have the barrio councils set priorities. It is unlikely that any other department will have barrio workers." 3/

"The Community Development program (in the Philippines) has reached the stage where its very success in stimulating barrio demands for improvement of the living conditions of the people constitutes a threat to the PACD. The demands of the public, stimulated as they have been by the barrio workers and the Lay Leadership institutes, are already going beyond the capacity of the PACD's staff and the available grants-in-aid resources. There is, therefore, real danger that public expectation will be disappointed and the PACD will be held responsible for this disappointment and be discredited.

1/ Louis M. Miniclier, "Community Development in the World Today - Ten Years' Progress," Community Development Review, Vol. 7, No. 1, Agency for International Development, Washington, D. C., June 1962, pp. 69-74

2/ "Community Development and Its Role in Nation Building," Inter-regional Conference Report, Seoul, Korea, May 6-12, 1961, ICA/Washington, D.C., p. 100

3/ Summary of Conference by Jean Ogden on "Community Development Training," Ceylon, May 3-9, 1959, p. 19

"With the limited resources of the PACD in skills, in funds, and materials, it cannot possibly substitute for the other government agencies and make up for their failure to meet the needs of the Philippine people. The government departments will in all probability be very happy to have the PACD catch the 'hot potato' and accept responsibility for their failure to meet the needs of the people in the field.

"PACD, however, cannot make up for the deficiencies of NAWASA, the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, ACCFA, the FACOMA's, public health and all the technical and financial agencies of the Philippine government which have line responsibilities for programs in the countryside. PACD must consider now what its proper role should be in seeking to improve the economic and social life of the barrio people. It must consider, too, how to educate and stimulate them for their effective entrance into the exercise of democratic control over the political institutions of the Philippines." 1/

"There is a danger that the barrio operations will outrun the capacity of the several technical agencies to provide the necessary technical support. This difficulty has already been encountered in the agricultural field where community development workers found that they could not go forward because of a lack of active men to provide the required technical assistance. To meet this problem the community development organization financed a year's training by the agricultural extension people of some 250 individuals, most of whom have now been absorbed into the agricultural extension system. However, this was not accomplished without difficulty because the Agriculture Ministry was short of the funds necessary to pay for this increment to its payroll." 2/

"CD is too dependent upon other technical agencies for personnel and services....

"The dependence of V-AID (in Pakistan) upon the other departments of government for personnel has been touched upon. It is also dependent upon them to perform research, extend the findings of research and experience down to the development area level and to provide a multitude of supply and technical services such as distributing seed, fertilizers and insecticides. A failure

1/ Professor Long's "Report on Community Development," TOICA A-1230, Dec. 6, 1960, Manila

2/ Interview with Paul D. Summers, Philippines, Dec. 23, 1959

to carry out these functions decreases greatly the effectiveness of community development. In Pakistan, V-AID is increasing its demands for these functions much more rapidly than the other departments have been able to fill them. Some of the departments are beginning to understand the necessity for greatly stepped up programs in all of these areas but the efforts being made and those planned are too modest to do more, even when fully implemented, than decrease slightly the ever-widening gap between demand and supply." 1/

"Tendency of community development [in country X] is to develop its own skilled group, including abortive effort to set up its own agricultural school and has encountered contrary tendency of technical agencies in developing extension systems. Head of CD was incensed with the initiation and development of agricultural extension services until he realized that U.S. program was not stepping on his toes but instead was developing machinery and skills required just above the village level and upon which village level workers must draw." 2/

7. There are efforts to identify the causes of friction.

"The structure of government with ministries at the top reaching down through a vertical system, makes the actual placing of an institutional and administrative structure within established government exceedingly difficult. Most countries really do not know what the name Community Development means and while the idea is always easy to sell (that of teaching people to help themselves, etc.), implementation of the idea inevitably cuts across established lines of subject matter and activity causing not only great difficulty in administering it but often creating friction and confusion at the top of the power system in government. Structurally this usually and eventually requires a sort of super structure in government, above the level of the various ministries or an equal rank with the ministries." 3/

1/ James W. Green, "Rural Community Development: The Village Aid Program," Community Development Review, ICA/Washington, Sept. 1957, pp. 45-69

2/ Interview with a USOM official, Jan. 19, 1960

3/ Stanley Andrews, "Community Development as a Tool in ICA-Sponsored Programs," 1961

"The loose way in which the now popular term 'community development' is used has created a great deal of confusion. Many types of undertaking can contribute to the improvement of the productive capacities and living conditions of the hundreds of millions of people who live in the hundreds of thousands of local villages in underdeveloped countries. It is doubtful, however, whether it is either conceptually or administratively helpful to call all of these types of undertaking 'community development.' Needless to say, 'community development' cannot be administratively promoted or practically implemented unless it is used to mean something less than everything that contributes to economic and social welfare and something more than a pious slogan.

"The seventy-five percent or more of all the people in underdeveloped countries who live in local village communities are so poverty stricken, so much in need of more food, of better housing, health and sanitation, that any and all programs designed to meet those needs is likely to be called 'community development.' Because most of these people live in a relatively high degree of physical and cultural isolation, any and all programs designed to better their means of transportation and communication or to improve their capacity to read is likely to be called 'community development.' In some countries, most of them are landless farmers. Land reform is a necessary condition to their economic and social advancement and therefore land reform gets included in so-called 'community development' programs. All of these things need to be done but most of them are either the products of community development, plus other kinds of development, or they are conditioning factors in community development. They are not, in and of themselves, community development." 1/

"One field in which the extension component of community development needs very clear definition is in the field of agricultural extension, which is understood somewhat differently in British and North American circles. My delimitation of the extension function of community development fits in well with the British concept, which is more concerned with the dissemination of technical agricultural ideas to farmers.

"The initial impact of putting across a new idea and arousing interest may be undertaken by community development, to be followed up among interested farmers by the agricultural extension worker. However, the North American concept is very much broader and, in fact, has tended to follow a pattern very similar to that

1/Dr. Carl C. Taylor, "Community Development Programs and Methods," Community Development Review, Dec. 1956, IOA/Washington, D.C., p. 34

of community development. Starting with agriculture, the North American agricultural extension worker, with no separate concept of community development already established, finds himself obliged to deal with the various other needs of the rural community. He may become involved in improved building, in youth work and women's work in home economics. Where agricultural extension workers with the North American concept are working together with community development workers it is even more important to define their respective functions, since there is an undoubted area of overlap in the two concepts, varying only with the point of entry which in one case is definitely agriculture and in the other varies according to the community's own felt needs." 1/

One agricultural division chief explains why some of this friction with CD is to be expected at this time:

"Whenever a new agency is created, whether it be in the U.S.A. or elsewhere, the old line agencies criticize it, jealousies are noted and friction develops. This is due to a number of reasons, the main ones being:

"(1) the new agency gets a larger budget, it has not developed all the controls inherent in an old organization, funds for better offices, equipment, travel and higher salaries are available;

"(2) younger, more aggressive personnel leave the old line agencies because of dissatisfaction and join the new agency where they get a higher salary, have more freedom of expression and more opportunity for advancement;

"(3) the new agency tends to get more publicity because the new idea, justifying its establishment, captures the imagination of the reporters, who are looking for new material, and the public;

"(4) personnel in the old line agencies do not understand the goals of the new agency, nor do they see the need for the opportunities for development that exists; and

"(5) in reporting accomplishments the new agency takes credit for work started by old agencies, or it actually accomplishes many things which the old agency was responsible for but for various reasons never did.

1/ Peter du Sautoy, "Community Development in Ghana," Community Development Review, ICA/Washington, D.C., June 1959, p. 53

"Because of the above-mentioned factors, and possibly others, there has been in other countries as well as in this country jealousies and misunderstandings in the Missions and in host country personnel representing old line agencies and the Community Development personnel." 1/

8. There are other ways.

"Moyer indicated that he believed the philosophy of community development, which was essentially that of stimulating locals to think about their own problems and how they might be solved, had a great deal to offer. The real issue concerned the suitability of a community development structure as a funnel to the grass roots and the possibility of making such a funnel the avenue through which the technically oriented organizations of government could provide the kind of services which each could offer. However, under the appropriate circumstances, an agricultural extension system can also stimulate local people and serve as a funnel providing local services." 2/

in app.

"The bringing of new knowledge into play and producing new skills in the people is where the pay off is in large part, and surely one can do this in each of two ways: in some circumstances it may come off better with a community development approach and in others through line organizations of the sort associated with the Agricultural Extension Service." 3/

"I think it could be fairly argued that the way to attack the rural problem in Afghanistan is not through a community development program at all at the present time but through the development of these other substantive national services (agriculture, health,

1/ Herman Kleine, Redraft of Memorandum, "Review of ICA Community Development Policy and Activity," June 14, 1960

2/ Interview with Raymond T. Moyer, Director, USOM/Korea, Sept. 17, 1960

3/ Dr. Theodore Schultz, University of Chicago, in a Summary of Conference on "Community Development and National Change," Endicott House, Dec. 13-15, 1957, prepared by Irwin T. Sanders, Research Director, Associates for International Research, Inc.

education), which, in the end, must be coordinated and focused upon the village problem to make community development possible." 1/

9. There is a jolting appraisal.

Mr. Stanley Andrews, former National Director of the Technical Cooperation Administration, who studied the U.S. technical assistance programs in ten countries in the latter part of 1960, made these observations:

"...The jarring note in all of this is the failure of the various agencies involved in agriculture, education, and even public health to work together in the community development effort. The ideological and procedural split as between Community Development workers and the Extension Service workers is real in every country in which there are established community development and organized extension services. This often stems from the respective ministries involved in these programs and goes right on down to the field. Unfortunately, this division on 'approach to community problems' as between the traditional extension services in the United States and the relatively new community development approach, starts in the United States in respective government bureaus and is carried or exported to some of the countries in which we work.

"Though there seems to be a working agreement hammered out between the Agricultural Division of ICA and the Community Development Division on how these groups are to work together, apparently no one in the field on the American side has ever heard of it."

To the last statement, a representative of the Community Development Division of ICA/W responded on June 28, 1961:

"...an initial policy statement was developed under the guidance of Dr. Russell and Alvin Roseman in 1956. Efforts to refine the policy in 1959-60 have resulted in more rather than less conflict. Problems in the field are a direct reflection of the confusion which exists in Washington."

1/ Dr. John S. Badeau, President, Near East Foundation, in a Summary of Conference on "Community Development and National Change," Endicott House, Dec. 13-15, 1957, prepared by Irwin T. Sanders, Research Director, Associates for International Research, Inc.

NOTE: This appendix was originally prepared on November 15, 1962 and classified to protect the sources, since the references were cited in specific terms. The unedited version is in the TASG community development files.

However, to avoid classifying the whole document of which this appendix is an important part, certain references have been cited in general terms.

August 6, 1963

COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION
ITS ROLE IN THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

Appendix 2

THE ROLE OF THE MULTI-PURPOSE LOCAL LEVEL WORKER

The position of "multi-purpose local level worker"^{1/} was a brilliantly conceived approach to the solution of a number of pressing problems confronting the leadership of newly developing countries in the early 1950's. Unfortunately, the role has been overloaded through accretion and enthusiasm and unless modified will place in jeopardy the fulfillment of one of the major objectives it was designed to advance - the rapid transfer of essential technology to local people.

A review of the situation for which the role of the multi-purpose local level worker was conceived and developed is included here with a description of his functions and qualifications and a partial appraisal of his limitations.

Situation and Functions

"Traditionally the function of government in most underdeveloped countries has been the maintenance of order and the collection of taxes. (For that matter, government responsibility for the welfare of the people is a relatively modern concept everywhere.)

^{1/} "The term 'multi-purpose village level worker' (or 'multi-purpose worker') refers to an employee of a community development department or agency who serves as a catalyst of community self-help effort and regularly performs rudimentary functions on behalf of and under the direction of two or more technical services." - Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes, UNTA Programme, ST/TAO/M/H, p. 36, 1959.

Consequently, the government technical services for rural improvement in the underdeveloped states, if they are present at all, seldom extend to the village level. Moreover, revenues from subsistence agriculture in these countries can rarely support financially a continuum of independent services such as agricultural extension, environmental sanitation, village-to-market roads, secondary and adult education, rural cooperatives, and so forth, from the seat of the central government to each individual village. A new system had to be worked out therefore for effective but inexpensive linkage between the village and the government if progress was to be made. The new system is community development.

"As the core of community development approach to rural development, a new type civil servant was developed - the multi-purpose village level worker - who is trained, on the one hand, to be a first aid extension agent for all the government services at the village level, and on the other hand, as the catalyzing agent in mobilizing the forces and resources of the village people for self-help activities which will improve their lives. He is provided with some simple means of transportation so that he may be able to serve several villages. In a human ecological sense, he works with formal or informal village organizations (most underdeveloped countries have some kind of village councils) assisting these local groups to identify their immediate and long range needs and to help these organizations to initiate and carry out projects to meet these needs. At the same time he is a first echelon advisor and innovator in better methods of food production, environmental health and sanitation, and is instrumental in bringing about literacy training for the adults in the village."^{1/}

"Community development is concerned almost exclusively with the rural population living in villages, some 75 to 80 percent of the total population. There is rural isolation; the economy is primitive; education, health, and social conditions are at a low level; an adequate supply of qualified specialized personnel is lacking; local institutions of government are absent; and there are numerous other related and historical factors. Under the circumstances, the team concluded that the use of a village level worker, as we understand

^{1/} Harry L. Naylor, "Urged Culture Change in the Philippine Community Development Program", Community Development Review, ICA/Washington, D.C., Dec., 1958, pp. 72-73.

it, is to act as a catalyst and motivator, to render many types of first-aid assistance, and to serve as the agent between the villagers and the backstopping technical specialists whose help is required for the more difficult problems."^{1/}

"The village level worker is a 'generalist' soundly based in practical agriculture (in the case of men) or home economics (in the case of women), with a less intense training in public health and environmental sanitation, animal husbandry, literacy campaign techniques, simple cottage crafts, etc. A VLW is trained in the methodology of 'extension' work, and serves as a 'catalyst' where government technical services previously had had little influence. He calls on technical specialists, if and when available, for the more difficult problems he himself is unable to handle. These specialists also have had some training in extension methods, but they remain primarily technical 'backstoppers', and their efforts - for reasons of personnel shortages, cost, etc. - are spread thinly over large areas. Much of the simpler demonstration work they would do in more advanced countries, with more numerous personnel, is done by the VLW. India and Pakistan have chosen to rely on these workers, back-stopped by 'group level workers', i.e., the technical specialists. The VLW is, in most cases, a young person 20 to 25 years of age, although a few more mature individuals have been trained, drawn largely from the ranks of school teachers."^{2/}

"Community Development provides an approach to the problem of poverty through a new kind of public servant who is trained to see the village as a whole - as a social organism with all parts interrelated. He is trained in the art and science of human motivation and organization and social action. He also carries with him certain elementary practical knowledge in agriculture, sanitation, engineering, and other skills which may help people move forward from poverty. Probably his most important task is gaining access to people's minds and guiding self-help actions out of which

^{1/} Ernest Witte, quoted in a Summary of a Conference on "Community Development and National Change" held at Endicott House, December 13-15, 1957, by Irwin T. Sanders.

^{2/} "Evaluation of Community Development in Pakistan, India and Philippines" - ICA/W Team #1, October 5, 1955.

arise a sense of community and experiences in the democratic processes."^{1/}

"The multi-purpose community development worker will serve a clear purpose in this scheme. He is a fixed point of contact, known and trusted by the villagers, through whom the various technical services can be channeled to the village. His job will not be to substitute for them, but to assist, while at the same time stimulating and guiding the interest of the villagers."^{2/}

"The effectiveness of village level workers is almost as evident as the mobilization of villagers. Their failure to push themselves to the front publicly makes it difficult to measure the extent to which they are responsible for village mobilization. But one cannot escape the conviction that they are the greatest new element or instrument in India's whole rural development programme. They are not only agents who stimulate agricultural, health and educational improvements and are bridges between villagers and all types and kinds of technical and financial assistance, but they are substitutes for telephones, radios and newspapers as mass media of communication. Without them I feel quite certain that great masses of illiterate rural people could not have become so wholeheartedly a part of the community development movement."^{3/}

"The Village Level Worker is the key to the Program.

"The Community Development process begins when the Village Level Worker and villagers meet. The Village Level Worker is trained to live and work with villagers for their own welfare. His training emphasizes community development principles, methods, and techniques. It includes general training in courses on subjects of the various technical fields required for the execution of village development projects. If specialized technical know-how for a project is required which the Village Level Worker does not have, he knows where

^{1/} Excerpt from an address by Louis M. Miniclier, U.S. National Conference of Social Welfare, San Francisco, Calif., May, 1959

^{2/} Report of Inter-Regional Conference on Community Development and its Role in Nation Building, Seoul, Korea, May 6-12, 1961, p. 18

^{3/} Carl C. Taylor

to get it and obtains it for the villagers from other cooperating Ministries of the Government. He then works with the villagers in getting the know-how adopted and used.

"The work of the Village Level Worker (in Jordan) is to:

1. Develop and utilize local leadership, organization, manpower and other local resources in building materials, land, and money, to plan and carry out local self-help improvement and development projects;
2. Stimulate interest in, and assist villagers in organizing, self-help activities; help prepare applications for technical and financial assistance for village self-help projects under the supervision of the Block Development Officer such activities to encompass improvements in every activity of village life and livelihood; and at the same time help develop fundamental procedural and organizational experience at the village level aimed at improving village living conditions;
3. Act as a catalyst for agricultural, health, sanitation, education, social and other development services at the village level by:
 - a. Arranging meetings, demonstration locations, and otherwise assisting extension agents in agriculture, health, sanitation, and education in imparting their specialized technical information; and by
 - b. Channeling village requests for specialized technical and financial services to the appropriate sources for assistance." ^{1/}

"The VAW (Village Aid Worker in Pakistan) is the spearhead of the program at the village level. In his circle of from as few as two very large villages to as many as ten small ones he represents

^{1/} David C. Anderson, The National Community Development Program of Jordan, its Aims and Accomplishments, Nov., 1960, pp. 4-5

all of the development departments of government. All of these departments are concerned with his training in the institute; in using him as their agent in carrying out programs within their technical fields; and in giving him technical support and further training on the job. Thus he is a multipurpose development worker, a single point of contact between the villagers and the development departments of government.

"Candidates to become VAW's are chosen from among young men usually between the ages of 20 and 35; with matriculation level of education (high school), or in some areas, a middle pass (elementary school); physically fit and psychically sound; with knowledge of rural life and ability to demonstrate some agricultural skills; and with a real desire to live and serve in the village. Most of the same standards used for men are applied to the selection of women. The recruitment of the wives of male trainees is encouraged, but unattached women, both widowed and unmarried, are accepted.

"The VAW is unique among all government employees; he is not an 'officer'. Rather he is a 'worker' - a servant of the people. He has no regulatory or enforcement powers over the villagers and cannot so much as command lodging for himself. His approach is one of persuasion in both planning and action rather than the time-honored method of coercion, however gently applied.

"The functions of the VAW are as unique as his status. He is an educator, organizer and planner, friend, philosopher and guide to the villagers. As educator he carries to the villagers the fruits of research and knowledge of the various technical departments. Obviously he cannot be trained in one year to become an expert in all of the technical fields he represents. However, he is trained in the basic skills of each technical department which are most needed by the villagers in his circle. Where specialized technical advice beyond that possessed by the worker is necessary, he is taught how to obtain it from the subject-matter technical officers and to pass it on to the villagers. In turn he and the other 19 (in East Pakistan) or 29 (in West Pakistan) workers in his development area are channels for the technical officers to use in disseminating their own knowledge and skill in a much more effective way than they could do alone. Instead of one pair of hands, the specialist has twenty or thirty to multiply his effect on villagers made receptive by the workers who have already established rapport with them. If they lack a skill required, they are available to the specialist to be taught by him individually or in groups and thus raise their level of competence and usefulness to his technical department.

"Analysis of the role of the VAW reveals that much of his time is spent in applying human relations skills in program planning and execution through organizations which he fosters, especially Chand Tara Clubs (youth organizations) and Village Councils of Elders. He not only organizes these clubs and councils, but he teaches their members to plan programs of action in a systematic and democratic manner. Indeed he often begins this process of program planning and action before attempting to establish a formal organization. By bringing together informally those who are interested in village improvement, he is able to stimulate a discussion of village problems. He then helps the group to pinpoint some problem which promises quick results; which involves a number of people in its achievement; is within the capacity of the village to accomplish; and is easily seen and recognized as a product of group effort. Such projects as building an approach road to the village or a new school building, filling a useless village pond, and digging a new village well have been used as the initial undertaking. With such an accomplishment to their credit, it is usually easy to form a village council and youth club and approach the other problems of the village in a systematic manner."^{1/}

"A social invention of some uniqueness is the Indian village level worker sometimes known as the village companion. In an India which cannot afford, at this moment, a primary school teacher in each village, the village level worker represents all the development departments of government in 5-20 villages (some may be hamlets). He is the major means of contact and planning with the village. A recent study by the Committee on Plan Projects analyzes his job as including 64 duties but, generally speaking he:

- 1) represents the technical departments of government in his circle of villages and acts as a link between villages and government;
- 2) helps the village define their needs and adopt solutions;
- 3) seeks governmental aid if necessary to solve these village problems or brings the technical information or demonstration which will help solve these problems.

^{1/} James W. Green, "Rural Community Development in Pakistan: The Village Aid Program", Community Development Review, Sept. 1957, pp. 51-52

"The specific duties assigned the village worker are an indication of the wide activities of the Indian program. It is easy to say this man represents the whole of the development side of the government in the village, but it is awesome to see the ramifications of the statement.

"Duties of Village Level Workers"* (in India)

A. Educative and Informative (enlightening public opinion)

1. Demonstration of the use of improved seed.
2. Demonstration of improved agricultural implements.
3. Demonstration of the use of manure and fertilizers.
4. Organizing campaign for introducing and extension of cash crops.
5. Propagation of improved techniques of farming.
6. Reclamation of agricultural waste land.
7. Popularization and demonstration of methods of plant protection.
8. Organizing campaigns for artificial insemination.
9. Organizing campaigns for greater use of fertilizers and green manure.
10. Advice on different aspects of poultry farming.
11. Advice on balanced feed for milch cattle.
12. Mobilize opinion in favour of digging of tanks for fish-culture.
13. Stocking of tanks with fingerlings and their netting.
14. Popularizing the use of ventilators and soak pits.
15. Advice on digging of compost pits.
16. Tendering advice on rain water drainage, chlorination of water, rural housing.
17. Enlightening villagers in all aspects of rural development. by creating atmosphere for greater support and cooperation.
18. Distribution and display of posters, films, pamphlets, books, leaflets and other such audiovisual aids.
19. Assistance in organizing Community Centres.
20. Organizing fairs and exhibitions.
21. Publicity about works (constructional items) and mobilization of villagers.
22. Conducting publicity for schemes like decimal coinage system, small savings.

*Committee on Plan Projects, A Work Study of a Few Typical Blocks, Sept., 1957 - Appendix II. (India)

"B. Ameliorative (for meeting specific problems)

1. Use of first-aid kits for minor ailments and distribution of medicines.
2. Assistance in mass inoculations.
3. Organizing campaigns for control of contagious diseases and assistance in inoculations and vaccinations in cattle.
4. First-aid treatment of animals for minor ailments.
5. Castrations of scrub bulls.
6. Provision of foot baths for animals.

"C. Supplies or Service Jobs (which could be taken up by the villagers)

1. Distribution of improved seeds.
2. Distribution of improved implements.
3. Distribution of manure
4. Distribution of fertilizers and other inorganic manures.
5. Supply of pedigree birds and eggs.
6. Supply of good breed bulls.
7. Soil and water tests.
8. Setting up of children's parks.
9. Supply of spinning wheels.

"D. Works (constructional activities) Jobs

1. Assessment of needs and resources of the villagers for undertaking work items and procurement of technical aid.
2. Assistance in preparation of statements of expenditure, collection of bills, etc.
3. Assistance in obtaining administrative approval for works schemes.
4. Assistance in the verification of works cases.
5. Follow up of execution and maintenance of completed works items.
6. Collection of public contribution.

"E. Organizing Villagers for Development

1. Organizing crop competitions.
2. Organizing villagers through campaigns for community orchards.
3. Organizing sanitation campaigns.

4. Organization of youth clubs.
5. Voluntary work

"F. Collection of Statistics

1. Organizing crop sample survey/ad hoc surveys like:

Assessment of losses during calamities;
Cattle census;
Industries census;
Coal requirements;
Cement requirements.

"G. Administration

1. Receipt and recommendation on application for loans.
2. Compilation of office records.
3. Sale of tickets like T.B. seals, flag day.
4. Showing visitors around the project.
5. Attending project staff meetings, advisory committee and village council meetings.
6. Preparation of progress reports, charts, maps, statements, etc.
7. Maintenance of equipment and other stores given to the V.L.W. for use and demonstration."^{1/}

Limitations - Deficiencies - Problems

Some deficiencies and problems inherent in the role of the multi-purpose local level worker have become evident in the Community Development operations during the past decade:

"The village level worker has been given responsibility for too many diverse activities and consequently has succeeded in few."^{2/}

^{1/} Grace E. Langley, "Community Development Programme, Republic of India", Community Development Review, No. 6, ICA/Washington, Sept. 1957.

^{2/} Official source - identity withheld

"They are overburdened with chores, assigned by those above them, and do not display too much genius for group and community organization. The first step is probably the fault of administration. The second is due to the fact that the training centres do not have adequate training in the field of group methods.

"The Village Level Worker is the only Government servant who is in daily contact with villagers. If he does not have the theoretical and practical knowledge of group formation and community organization, not much will be accomplished in these vital fields."^{1/}

"According to the General Manager of the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, Jamaica had the following experience with village level workers which led it to widen their area coverage:

(a) In 1945, a new type of officer - the village worker - was introduced. These workers were recruited from the voluntary leaders and given fairly small salaries. They were expected to live in the villages and demonstrate to the voluntary workers how to exercise initiative, in encouraging voluntary workers to hand over responsibilities to village workers. It also reduced the voluntary leaders in status. The village worker became the 'king pin' of the village. People lost interest in their groups; very soon the groups dwindled and community coordination was considerably weakened.

(b) In 1948, the concept of village instructor was evolved to replace that of the village worker. Like the village workers, the village instructors are recruited from voluntary workers. They are not limited, however, to one or two villages. They serve as assistants to the area officers and are expected in the main to recruit the voluntary leaders and to play a part in training them. They are essentially, therefore, junior training officers, and are expected in the main to recruit the voluntary leaders and to play a part in training them. They function

^{1/} Carl C. Taylor, A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme, issued by the Community Projects Administration, Government of India, Government of India Press, 1956, p. 29

like general-purpose village level workers, playing quite a part in six or twelve communities as catalysts of community self-help effort. None of these village instructors performs any of the technical services such as health, education and agriculture. Their specialist functions are limited to handicrafts, literacy, drama and dancing."^{1/}

"Ceylon, where the shortage of technical personnel is less acute than in India, employs community development officers not only at district and sub-district levels. It has not employed village level workers partly, it is reported, because of fear that they might dominate or compete with village leaders. It is attempting instead to train voluntary leaders to serve as a link between the rural development societies and the technical services of the government. Most of them are given short courses for purposes of orientation and the acquisition of simple techniques in various fields. Some undergo comprehensive training, including instruction in community organization methods.

"As technical leadership skills develop among the people, the area coverage of paid village level workers can be widened; or, if paid workers serve too large an area, the training of voluntary leaders and other local persons may, as in India, be viewed as an alternative to increasing the number of paid workers."^{2/}

Many problems of relationships have developed. Most of these have been with the technical service institutions of the government.

"Difficulties in relationships between technicians and multi-purpose workers in India and elsewhere remain to be worked out:

(a) At present the contacts between the block level specialist and the Gram Sevak (Multi-purpose worker) in fields other than agriculture are few and far between:

^{1/} Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes 1959, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, ST/TAO, M/14, p. 34

^{2/} Ibid, p. 33

most of these specialists are engaged in routine work in their fields while the Gram Sevak is pre-eminently an extension worker. Moreover, the block level specialists feel that they can do without the Gram Sevak. According to them he is either not available or not qualified enough in their fields to act as a channel for the transmission of technical assistance to the villager. This situation hardly fits in with the concept of the role of the Gram Sevak as the multi-purpose extension worker. The latter either should either be qualified in more fields than he is at present, but have a smaller area to look after, or alternatively he should be more qualified in a few fields and share with other village level specialists the task of serving a bigger charge. More thinking should be devoted to this basic issue. The basic role of the Gram Sevak is that of the general-purpose extension worker which is buttressed by his specialized knowledge of the most important field, viz. agriculture. It is difficult to think of him as a multi-purpose specialist, and as the rural economy develops, the need for specialized services will grow and the number of specialized functionaries at the village level have to be increased." - India Planning Commission, Programme Evaluation Organization. The Fifth Evaluation Report. New Delhi, May 1958, p. 150.

(b) "Competition often develops amongst technical officers for the time of the multi-purpose workers. With the emphasis in national programming on increasing food production, the bulk of the time of the multi-purpose worker in training and work has to be devoted to agriculture. One remedy suggested by some is to have a full-time village agricultural technician and a multi-purpose worker for other activities. India, however, regards the multi-purpose village level worker as an integral part of the pattern of administration and coordination in the development block. The concept is that the block organization, consisting of the block development officer, the technical subject matter extension workers, the social education organizers and the village level workers should, working as a team for the furtherance of an integrated programme of rural development, function as the common agency of all the development departments. To enable the village level worker to give due attention to agriculture it may be necessary to increase the number of agricultural technicians at the block level who can provide better guidance to the village level worker than is possible today with only one such technician at the block level. A practical measure being taken is to expand greatly the train-

ing of village leaders in specialized fields, including farming and to stimulate the growth of cooperatives, pan-chayats, and other people's organizations." - Report of the United Nations Workshop, Annex to E/CN. 5/334/Add. 4, para. 106 (ii).^{1/}

"Because of the uncertainty of the roles expected of community development and agriculture in India, the state agriculture departments have become suppliers of such items as seed and fertilizer and have become divorced from the educational process. The basic work of community development including agriculture is carried out by the multipurpose village level worker who has been so trained that he has a smattering of knowledge in almost everything.

"The present Ford Foundation approach to community development in India is still based on the village level worker. However, the Ford Foundation now recommends that five agricultural specialists be employed in each development block to backstop the VLW's rather than one as has been true until this time.

"According to theory, the VLW is expected to spend 75% of his time working in the field of agriculture. Practically, he spends about 10% of his time on agricultural activities. Officials engaged in the program recognize this fact and are now asking for more people who can concentrate on the field of agriculture."

"One of the problems which has resulted in minor attention to agriculture in the development blocks is that the authority of the state agricultural department extends only to the district. The authority to carry out the policies of the Agriculture Department rests with the block development officers who are in charge of all the personnel in their blocks. Mr. Hummon's view is that the authority of the Agricultural Department should extend to a lower level if agricultural policies are expected to be effective.

"In the Punjab the average development block consists of 100 to 160 villages. Until the present time, each of these blocks has employed only one trained agriculturalist. His only transportation is a bicycle. He receives low pay and he obtains little incentive for credit and he has little initiative."^{2/}

^{1/} Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes 1959, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, ST/TAO/M/14, pp. 38-39.

^{2/} Interview with Guy A. Hummon, Oct. 9, 1960.

"...The village level worker must have a good working knowledge of agriculture to establish his usefulness to and his prestige with the villager, for everything else is subsidiary in countries where the margin between starvation and survival is close. ...The first requisite is his knowledge of agriculture so he can help with the immediate, daily, bothersome, and terribly important problems facing people who have no access to other sources of information."^{1/}

"Something concrete and visible should be included in every program for the satisfaction which people can derive from concrete results."^{2/}

"The problem of who is to administratively control the field worker who brings improved agricultural techniques to the cultivators is still unresolved. In West Pakistan the Department of Agriculture is unenthusiastic about in-service training for agricultural field assistants since the Department fears the field assistants may be later replaced by National Development (Village Aid) workers as this organization expands to cover the whole country. They are, however, training the agricultural officials above the field worker level. In East Pakistan the in-service training of field workers has continued. Apparently there the problem of what organization is to control the agricultural work at the village level has not loomed so large since the percent of the province covered by the National Development Organization has been less than in West Pakistan."^{3/}

"The technical ministries, such as agriculture, health and education, were to second the V-AID Administration technicians to act as instructors at the institutes and to supervise the village-level

^{1/} Ernest F. Witte, "Community Development in Selected Countries", Community Development Review, Vol. 7, No. 1, AID, Washington, D.C., June, 1962, pp. 1-10

^{2/} Caroline F. Ware, "Community Development in Urban Areas. Initial Experience in Bogota, Columbia", Community Development Review, Vol. 7, No. 1., AID, Washington, D.C., June, 1962, p. 51

^{3/} TOICA A-142, Karachi, July 20, 1960

workers. Initially this worked satisfactorily but as the V-AID grew its demands for personnel also grew as did the demands from the villages for the services of the technical departments. Competition, particularly with the Ministry of Agriculture, increased."^{1/}

"There is concern about the use of village level workers. Certain public health departments, for example, have been less than enthusiastic about their value in advancing health programs."^{2/}

"Ministries in general (in India), particularly some personnel in the Ministry of Health, do not fully accept the village level worker as the bridgehead between the villagers and the 'backstopping' technical specialist."^{3/}

"... in spite of the realities of the situation, the various extension services object to a system under which the village level or community development worker deals with technical fields with which the several extension services are concerned."^{4/}

"Community Development workers are tempted, following the generic use of the term, to interpret their responsibilities as if they covered all the processes embodied in community development, and so to encroach on the field of other experts or technicians."^{5/}

^{1/} USOM/Pakistan, Community Development Division Staff Study, Feb. 17, 1961, pp. 5-6.

^{2/} Ernest Witte, Executive Director, Council on Social Work Education, New York City, in a Conference Summary on "Community Development and National Change", Endicott House, Dec. 13-15, 1957, prepared by Irwin T. Sanders, Research Director, Associates for International Research, Inc.

^{3/} ICA Team Evaluation in February, 1957

^{4/} Interview with Edward D. Harmon, Jr., Community Development, Dec. 22, 1959

^{5/} Adapted from Report of the Mission to Survey Community Development in Africa, Jan. 1-Apr. 1, 1956, United Nations Secretariat (ST/TAA/SER.D/26, 15 Aug., 1958)

"A cause of difficulty is the occasional misunderstanding by the USOM and host country personnel of the precise functions of the village multipurpose worker in relation to the technical field staffs, particularly agricultural extension personnel.

"...It appears evident that the role of the village-level worker in relation to the agriculture extension worker is not clearly recognized with a consequence of rivalry in some cases between the two fields of activity.

"...From the field replies, it appears that non-community technicians exhibit diverse impressions as to the objectives of the village-level program as a whole. Many are even less certain with regard to the substance and objectives of community development."^{1/}

"The controversy between agencies and professions over which one should supply the village level worker has had a divisive effect."^{2/}

^{1/} "Review of ICA Community Development Policy", redraft of memorandum by H. Kleine, June 14, 1960.

^{2/} Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes 1959, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, ST/TAO/M/14, p. 19

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November 15, 1962

