

**COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS  
IN  
INDIA, PAKISTAN AND THE PHILIPPINES**

**TEAM 1**

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**INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION**

REPORT ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS  
IN INDIA, PAKISTAN AND THE PHILIPPINES

by

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## INTRODUCTION

This Report was prepared by Team I of three teams of United States Consultants to the International Cooperation Administration and its predecessor agency, the Foreign Operations Administration. It sets forth the personal observations and conclusions of the Consultants.

Team II and Team III Reports relating to Community Development Programs in Bolivia, Egypt, India, Iran, Jamaica, Peru, Puerto Rico and the Gold Coast will also be reproduced.

These Reports which have generated increased interest in the potential of Community Development are presented for the information of United States Operations Missions and other International Cooperation Administration Personnel.

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## I.

### PERSPECTIVE

This report presents the observations, analyses and recommendations of one of three teams assigned by the Community Development Division of the International Cooperation Administration of the United States Government to study community development personnel training programs in various parts of the world in July and August 1955. One team visited Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Bolivia and Peru. A second was sent to India, Iran, Egypt and the Gold Coast.

We, the third team, went to India, Pakistan and the Philippines. Having completed this assignment we wish to set down at the beginning of our report some of the convictions we have arrived at as a result of what we have seen.

1. The effort of governments to stimulate and assist the development of rural communities is directed at the heart of one of the most pressing problems of the three countries of South and Southeast Asia that we visited. Most of the population of each country lives in villages. Villagers are becoming aware that they do not share in material and spiritual benefits that have become generally distributed in the twentieth century among rural people of the western world. They are dissatisfied with their present lot, and are ready to accept many of the changes that development portends, where not already beginning to demand them.
2. The villagers are not very clear about how to obtain the improvement they want, nor even able to define its essentials fully. They are prepared in varying degrees to welcome guidance and technical assistance that promise improvement. Now they are being offered divided counsels as to ways and means of obtaining it, but only in a few fairly localized spots in each of the three countries have influences originating outside the free world obtained even a temporarily and partially sympathetic hearing. Such sympathetic hearings are better explained as indications of rising discontent than as intellectual conversions to a philosophy of violent revolution, to a faith in dictatorship, and a disbelief in freedom. However, no one can afford to overlook the serious import of such symptoms, whether registered peacefully at the ballot box or as armed insurrection aimed at landlordism and the passivity of government. They have assumed one or another of these forms, or both, in each of the countries on our itinerary.

3. The governments of India, the Philippines and Pakistan, in about that descending order, have accepted the view that, given guidance, resources and time, the hopes of the villagers are capable of substantial gratification. They have embarked, or appear prepared to embark, upon a serious program to provide guidance and resources, and to enlist the active participation of villagers in a sustained effort to improve their condition through self-help.
4. In undertaking programs of community development the governments of the three countries are combatting a long-held and deep-seated conviction of villagers, particularly in India and Pakistan, that no government really has their welfare at heart and deserves their whole-hearted support. This division between people and government is far older than agitation founded on conflicting philosophies that divide the world today.
5. The present governments are setting their faces toward closure of this age-old division between people and government. They are laying hold of community development programs as a device, not only for extending social benefits into rural areas and rectifying past inequities, but of binding government and people together in a sustained common effort for common benefit. In India the newspapers were filled daily during our visit with items reporting favorably on community development. On the day we arrived at Himayatsagar Training Center President Rajendra Prasad sat for photographs, surrounded by trainees for the lowest, but not least important position in the program, viz., the village level worker. Prime Minister Nehru has made his personal and sustained interest in community development evident by frequent participation in deliberations on its problems and progress, as chairman of the Central Committee of the National Planning Commission. President Ramón Magsaysay has shown his interest not only by formal statements, but most dramatically in his amnesty to Huks who were engaged in insurrection, if willing to settle on lands the Government is preparing for farming. We visited two of these projects in progress under direction of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, saw pioneering under the most difficult conditions, and talked with officers in charge, ex-Huks and other settlers. We talked also with Moros (Moslems) long dominant in these hitherto inaccessible mountain areas of Mindanao who are being given the economic and political foundations of modern communities for the first time. These Economic Development Corps projects are visible evidence of the government's intention to promote community development.

The government of Pakistan, perhaps because of much larger unresolved problems incident to organizing the machinery for governing a new nation, has been less clear in its support. Yet even in that country an efficient government organization exists, with dedicated workers training field personnel and ready to meet the demands of expanding projects. The Five-Year Plan of Pakistan, just announced, gives major moral and budgetary support to the community development program and provides official foundation for an expectation that present training facilities and development projects will be enlarged greatly.

6. Community development has been defined as a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of the community. One of its functions is coordination of the technical services of government, such as agriculture, health and education as a device to bring them into focus for the common purpose of aiding and stimulating development. In our opinion "community development," modified appropriately in form to fit conditions peculiar to each country, is one of several means that are effective and necessary for coordinating the technical services of government.
7. From our observations we draw the conclusion that while village cooperation has not everywhere been drawn upon as fully as seems desirable, it is possible to develop village people's participation in their own development by contributions of labor, cash and sharing in the making of plans and decisions. With skill and care this participation can be elicited to a gratifying degree, entitling community development to be regarded as an authentic instrument, and process, of democratic self-help.
8. We believe that new practices introduced through community development are slowly being built into the culture of village people. We believe that community development is initiating a process that promises to take deep root, to grow, in a sense to have no end. While its forms ought to vary and will change, it is no flash in the pan. We have measured community development by ethical, social, political and administrative criteria. Founding our judgment upon necessarily rapid but intensive observations in the field from village to high office, we state it as our belief that community development ought to be encouraged and aided substantially by the United States, in India, Pakistan and the Philippines.

## II.

### SCOPE, METHOD AND LIMITATIONS IN OUR FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

Preparatory to our departure we received a week of intensive briefing in the International Cooperation Administration offices in Washington. This included a two-day conference participated in by representatives from foundations, universities, civic associations, and government, all experienced in community organization techniques and the developmental problems of so-called underdeveloped countries. Also, each team held brief interviews with Washington officials concerned administratively with phases of foreign operations related closely to community development, e.g., education, agriculture and health, in the countries it was to visit.

The scope of our responsibility was defined in writing as follows:

1. To analyze current training programs at each of the various levels - national, provincial and local.
2. To evaluate the contribution being made by United States governmental and non-governmental agencies, including the applicability of the experience of the several United States specialized fields now contributing to community development activities in those countries.
3. To determine the duplicability of training programs within a country and the adaptability of programs to other countries with differing cultures and educational and economic levels.
4. To determine the extent to which United States supported demonstration and pilot projects are repeatable within a given country and may be adapted on a repeatable basis in other countries.
5. To recommend the kind and degree of future United States participation in host country community development training programs including indications as to the United States experience which can best be exported and adapted to other cultural settings and repeated in the light of differing educational and economic levels.

From these written guides and from conversations with International Cooperation Administration officials in Washington we felt justified in interpreting our assignment in a broad sense. We believe that, in order to understand the nature and problems of community development personnel training programs, it is essential to have a good grasp of the concept, philosophy, and

content of developmental programs in each country. Any type of sound training is a function of particular conditions and needs, and unless these conditions and needs are understood, meaningful evaluation of training is impossible. Accordingly, although we never lost sight of the specific focus of our instructions and, in fact, arranged our itinerary to afford maximum information on this subject, the reader will note many reflections and observations beyond strictly training programs.

The nature of our assignment and the conditions under which we worked in large measure shaped our research techniques. Distances were great, time was short, and the subject of our investigation was enormous in scope. We sought to bring a wide variety of programs under observation. This generally necessitated air travel; on the few occasions we used rail and river transport it was partly to amplify our look at rural areas and partly to give badly needed brief interludes for reflection on what we had been seeing and hearing. Our research methods, then, were extensive and comparative rather than intensive and detailed. Although we worked long hours with informants whenever possible, it proved impracticable to make a thorough examination of any single project, and in no case did we attempt to evaluate a single program. The near-simultaneous observation and comparison of different approaches to common problems proved to have the great merit of throwing certain broad patterns of culture change into sharp relief, and yielding another dimension in understanding as basis for planning programs. This method, however, is no substitute for intensive long-range analysis of representative projects. Both research techniques are essential for a clear understanding of community development, and as will be seen in the section on recommendations we stress the importance of much more study of both types.

In general, those who planned our itineraries were most helpful in achieving our purposes. If, upon occasion, we found ourselves in the role of visiting dignitaries and the center of formal festivities perhaps more conducive to morale-building than to first-hand inquiry, this did not predominate, for we met everywhere a disposition to accommodate to our desires for flexibility and direct inquiry as soon as we made our wishes known. Quite naturally we tended to be shown those projects that had been most successful. But since this was equally true in all three countries this source of scientific error was cancelled out in our comparisons. Moreover, we found community project personnel to be refreshingly frank in discussing mistakes and errors, and anxious to develop better methods to raise all projects to the levels of the best. Answering the possible criticism that we did not see a representative sample of community development activities, we say that our awareness of the problem and the honesty of our informants in discussing these problems seem to us to make sufficient reply.

We relied mainly upon interviews to elicit information and provide the basis for forming judgments. We soon discovered the value of separating, each team member visiting a particular village or talking with a particular person or group. By so doing we increased the range of our observations, avoided the confusion and loss incident to simultaneous questioning by three or four investigators each intent upon finding answers to the question uppermost in his mind, made it possible for each team member to pursue his interests and take fuller advantage of his special equipment, and facilitated the thorough questioning that makes a real meeting of minds possible.

We found that the more nearly we were able to achieve sustained discussion, the less we were conscious of language or other cultural differences between ourselves as westerners and the easterners whom we met, and the more we were impressed with the similarity in workings of the human mind when focussed sharply upon a common problem.

We found lack of familiarity with mother tongues of the areas we visited a handicap principally in meeting villagers, who seldom spoke any English. We were obliged to rely upon interpreters drawn mainly from community development staffs. To what extent reliance upon interpreters, men who were government officials, affected our impressions is impossible to say. We do not believe there was conscious distortion, either when we were speaking with villagers through officials or with lower level staff in presence of superior staff. We do not believe we have been seriously misled in arriving at any of our main conclusions. Nevertheless we regretted our language deficiencies, for we recognize the superiority of direct and unattended communication, no matter how competent and cooperative the interpreter.

We arranged to talk with people of as many different ranks and interests as possible. These included, among others: (1) officers and staff of institutes that train all ranks for community development, from national and state or provincial administrators to aspiring village level workers; (2) officers and staff responsible for administering specific community development projects, from directors to village level workers; (3) specialists in agriculture, home economics, health and sanitation, social education, public works and other construction, education, and cottage industries, who usually are attached to training institutes or projects; (4) planning officials and administrators with general supervision of, but without immediate responsibility for project or training operations; (5) persons responsible for evaluation of project operations; (6) villagers. We conferred with anyone we thought might have useful information or points of view, regardless of nationality, or government connection or lack of it. We conferred with representatives of foundations and agencies, international and private, secular and denominational. We attended classes in training centers and seminars of community development officials held by officials of host countries, and sat with development staffs both of host countries and United States Operations Missions.

In the time given us it was not possible to do library research, or read much beyond the mass of mimeographed or printed reports, proceedings, addresses, etc., that was furnished us. We do not think this seriously impairs our judgments. It helps to explain why this report lacks the statistical and descriptive fullness and footnote documentation that might add to its informativeness and general usefulness. Our judgments rest upon intensive interviews and observations of community development in very diverse situations, spread over three Asian countries. This is the distinctive character of our work and the basis of our recommendations.

### III.

## COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN INDIA, PAKISTAN AND THE PHILIPPINES

### A. The Nature of Community Development.

What is "community development?" We have found no definition that seems to reflect fully the ideas and practices we observed incorporated in going programs in the three countries visited. A widely-quoted statement says that community development is:

A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement.<sup>1/</sup>

This definition stresses the fundamental democratic belief that the social, economic and spiritual needs and desires of man can be identified, and that through intelligent group action these needs and desires can be increasingly satisfied. In all countries visited we found general administrative awareness of the importance of arousing people to recognize their own self-help potential, and of the importance of giving guidance in this process of self-discovery. In some cases full appreciation of this concept has not been manifest in past programs, and we noted instances in which community development had been interpreted in the sense of simple village relief. Happily these instances are in the minority, and they occur with decreasing frequency.

In the sense of the Cambridge Conference definition, community development can be thought of as a concept marked by universality, a belief and a faith equally applicable to all nations. At the same time it implies a democratic process, also marked by universality, whereby changes in traditional beliefs, attitudes, and actions are brought about with the end of "better living for the whole community" in view.

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<sup>1/</sup> From the 1948 Cambridge Conference on "The Encouragement of Initiative in African Society," quoted from Social development in the British colonial territories, Report of the Ashridge Conference on social development, 3rd to 12th August, 1954. Colonial Office Miscellaneous Publication No. 523 (n.d.), pp. 6-7.

Community development, in a specific country, is expressed as a concrete program of action. Such a program is an operation with an administrative structure, with a budget, with personnel of various types, with material resources, with plans and with goals. It may be operated or assisted by government, or by private or volunteer groups. It may be local in scope, or it may encompass an entire nation. It may aim at limited goals, or it may attempt rounded programs of development.

When we examined community development activities as programs of action we found elements not expressed in definitions of community development as concepts and processes. There is a substantive content in all such programs which lies beyond the resources of individual groups, without which "better living for the whole community" remains an idle phrase. This substantive content consists of the traditional government services in agriculture, medical care and public health, education, the building of roads, etc. In large measure the programs we examined are based upon the idea of strengthening these government technical services, and of stimulating local community organization to make the most efficient use possible of them.

Without attempting a formal definition, we believe that community development, as a series of formal programs in many parts of the world to which the United States Government is giving aid, is best thought of as an operation whereby the technical government services above mentioned are channeled to and coordinated at the community level. Stimulation of community recognition of needs, and acceptance of the principle of self-help, is a basic part of this operation, but it does not, in the instances we observed, in itself constitute community development. Rather, to paraphrase the Cambridge Conference conclusions,<sup>2/</sup> community development should be a method and an operation designed to complement the improvement of conditions from above by the improvement of conditions through the initiative of the people themselves.

We found that community development programs, in the operational sense, are complex administrative organizations marked, in their most evolved forms, by four main kinds of activities, each characterized by specific philosophies, methods and unresolved problems:

1. Planning.
2. Program operations.
3. Training of personnel.
4. Evaluation.

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<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

In the sections that follow immediately the programs for each of the three countries visited are briefly described. Since more complete data are found in official and other reports, the descriptions given here are limited to those points that seem useful as background for our observations and recommendations.

## B. Community Development in India.

With independence India was faced with the challenge of effective development of her natural and human resources. The "Community Development Programme," initiated October 2, 1952 is a major aspect of the response to this challenge. It is designed to aid the inhabitants of the 558,000 villages that include over 80 per cent of India's population in attaining a higher social and material level of well-being. The program is based on the philosophy of rural development by means of guided self help: villagers are aided in recognizing their needs and potentialities, and are given technical, financial and moral backing in programs which help fulfill these needs. "Community development" means particularly improvements in agriculture and animal husbandry, provision for drinking and irrigation water, the building of roads connecting villages with main highways, education, health and sanitation, the stimulation of cottage industries, land reform, rural cooperatives and credit, etc.<sup>3/</sup>

The program is based on the principle of transforming existing government administrative organizations to meet the needs of what is called the "Welfare State" (in contrast to a "Law and Order State"), rather than on the principle of setting up an elaborate new developmental authority. Consequently at the provincial, district, sub-district and block levels the Revenue

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<sup>3/</sup> "The fundamental concept of the Community Programme is that the main motive force for its implementation must come from the people themselves and that the vast unutilized energy lying dormant in the countryside should be harnessed for constructive work, on the cooperative principle. The new pattern of rural society that is visualized is that of millions of rural families, organizing themselves in cooperatives of different kinds and taking decision as free agents, practising scientific agriculture on the largest scale possible, and finding supplementary occupations in a variety of decentralized cottage and small scale industries, while the State assists by organizing research, supplies, services, and credit.... Government functions at all stages in the role of a guide providing the initial momentum where necessary and helping the people in those aspects of work where, unaided, they cannot make headway." (Community Development Programme in India. Paper prepared by India at the Asian-African Conference to be held at Bandung, Indonesia. Community Projects Administration, Government of India, April, 1955, p. 14).

Collector is administratively responsible, and is either himself the development officer or is assisted by a senior administrative officer. Most of the developmental work is done by technicians administratively responsible to established government organizations (e.g., agriculture, public health), and by a new individual, the "multi-purpose village level worker," the VLW, who stimulates much village activity and coordinates the work of specialist technicians on the local level. In simplest form, and not considering local variations, the following administrative and operational levels exist:

1. National level. The Community Projects Administration, guided by a Central Committee consisting of members of the national Planning Commission headed by the Prime Minister, coordinates the activities of the central ministries concerned with the program, and does basic policy planning.
2. State level. The Provincial Development Committee consists of the ministers of the development agencies and is presided over by the Chief Minister. Actual operations are the responsibility of the Development Commissioner who is Secretary to the Committee. He coordinates the planning and administrative activities of the personnel of the several interested ministries.
3. District level. The Revenue Collector is usually the Development officer and chairman of the district development committee. All district heads of development departments are represented on this committee. The District Officer is administratively responsible for community development work in his area, and some are now receiving special training in community development.
4. Project Area. The project area, unlike the preceding administrative and planning units, is the major operational unit. It is supervised by a trained Project Executive Officer who oversees approximately 300 villages, divided into 3 "Blocks" of 100 villages each. A Project Advisory Committee composed both of government officials and non-governmental members participates in planning and operations.
5. The "Block." This basic unit of 100 villages is the smallest operational unit. It is supervised by a trained "Block Development Officer" who is assisted by "group level workers," a team of technicians drawn from other government departments, including such persons as an agriculturalist, veterinarian, public health specialist, cooperative specialist, and a "social education organizer." (Sometimes more elaborate teams, including more personnel, a mobile medical unit, a pharmacist, a technical inspector for industries, etc., are found at the project level).

6. The village. The multi-purpose village level worker (VLW), the Gram Sewak, provides the grass roots stimulation. Usually he attempts to form a Panchayat, or council of villagers, as the instrument through which change can be brought about. Each village level worker is responsible for about 5 villages.

Because of the political urgency of covering the country with developmental programs more rapidly than the original plan permitted, the National Extension Service was established October 2, 1953. This has become the permanent developmental organization, and differs from the earlier Community Development Projects primarily in that less money is available for each "Block," and services are spread more thinly (e.g., one VLW for 10 instead of 5 villages). Selected National Extension Service blocks are from time to time "up-graded" and given the more intensive Community Development Project treatment for a period of three years, after which they again become National Extension Service blocks. As of April, 1955, there were 718 National Extension Service and Community Development blocks in operation, covering approximately 80,000 villages with a population of 53,000,000. By March, 1961, the end of the second 5-year plan, it is hoped the entire country will be covered with a total of 3,808 blocks.

Technical specialists in agriculture, public health, medicine, nursing, education and the other "back-stopping" services are trained in existing institutions, and in new institutions opened as demand and funds permit. Special training institutes of new types have been opened for the following personnel:

1. Multi-purpose village level workers. 43 of these institutes for men already exist, and 25 additional institutes to train women are in process of construction.
2. Administrative officers. Block development officers, project executive officers, and district officers receive special training in the concept and methodology of community development.
3. Social education organizers. The SEO is a member of group level teams, theoretically a specialist in communication who is taught to understand the mentality of villagers and to be able to help them understand the nature of and reasons for community development. Currently there are 5 institutes to train such individuals.

Evaluation of Indian community development projects is made by the Program Evaluation Organization, a unit administratively separate from program operations. In addition to the New Delhi staff there are three regional officers, 23 project evaluation officers, and larger numbers of field workers. Continuing analyses are made in selected project areas, annual reports are published, and information is fed back into the planning committees to be used in changing and modifying operations as experience indicates.

### C. Community Development in Pakistan.

The Pakistan program, although more recent in origin and less developed, is very similar to that of India in concept and structure. Community development is interpreted as a comprehensive attack upon the total development of the village through the process of stimulating villagers to define their felt needs, to plan programs to meet these needs, and to execute these programs with a maximum reliance upon village resources, supplemented as required by government services and material.

The key role in initiating and sustaining this process is the multi-purpose village AID worker (V-AID)--the equivalent of the Indian Gram Sewak, or village level worker--who has been trained, equipped and placed in a cluster of villages by the "Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Administration" (V-AID). This administrative unit was established in 1952 within the Ministry of Economic Affairs (which has responsibility for overall economic and social planning), following the initial agreement of June of that year between Pakistan and the United States Operations Administration to commence community development programs.

The Administrator was given the rank of Joint Secretary, on an equal level with the top civil servant within the Ministry, the Secretary. He was assisted by one undersecretary and later by a second. Primary responsibility for operating both the training and development phases of the program was given to the separate provinces, in each of which a director of V-AID was appointed. The departmental home for this director varied from province to province, being in the revenue department in one, in a separate department of extension in another, in the planning department of a third, etc.

Since the program was to be implemented primarily through village workers, the first and foremost job was the creation of training institutes. The first of these opened in the Northwest Frontier Province in July, 1953 followed within the next 14 months by eight others, each with a capacity of 60 trainees. Present plans are to open one additional institute and to enlarge the capacity of seven of them to 120 trainees each.

As each class of trainees graduates it is placed in a development area which corresponds as closely as possible to a civil division such as a thana or tehsil. A development officer, selected principally for his knowledge of and experience in public administration, is placed in charge of each development area. The usual number of workers in an area is thirty, each of whom has an average of five villages in his charge. The development officer is usually assisted by two supervisors, one of whom is preferably an expert in agronomy and the other in animal husbandry. During the first year of intensive development only small sums are spent for self-help projects since it is

assumed that much of this time will be spent in planning and in carrying out many projects which require no governmental assistance. According to the Five-Year Plan this rate of expenditure may be greatly increased during the second to fourth years, reduced again in the fifth and placed on a maintenance level budget in the succeeding years.

In addition to the Pakistanis charged with operation of the program there are a number of American advisers. At the national level there is a chief adviser who advises the administrator on all phases of community development and exercises administrative direction over all American advisers, and an associate chief adviser whose primary concern is advising the administrator after studies of the training and development programs in the field. Each province has an American V-AID adviser whose counterpart is the director of the provincial V-AID administration. With him may be specialist advisers in agriculture, home economics, health and sanitation and cottage industries who advise the institute principal and instructors and development officers on all phases of training and development within their competence.

Financial support for the program is borne jointly by the central administration and the provinces on a 50-50 basis. In addition to this indigenous support ICA and the Ford Foundation have each made contributions of considerable importance. The former has not only furnished advisers (28 are authorized for FY 1956) but also has purchased all equipment and supplies which required foreign exchange and has sent a number of V-AID officials to the U.S. and other countries for training. The Ford Foundation during the same period has aided with building costs of some of the training institutes, with the salaries of instructors, and with stipends of trainees, on a decreasing basis over a four-year period.

It was assumed from the very beginning that V-AID would not supplant the work of any development department. Rather the V-AID workers through organization of villagers for community development were to provide the missing link between the villagers and the various government departments, whose members were far too few to reach more than a handful of villages effectively. Thus, V-AID requires the effective support of all development departments. The mechanism for obtaining this coordination on the national level is the Central Inter-Ministerial Village AID Committee on which all ministries concerned with village development are represented. Similar coordinating committees are found at the provincial level and within the development areas. In the latter the chief government officer, the Deputy Commissioner, District Magistrate or Sub-Divisional Officer presides over a committee made up of influential non-official leaders and the technical officials of development departments operating in the area. At all three levels the chief V-AID official is secretary of the committee.

Thus, structurally, the other development departments are tied in closely with V-AID at both the policy and operational levels. In fact, however, actual support leaves much to be desired. So far V-AID has operated as a temporary department of government and has accordingly not been given the prestige necessary to be taken very seriously by other departments. In spite of this handicap several of the development officers have been able to achieve a considerable measure of support based upon a personal approach to the other officers in the area. Full coordination on a widespread basis probably will not be obtained unless V-AID is made a permanent government department and is designated as the coordinating agency through which development activities of all departments will be channeled to the village.

As in India technical specialists are trained in agricultural colleges, medical schools, home economics institutes, normal schools, etc. Of the nine V-AID institutes established for the community development program, 6 are in West Pakistan (with less than half the country's population) and 3 are in East Pakistan. In spite of traditional restrictions upon Moslem women Pakistan has made considerable progress in training female V-AID workers: 49 were enrolled, at the time of our visit, in 5 of the institutes. Unlike India male and female village level workers are trained in the same schools.

Pakistan evaluation activities lag far behind those of India. The only type so far attempted is reconnaissance by the American associate chief adviser, which pointed up the great need for general evaluation and for specific research studies. In the fall of 1954 the Ford Foundation adviser to the Indian program evaluation organization made a special study of the V-AID program and recommended an evaluation organization for Pakistan. His report was accepted by the V-AID administration but only one evaluation officer will be employed in the current FY and one two years hence. This is only a small fraction of the organization recommended. Unlike the Indian organization, evaluation in Pakistan will be within the V-AID administration.

#### D. Community Development in the Philippines.

In contrast to India and Pakistan, with single, unified community development programs, the Philippines Republic is characterized by a remarkable proliferation of public and private organizations each, in its own way, trying to utilize community development techniques in rural areas. The more important of these organizations are:

1. Department of Education. The near-universality of schools in Philippine barrios (villages) is noteworthy in comparison with India and Pakistan, and offers one of the greatest hopes for effective rural development. Beginning in 1950 educational leaders sponsored programs whereby barrios were divided into arbitrary neighborhood

units known commonly as PUROKS, to each of which was assigned a school teacher who is expected to foster and encourage programs in agriculture, health and sanitation, adult literacy, home and village beautification, etc. Results have been uneven, and depend to a considerable extent on the interest, industry, and personality of the individual teacher.

In 1953 the Department of Education began a program of "Rural Community Self-help Projects" that now number close to sixty, scattered over a number of islands. One community project organizer, relieved of his other educational responsibilities, is assigned over each two provinces in which there are projects. Coordinating committees for the projects, in which Education, Agriculture and Health services are represented set up goals and give general oversight. The usual procedure in a village is to organize a barrio council, if one has not been organized already under recent law. Activities are similar to those generally a part of community development, and include improvement of roads, drinking water, agricultural practices and home economics, school construction, training of mid-wives, beautification, etc. These community projects have the advantages over the older PUROKS that full-time organizers are assigned to them, and some government resources have been made available to aid specific activities. In spite of certain unresolved problems in these projects the schools will have a major responsibility in the planned national coordinated community development program.

2. Bureau of Agricultural Extension. Until 1952 agricultural extension work was accomplished through separate Department of Agriculture divisions such as plant industry and animal industry. In that year these and other services were combined in an expanded Bureau of Agricultural Extension, and in 1953 the efficiency of the work was vastly stepped up with the establishment of district and provincial offices. The resulting more intimate and effective service to farmers is evidenced by improved rice cultivation, better poultry and animal husbandry methods, the increasing use of compost and fertilizers, etc. Although much remains to be done, as with schools the extension service will play a basic role in the projected national coordinated community development program.
3. Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration (ACCFA). This national government credit organization, which operates through local "Farmers' Cooperative Marketing Associations" (FACOMA) promises to meet effectively one of the basic requirements for substantial rural development.

4. Department of Health. The established government services have long-since brought potable water to major cities and many villages as well. Rural health units are active in many parts of the republic, and health centers were noted in a number of places. The anti-malaria control program, begun in 1952, has produced gratifying results. Although medical services for the Philippines are not yet adequate, they are impressive in contrast to those of the other two countries visited.
5. Department of Public Works and Communication. Philippine roads in portions of the country are excellent, and a much higher proportion of rural villages is accessible than in either Pakistan or India. Mobility appears to be a major Philippine cultural characteristic; the numbers of buses one sees on roads suggests that the entire population of 20,000,000 people is in constant motion.
6. Department of National Defense. (EDCOR projects). Major resettlement programs, discussed later, are being carried out by this department.
7. Social Welfare Administration. This department has an elaborate rural program in which social welfare is interpreted in the broadest possible sense, as synonymous with community development. Several hundred young women, university social welfare graduates, have received graduate training in a SWA institute, and are working in rural areas.
8. National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA). This organization has also been instrumental in resettlement projects.

In addition to these organizations mention must be made of the training and educational programs of the University of the Philippines, the Los Baños Agricultural College, and of numerous government-sponsored agricultural and trade schools at both high school and college levels.

Non-governmental organizations devoted to community development work include the following:

1. Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM). This small but lively group was brought into being in 1951 as the result of a visit by Jimmy Yen. It has worked effectively in three areas, the most spectacular of which is the San Luis Project for Huk rehabilitation north of Manila, which has had the special interest and support of President Magsaysay.

2. National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). In addition to political activities this organization sponsors several community development centers.
3. UNESCO National Community School Training Center, in Bayambang, Pangasinan Province. This is a promising pilot project in basic education training and community development, with a skilled staff of international experts.
4. United Nations Technical Assistance. A highly competent British community development expert with long experience in Africa advises on a number of projects.
5. World Health Organization. Unfortunately we were unable to see any WHO projects.

It is apparent that the resources for community development in the Philippines are numerous and varied. Of the three countries visited the state of social and economic development of the Philippines is by far the highest: general health, longevity, literacy, educational opportunities, housing, physical and social mobility, all are in marked contrast to the other two countries. The numbers of university students is astonishing (although one may question the academic standards of some institutions) and normal school facilities have produced a surplus of 10,000 unemployed teachers. The Philippines differ in other ways from India and Pakistan. The war devastation in portions of the islands was enormous, and traditional ways of life were violently dislocated. As a result of a prodigious effort on the part of the Philippines, and American economic and technical aid far greater in magnitude than normal Mission Operations, most of these war scars have been erased. People have been forced to change their ways of life, and they have had greater opportunity than rural Pakistani and Indians to see what can be accomplished by united effort.

Perhaps because of these very advantages a formal national Philippine community development program has been slow in developing. The greatest impetus came with the 1953 election of President Ramón Magsaysay, who was pledged to a program of improving the conditions of rural peoples. In August, 1954 he created the Community Development Planning Council, composed of the chairman and executive secretary of the National Economic Council, the secretaries of agriculture, health, and national defense, the social welfare administrator, and three private citizens appointed by the President. This council, which theoretically plans and coordinates existing services and facilities, to date has done very little, but at the time of our visit a proposal for a "Barrio Development Council" with national, municipal, and barrio level organizations was being discussed. It appears likely that the Barrio

Development Council, or something like it, will make possible the more effective integration of existing services which, in our opinion, is the basis for Philippine community development.

#### E. The Common Needs.

In each of the countries visited we found the basic problems to be resolved were remarkably alike. This similarity seems to justify brief discussions in the fields of agriculture, land tenure, credit facilities, public health measures, education, and cottage industries.

##### 1. Improvements in agriculture and animal husbandry.

An increase in agricultural productivity is basic to all other community development projects. The villagers need more and better food for improved nutrition, to enable them to enjoy better health and to work more effectively. They also need a surplus to sell in order to purchase consumer's goods not made in the home. Countries want sufficient domestic production to meet the growing demands of mushrooming populations, and to avoid the necessity for buying food abroad, so as to protect their use of foreign exchange for other purposes. The usual means of increasing farm production in southeast Asia are as follows:

- a) Use fertilizer.
- b) Use improved varieties of seed and improved strains of animals.
- c) Use improved methods of culture, such as the "Japanese" method demonstrated in India and Pakistan, and the "Masagana-Margate" system demonstrated in the Philippines.
- d) Introduce new sources of food. e.g., Tilapia fish brought from Thailand for fish ponds.
- e) Add new areas of land to production or add productive capacity to land already in use by some form of reclamation (drainage, irrigation, leveeing).
- f) Destroy pests by insecticides, trapping of animals, etc.
- g) Improve tools, etc.

Experience shows clearly that substantial improvement in agricultural production almost always can be attained when some or all of these measures are adopted. Moreover, new agricultural practices are among the innovations most readily accepted by villagers; their advantages usually can be rapidly and visibly shown in demonstration plots, and they conflict less often with the taboos that frequently impede the introduction of new practices of other types. For these reasons increase in agricultural production is especially well-suited for the primary position in community development programs.

It is recognized generally that the present aim should be to increase agricultural production per acre, rather than to seek to cut unit costs of

production and/or to save labor. For some time to come, increase in production will go mainly into consumption in the villages, so amount of production to meet need is more important than labor costs. Also, with labor so abundant and access of each family to land so important to economic security and political stability, the immediate effects of rapid substitution of machinery for labor could be very damaging. In India and Pakistan alternative employment opportunities are wholly insufficient, and even in the Philippines a readjustment forced by displacement of workers from land presently occupied, by substitution of machines for human labor, would raise great economic, administrative, and political difficulties.

Progress in agricultural improvement is so dependent upon the adequacy of related situations of land tenure, agricultural credit and general education that these are treated separately below.

## 2. Land tenure reform.

Villagers whose land-holdings are severely fractionated, or so small as to provide insufficient basis for proper subsistence, or held on such unfavorable terms of lease as seriously to diminish their share of the produce, or who are so far under the power of their landlords as to be denied control of the lands they till and even their lives, are in a poor position to participate in programs of agricultural improvement and other forms of community development.

Recognition of the necessity for land tenure reform as a step in rural community development, and actual progress toward its achievement, are clearest in India among the three countries visited. There the states, which have wide latitude in execution of national policy, are in various stages of readying themselves to carry out land reform, or actually are embarking upon it. Hyderabad is among those we saw that have proceeded farthest. In that state, law now forbids land purchases above 3 "family holdings" in size, and sale below the size of one family holding. A family holding equals acreage sufficient to yield 1600 rupees — approximately \$330 U.S. — gross produce under average methods of cultivation by a family of five, and approximates 20 — 30 acres). Tenants of lands up to 3 family holdings in size may purchase from landholders with above 3 family holdings at 40 percent of market price, normally payable in eight years. Fragmentation of holdings, whether by inheritance or sale, below a size too small for economical cultivation is forbidden.

Tenants' apprehension of landlords' power is illustrated by a tenant's remark to an official informing him of his rights under Hyderabad law. "You are here in the village one day, but the landholder is here 24 hours a day, 365 days a year." Nevertheless, the land reform program is being translated

into administrative action in Hyderabad and in some other Indian states. Limitation of size of landholding is beginning to be effective, fragmentation is being arrested or reversed by consolidation, and tenants are beginning first steps toward ownership. Tenants in a Hyderabad village sang to us, in a ballad they had composed, of an impressive fact in their lives, viz., the zamindars (great landlords) have been abolished. In East Punjab, India, measures to consolidate fragmented holdings were making substantial progress, and were in preparation in Hyderabad and elsewhere.

In the Philippines the constitution gives broad powers of land reform to the President. These have also been elaborated in a statute passed by the Philippine Legislature in August, 1955. A tenancy statute already gives security of tenure, terminates exorbitant rentals, and sets up agrarian courts to decide disputes between landlords and tenants. It now operates mainly, but not exclusively, in areas of high tenancy in Luzon where agitation by Huks has been most pronounced. The land reform program, it may be said, stands at the threshold.

In Pakistan land reform is largely in the stage of planning. In the Punjab tenants-at-will have been given legal protection against ejection without just cause, and compulsory contributions in the form of personal services by tenants in the households of landlords have been prohibited. There, in Sind, and in East Bengal some steps are being taken toward placing tenants securely on lands either owned by the government or acquired by it from zamindars, and toward giving tenants permanent rights. The program has not gone far, and evidences of the presence and power of landlords over community development were before us when we visited villages.

The necessity for land reform was plain, yet, with few exceptions it was only in the beginning stage in all of the countries visited. The chief reason for slowness of land reform to become translated into fact is the opposition of landlord interests in national and state legislatures. Their opposition is least effective in India, and most effective in Pakistan. The strength of the resistance to land reform in the legislatures, however, is an unreliable index to popular feeling of the need for action. While failure to achieve land reform in East Bengal cannot be said to be the sole explanation of the utter rout of Moslem League candidates for the legislature in the last election, it was an element in the general dissatisfaction with this party that had won independence for Pakistan but a few years earlier. The Moslem League was left with but ten seats in a legislature of over 309; by contrast, the party in power in India that won independence for that country remains solidly in office, making tangible moves toward effective land reform, and giving strong support to community development as a whole.

In each of the three countries visited continued progress of land reform will require continual attention and effort. Removal of obstacles to community development and the threat of serious political instability arising from grossly inequitable land tenure remains an imperative necessity. Village action alone will not suffice; activity by central and state governments is essential.

### 3. Better credit facilities.

A satisfactory credit system is basic to agricultural improvement, the spearhead of community development programs. The dependence of cultivators in the countries visited upon an uneconomic credit system has depressed their condition and retarded production. They need credit of three main kinds: a) annual credit to purchase seed and fertilizer and to enable them to hold crops past harvest time, when prices are depressed; b) longer term credit for purchase of work animals and equipment; c) very long-term credit for achieving change in status from tenancy to landownership; this credit is perhaps best regarded as an adjunct to improved land tenure programs. The need for annual credit in relatively small amounts is the most immediate and imperative.

Great landowners and other private money-lenders have been the traditional sources of village agricultural credit in all three countries. Risk in lending is high, and the cost of bearing it—along with uneconomic and unconscionable exactions—is reflected in interest rates exorbitant beyond western belief. Generally these are not spelled out as a given percent per annum, but this can be determined by simple calculation. For example, a Pakistan farmer may borrow seed worth 10 rupees at planting time, paying back at harvest time a quantity larger by one third because of the price drop in the intervening months. Thirty-three percent in from four to six months represents from 67 to 100 percent per annum.

An International Cooperation Administration community development adviser describes traditional Philippine lending practices as designed "principally to maintain the family rather than to pay costs of farming operations"<sup>4/</sup> This is like the traditional, seldom-approved and now disappearing "furnish" to southern United States sharecroppers. Because of its general applicability to Indian and Pakistan conditions as well as the Philippines, this writer's account is quoted more extensively:

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<sup>4/</sup> Robert T. McMillan, "Land Tenure in the Philippines," Rural Sociology Vol. 20, 1955, p. 28.

The average Filipino farmer is a very poor credit risk. He operates a small farm, his crop yields are low, and he has a large family. If he is an owner, his total production of palay (unpolished rice) may be sufficient to fulfill his annual requirement of rice in the family diet. If he is a tenant, he may not be able to feed his family on the amount remaining after paying from 50 to 70 percent of his crop for rent and interest. In order to meet family living costs, the farmer borrows cash or rice. He sells his crop or pledges it for security before it is produced. After he pays his debts at harvesttime, frequently he has fewer than five or ten cavans (one cavan=46 kilos) of palay remaining for his family. If he experiences a total or partial crop failure, his accumulated indebtedness becomes so great that he cannot liquidate all of it.

Credit can be obtained at fairly reasonable rates of interest near the beginning of the crop season. Many landlords advance from five to ten cavans of palay to their tenants without interest. Near the end of the planting season, however, the need for rice becomes acute. During the next two or three months, or until harvest, farmers are at the mercy of landlords and moneylenders.

A few examples will show how the farmer, once he has become a borrower, can rarely ever free himself from his creditors. He may borrow one cavan of palay, for which he returns two at harvest. Or, he may borrow two cavans and return three, or three cavans and repay four when the crop is harvested.

Another practice is for the farmer to borrow cash or rice from a moneylender at 10 to 20 percent interest. He agrees to repay this loan not in cash but in palay, the amount of which will be determined by the price of the grain at harvesttime. Usually the market price of palay at harvest is much lower, frequently about half what it is in the lean months before harvest. It should be pointed out that many loans, especially those bearing the highest interest, are for periods of only three or four months.

Still another common method of obtaining funds is through the pre-harvest sale of palay. In this simple transaction, the farmer sells several cavans of his expected crop at a price far lower than that anticipated at harvesttime.<sup>5/</sup>

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<sup>5/</sup> McMillan, op. cit., p. 29

As long ago as 1937 a Philippine agricultural economist described credit conditions in Nueva Ecija, Luzon, that were allowed to fester until armed insurrection finally compelled serious remedial action:

Advances and interest are considered....to be the most important features of the tenancy contract, because they are the means by which the tenants are oppressed and are the main causes of discontent and unrest on the rice farms.<sup>6/</sup>

A few years after this description was written the Huk movement was spreading armed insurrection, founding its appeal upon intolerable agrarian conditions.

The Indian Community Projects Administration sums up the credit situation in India by stating simply:

When his (the villager's) land does not produce what he needs, he borrows money from the village money-lender at terrific rates of interest. Next time his crops are ready for harvest, the money-lender takes the yield away and loans more money. Thus the villager is deprived of his harvest and is eternally in debt.<sup>7/</sup>

Credit is a necessary function, and the private money-lender has performed it in the absence of anyone better prepared to do it. Until credit is placed upon a more economic basis, neither increased agricultural production nor a satisfactory program of community development is a likely prospect for achievement.

Only the Philippines, of the countries visited, has the beginnings of a truly effective credit system. Anyone who personally tills from one to six hectares of land is eligible to join his local "Farmers' Cooperative Marketing Association" (FACOMA) which obtains loans from the national "Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration" (ACCFA). From 1952-3 to 1954-5 (est.) membership in these cooperatives increased from 6,643 to 50,256, loans grew from 228,000 to 14,180,000 pesos, while cost of loans per peso fell from Ps. 1.77 to Ps. 0.035 (1 peso equals \$.50 U.S.). This system is now being spread rapidly within and beyond the area of high tenancy and agrarian unrest in central Luzon, where it started, and it will unquestionably constitute a major pillar in the projected Philippine coordinated community development program.

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<sup>6/</sup> Armando M. Dalisay, "Types of tenancy contracts," in Philippine Agriculture Vol. 36, 1937, p. 163. Quoted by McMillan, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>7/</sup> Community projects, a draft handbook. Community Projects Administration, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1954, p. 9.

In India cooperative societies have existed for a half century, but these are hardly more than borrowers' clubs that reach perhaps 3 percent of cultivators with credit facilities on reasonable terms. There is no other substantial alternative source of credit (except the private money-lender), although recent nationalization of the Bank of India was called to our attention as a possible first step, clearing the way for a government-sponsored program of agricultural credit.

Pakistan's history of attempts to provide sources of agricultural credit as alternatives to private money-lenders is similar to that of India; indeed, it shares a common experience for it was a part of India.

A good system of agricultural credit is more than a device to make sufficient capital available at reasonable rates; it is a device for promoting improved farming practices by means of supervised loans. The cultivator, aided by the farm credit supervisor, prepares a "farm plan" designed to maximize production and conservation, as the basis for his loan request. To the educational appeal of "if you follow good farming practices you will have better crops" is added the economic motivation of "if you will follow an approved farm plan you can have the capital necessary to produce better crops." Thus the influence of credit supervisor buttresses the appeal by the educator; the supervised credit contract insists upon willingness to follow recommendations of agricultural educators, and its influence reinforces the efforts of the home demonstrators, raising living conditions within the home. It places economic incentive more visibly behind agricultural education, and can give added impulse to all phases of a rounded program for community development.

The farmer-members of one Philippine FACOMA have shown initiative in promoting approved agricultural practices by voting that members must plant at least one paddy of the Masagana-Margate system, and must establish a compost pile. Other FACOMAs have asked for demonstrations of better home kitchens. In general, however, the modern concept of the function of supervised agricultural credit is little understood in all three countries.

#### 4. Improved health services and environmental sanitation.

Preventable diseases such as intestinal parasites, malaria, tuberculosis, acute respiratory illnesses and beri-beri are tragically common in India and Pakistan, and their incidence is far higher than necessary in the Philippines. These conditions are due primarily to inadequate environmental sanitation, insufficient medical services, poor diet, and lack of understanding of personal hygiene by the people. Human excrement customarily is deposited upon the ground in villages or nearby fields. Water is drawn from irrigation canals, grossly polluted streams, or open unprotected dug wells. Cooking utensils and dishes are scoured with earth or sand and rinsed in the same

dangerous water used for drinking. Flies crawl over exposed food in markets and eating places, and highly perishable foods such as fish and meat are displayed without refrigeration. Undoubtedly a majority of all villagers in the countries visited suffer in some way from major or minor nutritional deficiencies, both because of low income levels and because of lack of knowledge about balanced diets.

Although improvements in medical facilities and environmental sanitation hold prominent place in community development programs, progress is far from satisfactory, especially in India and Pakistan. Apart from general lack of economic resources to train enough physicians, nurses, sanitary engineers, sanitarians, health educators, etc., and to furnish medical and environmental sanitation programs with equipment and supplies, several reasons may be cited for this state of affairs:

1. The village level worker of India and Pakistan, in whose hands public health and sanitary improvement largely rest, is already over-loaded with responsibilities and under instructions to give priority to agricultural improvement. In addition to a multiplicity of duties relating to crops and fertilizers, animal husbandry, fish culture, 4-H Club programs, formation of village councils or committees, road building or canal cleaning, home industry promotion, education and a considerable amount of record-keeping, he is expected to provide public health protection. Even the most capable and conscientious man has difficulty in operating successfully in so many fields at once, and in not less and sometimes more than five villages.

Not only is the demand for public health time competitive with other assignments, but so many health activities are expected of the VLW that they are competitive with each other. When a VLW is responsible for aiding and encouraging well-building, the disinfection of existing wells, spraying with DDT, drainage improvements, the construction of compost pits, urinals and housing sanitation, his time by necessity is spread thin.

2. The training program for village level workers has small place for measures to improve health and sanitation. In India the first twelve months include instruction in purposes of the five-year plan, governmental organization, social organization, agriculture, animal husbandry, mechanical skills, e.g., carpentry, blacksmithing, sheet metal working, weaving, use and care of tools, and public health and sanitation. The next and final six-month period is devoted primarily to agricultural extension. The amount of time devoted to training in public health and sanitation therefore represents perhaps no more than twenty class hours devoted to theory and thirty hours spent in field practice. This is insufficient to produce effective workers.

3. Measures of public health and environmental sanitation are very low on the scale of felt needs of villagers. This is plainly evident, for example, from the very modest result from considerable efforts to get villagers to install and to use sanitary latrines; we usually had to scour a village to find installations, and even then habitual use was often to be doubted. It is certain that public health education has been insufficient to impress villagers with the need for the practice of public health and environmental sanitation. It is open to doubt how effective such education is likely to be under continuance of present programs or even under some intensification through present procedures and with present limited personnel resources. We noted how frequently installation of latrines resulted from the prestige of being first in a village to possess one, or to please the VLW, rather than because the villager believed the sanitary disposal of human excrement was essential to prevention of disease, and a fundamental of good sanitary practice.
4. On the other hand, the desire for medical care is very high on the scale of felt needs of villagers. Our observations convince us that, until a minimum level of curative medical services is available, villagers will be generally unreceptive to preventive medicine and sanitary practices alone. The mobile medical units operating in a few project areas in India, and the rural health units being opened in the Philippines, are important steps toward providing a firm base for more purely preventive programs. The immediate difficulty is the lack of economic and human resources in the form of sufficient numbers of physicians, nurses, midwives, sanitary engineers and health educators.
5. People are reluctant to alter their traditional diets. Studies in the United States and other countries indicate that food habits are among the most difficult of all customs to change, even when people have the economic means to enjoy a more balanced diet. In the countries visited a completely satisfactory diet would be difficult to attain because of economic limitations. But greater attention to dietary problems in health programs undoubtedly would produce a worthwhile improvement in eating habits.

To point out the vicious circle is not to counsel despair. In the Philippines particularly, and even in India and Pakistan, examples can be found showing that progress can be made. One line of advance is improvement of program and practice at points where specific, but removable obstacles are encountered. We found, for example, that the 16-inch auger, which requires several persons to operate, is sometimes a deterrent to installation of bored

hole latrines.<sup>8/</sup> It was pointed out to us that a 10-inch auger ordinarily would suffice, could be worked more easily, and so would meet greater acceptance. The use of poor quality "leathers" on tube well suction pumps is another example of a removable obstacle we noted. Also, exposure of pumps awaiting installation corrodes interiors, causing extra-rapid wearing of leathers, and consequent malfunctioning of pumps. No satisfactory arrangement between villagers and government mechanics had been found to assure proper maintenance and repair of pumps.

While the need for improvement in public health and sanitation remains great in all the countries we visited, more progress has been made in the Philippines than in the other two. In the absence of village level workers, medical service, public health and sanitation have been advanced by specialists organized separately. Rural health units have been staffed by a medical officer, public health nurse, midwife and sanitary inspector. The program for the installation of safe water wells in the barrios, for example, is a joint responsibility of the Departments of Public Health and Public Works. The former makes site surveys to insure sanitary location while the latter installs the well. The sanitary inspector is the person responsible for basic environmental sanitation in the barrios. He is identified with the rural health unit, and sanitary improvement in the villages is his major objective.

In India and Pakistan, on the contrary, the VLW (overloaded, insufficiently trained in public health, and inadequately supported by trained technicians) carries the responsibility for both initiation and execution of programs. Trained public health "backstoppers" are relatively few in numbers, both because of inadequate training facilities and because—especially in the case of engineers—of competing demand at the national level in departments of public works and bureaus of reclamation and irrigation.

##### 5. Expanded educational facilities.

A literate and informed citizenry is the best possible base on which to build community development programs. Among the differences we encountered between the various countries visited, none was more striking than the extent to which education has, or has not, reached rural populations. Around four out of five persons in rural India and Pakistan lack primary schooling, while about the same proportion in the Philippines has received such education.

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<sup>8/</sup> But the novelty of the auger can also produce interest and consequent building of latrines. See p. 86, item 7.

The community development educational programs we saw take two main forms: "basic education" in "community schools" (these words convey the idea; terminologies vary), primarily for children; and adult education. In the countries visited school curricula traditionally have been modeled after older European or American forms, with the result that much of what was taught was of little or no use to villagers. The community school, with its basic education, is a functional device to prepare villagers for the fullest possible participation in village life. In India increasing numbers of schools are being converted from traditional to "basic" types, and new schools tend to be of the latter form. Instead of over-long hours of European history, etc., students study those subjects that pertain especially to India, and in addition receive badly-needed training in village arts and trades. In the Philippines the community school is thought of as the focal point of village life, for adults and children alike. In all three countries the variable, but growing interest in 4-H clubs shows recognition of the importance of a special kind of education to enable people to take the fullest possible advantage of rural living.

Adult education programs, lead by the VLW in India and Pakistan, and the barrio school teacher in the Philippines, are theoretically important parts of community programs. It was impossible for us to measure the effectiveness of these efforts. In India, where no government agency has ever established entirely friendly relations with villagers, it is hoped that through adult education rural peoples will be more prone to seek community development. In the Philippines schools are accepted as a basic government service, and although the system has not been extended to the most remote areas of the islands, the overwhelming majority of Philippine children have the opportunity to attend primary school. National policy is aimed at making primary schooling universal, and this goal will be reached in the foreseeable future.

This diffusion of elementary education in the Philippines appears to have been instrumental in producing a rural population much more ready and able to take advantage of the services of technical specialists in agriculture, health, etc. than in countries marked by less education. A favorable climate for community development prevails. By contrast, community development programs start with a heavy handicap in India and Pakistan. Work there concentrates of necessity on winning acceptance of adults to improved ways. Much of the effort of the VLW is obliged to go into urging people to establish a school, finding a teacher, and persuading parents to enroll their children, so that with time a more favorable climate for community development will prevail.

The value and lesson of the contribution made to the Philippines in the form of a system of public elementary and secondary schools, established under American tutelage and extended by the Republic, should not be underrated in framing community development programs in other countries. It is

no accident, but the fruit of foresight exercised long ago, that today schools are natural centers for stimulation of rural progress. Until a system of general elementary education comes into existence in a country, community development programs will labor under a severe handicap.

#### 6. Development of cottage and other small industries.

Small scale cottage industries such as weaving, leather-working, pottery-making, black-smithing, sheet-metal working, carpentry and cabinet work, soap-making, etc. are important in countries at the level of industrialization of India and Pakistan. Large scale industries will not develop sufficiently rapidly, owing to lack of capital and technical experience, to absorb the surplus of rural population beyond what is needed to work the land, and to provide for a growing demand for consumers' goods. Cottage industries programs in community development, therefore, have the following advantages: (a) they offer a means of reducing rural unemployment and under-employment, which in turn alleviates population pressure on land resources and retards exodus to already-crowded cities; (b) they encourage individual and cooperative enterprise; (c) they help meet the demand for some types of consumers' goods not produced in sufficient quantity by factories.

By including cottage industries in the community development program, a way has been found to provide small grants of capital to village artisans. These have had the additional advantage, at times, of freeing artisans from onerous credit terms resembling those that have been so common as barriers to agricultural production improvement. For example, a village shoemaker near Jhargram, in West Bengal, was provided with credit at 5 percent through the community development program that used to cost him 33 percent for 6 months; he was able also under the new credit arrangements to purchase materials at ten percent lower prices than before.

In West Bengal a special attempt is being made to stimulate production by village artisans by promoting exchange facilities outside and beyond those of the usual village markets. Community development staffs are helping by encouraging direct exchanges of pottery, grass mats, baskets, blacksmith products, etc. This is done by means of recorded transfers at imputed market values, and without use of a monetary medium of exchange. This resembles the barter exchanges that sprang up in the United States during the early 1930's when unemployment was widespread during the Great Depression, some of which eventually received financial aid from the cooperative division of the federal emergency relief administration. This form of stimulus to production by facilitation of barter exchange is characteristic of and appropriate to inadequate market organization. Its justification is the need to give every possible stimulus to increased production. Its need, as a special form of effort, can be expected to pass when the market economy has reached a generally

more efficient stage. Barter is less efficient than multi-lateral exchange through unobstructed markets, and therefore not an end in itself, but at times it is necessary and desirable.

The cottage industry program perhaps is viewed best as a necessary stage in the economic development of a country seeking to adopt a new technology. In a few instances, such as steel-making or oil production and refining, all intervening stages between hand methods and the latest technology can and will be skipped over. But it is impossible, practically, to do this with all forms of production at once. Capital is lacking, and even if it were available unemployment and social disorganization would result from overnight introduction of latest western technology throughout.

In India, at least, the cottage industry program is recognized in part as a step in the direction of technological efficiency, as well as an effort to help artisans using traditional methods to increase their production. Artisans are encouraged and aided to provide themselves with simple mechanical improvements, such as better potters' wheels, black-smithing equipment, cabinet-making tools, etc. Technical progress is not throttled, but encouraged at a step-by-step pace in simplest forms. Economy and efficiency do not have the same meaning in labor-surplus countries as in labor-scarce countries. In West Bengal recognition of the necessity for encouraging production by more than efforts to aid individual village artisans is exemplified by placing the community development program, including cottage industries, under a Development Commissioner responsible for encouraging all forms of economic development in the State.

The current stimulus to hand production with simple tools, even improved tools, is appropriate to a stage. But it will be useful to recognize that economic conflicts between village artisans and factory machine production methods is inevitable in time, in one industry after another. Failure to recognize ultimate objectives as well as immediate purposes could lead to placing barriers to essential improvements in methods, if national production is to be lifted eventually to much higher levels. The issue has appeared already in such questions as to how fast improved tools and machines ought to be introduced in agriculture, and whether machine-milling of rice or hand-milling methods should be supported. No simple and universal criterion for an answer to issues of this kind is possible, but the crux of the problem is to keep opportunity as free as possible for technological improvement, at the same time avoiding devastating competition for which alternative protections cannot be found for the victims. The artisans of early nineteenth century England who survived best were those who sought to compete with the machine in quality rather than price. Administrators will find answers when they are obliged to give them by balancing gains and injuries, rather than in some inflexible principle. Yet in deciding immediate issues they cannot afford to forget that the long-run need for greater production depends upon use of the best

methods, nor allow hard and fast barriers to be erected against them by the pressures of immediate social and political considerations.

#### 7. Miscellaneous needs.

We encountered with greater or lesser frequency other needs in addition to those just described. The desire for roads from villages to main highways and markets, passable to wheeled vehicles in all weather, was marked in all three countries. The quality of many "roads" we travelled is graphically portrayed by an adjective commonly used in India, "jeepable." A great many roads are not even jeepable in wet weather. Community development workers have found that a proposal to help with a road is one of the easiest projects for which to enlist active village cooperation. Customarily villagers donate land for right of way and labor for construction; the government provides engineering guidance and occasionally equipment or surfacing materials. The village labor contribution sometimes takes the form of cash to hire workers, but more often it is personal work by the people themselves.

In East Bengal we saw a canal that villagers cleared as a "road," to enable them to market their jute and other products. A levee, or "bund," that cleared 15,000 acres of marsh-land of salinity for rice production was another East Bengal community development project, doubtless a forerunner of others in the same vicinity in the future. In some places small earthen dams were constructed as part of community development, or wells constructed, to provide irrigation.

Projects to irrigate specific lands sometimes produce special and often substantial benefits to individual landowners, far beyond generally shared benefits to the community. Apparently little thought has been given in any of the countries we visited, at least within the community development organizations, to an equitable and practicable means for distributing contributions and benefits among special beneficiaries. A result on some projects is a concentration of benefits in fewer hands than appear to be in the general public interest.

#### IV.

### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS AN INTEGRATED PROCESS

Community Development is a Process designed to tap latent human and material resources in order to achieve a higher level of social, material and spiritual well-being for the community. In order to set this process in motion technical knowledge developed elsewhere must be transferred to communities where change is desired. Over the years a vast reservoir of substantive knowledge in established fields such as agriculture, home economics, public health and sanitation, production techniques and the like has been accumulated. More or less experience is also available on how to teach the practices that spell improvement within each field. The techniques of extension in agriculture and home economics, and of group dynamics as means of promoting intelligent group action have proved their value. Yet today no thoroughly-tested body of knowledge about community development is in existence; there is no source to which one can turn to work out a plan for a community.

Community Development implies culture change, as individuals and groups give up old - and often cherished - ideas and customs, and take up new ones. In our present state of knowledge in social science it is safe to say that there are "principles" of culture change which, if known in detail, would greatly facilitate community development planning. Certain rule-of-thumb practices do exist, and they do work. (See below for specific examples). Their existence gives evidence that a body of tested principles could be worked out. On the level of generalities perhaps the most important fact that must be borne in mind always is that a community develops as a whole, in all of its aspects. The individual aspects of culture are intimately integrated, inter-related in such fashion that significant change in one area of culture inevitably produces secondary and tertiary changes in other areas.

A public health program, for example, which drastically lowers the death rate in a country mushrooms the population, increases pressure on the land, may lead to over-population, and in any event makes it imperative to produce more food, more schools, more municipal services, perhaps new forms of social organization, and the like.

The extent to which change can be produced in one area is dependent upon the extent to which change can be produced in other areas. To take a simple example:

The "smokeless chula," a simple cooking stove with an outside chimney designed to remove smoke from the home and thus to reduce eye irritations and infections, has had a negligible acceptance in India and

Pakistan. Villagers explain that in a well-smoked house there are fewer insects, and the white ant is less destructive to roofs. Consequently a smokeless chula increases discomfort from insects and may seriously shorten the life of a house. A single "improvement" - not a "felt need" but a planted idea, has repercussions not thought of by the planners. But in balanced planning the solution to this complaint is simple. If spraying with DDT is coordinated with introduction of the smokeless chula the worst objection - insects - is overcome.

Always community development programs should maintain reasonable balance - no area of great need should be long neglected. One potential danger we noted is the tendency to think of community development as a rural program. Although the countries visited are presently basically rural, city populations are growing by leaps and bounds, and many of the most pressing problems seemed to us to lie in cities. We were impressed with the program of West Bengal where "composite" projects including urban development and industry are coordinated with village improvement. Township light industries such as small foundries, parts fabrication, small textile mills, and the like, are planned as integral parts of development. This example might well be followed in other places.

Community development programs must be a function of the socio-economic level of a country. Since levels vary, there is no such thing as "the" community development program, or a single methodology or a single form of administrative organization that works best always and everywhere. Countries on differing socio-economic levels need different programs. In India and Pakistan the village level worker seemed to be a realistic means of coping with village problems, of coordinating the technical services available from other government agencies, and of stimulating discovery of means for satisfying the immediate needs of villagers. The Philippines, on the other hand, seemed to well past the stage of effectively utilizing the village level worker. Schools are found in nearly all barrios (villages); an increasingly effective agricultural extension service is rapidly changing traditional methods of farming; the level of education, of contact of barrios with cities is such that organization of local groups is much more easily effectuated than in India or Pakistan. Community development in such a country implies a rather different marshalling of resources to continue progress.

The three countries we visited have all attained independence recently. It is natural - and healthy - that a strong nationalistic spirit, a growing pride in culture and tradition, and confidence in the future should mark them. At the same time nationalism influences community development programs in

various ways, some less useful than others. The desire for visual symbols of progress, for example, may channel funds into imposing buildings, more elaborate than really needed for the job, at the expense of other less spectacular but basically sounder projects. In one instance a village level workers training institute seemed much more elaborate than the needs of training demanded (an American ICA architect in this case must share the responsibility). Nationalism also influences relationships with the United States. Some Americans find it natural to want evidences of "gratitude" for aid, visible appreciation for what is being done, and conspicuous signs at project sites showing the extent of U.S. aid. Yet effusive and ubiquitous expressions of gratitude are incompatible - and probably undesirable - in a young and nationalistic country where citizens are sensitive and perhaps oversensitive to anything that might seem to imply inability to run their own country. Competent American personnel "with a passion for anonymity" who leave deserved credit to nationals, help achieve lasting friendship between peoples, as well as the material progress desired in international cooperation programs.

Political factors in the countries visited, as in the United States, likewise influence community development programs. Local pride, parliamentary horse trading, and the like, all restrict the untrammelled planning that is desirable in community development programs. In India, for example, Congress Party commitments to the people have resulted in the necessity of expanding programs at a more rapid rate than it is possible to train personnel. A somewhat slower and more orderly expansion might be more effective in the long run. In the Philippines, too, politics was providing impetus to plans and ambitions for action programs, some of them more purely competitive than clearly constructive. Yet in all three countries politics, in the most profound sense, is on the side of action for community development, for no domestic program so surely and pervasively identifies government with the interests of its people.

The importance of the basic administrative structure of a country, in relation to community development programs, cannot be overemphasized. Honest and efficient civil administration is the sine qua non of a sound program. The British legacy to India of a highly trained body of civil servants, and an awareness and appreciation of efficient civil service, was to us most impressive, and will prove to be a major factor in the successful implementation of the Community Development Programme. To a degree Pakistan shares the same heritage. The distinctive heritage of the Philippines from American occupation, on the other hand, is a public school system diffusing democratic education widely. This also will be a major factor in the planned unified community development program in that country.

Many of the villages of the three countries we studied live within a framework of institutions that resist change at one extreme or provoke

attempts at violent change at the other. In either case, orderly community development is hindered. Conspicuous among institutions that raise problems of this type is an inequitable system of land tenure. This condition, although not universally present, is prevalent and often strongly localized, so as to cause serious interference with guided, all-inclusive, progressive community development.

The usual characteristics of an unsatisfactory land tenure pattern, as we found them, are these: a). a heavy concentration of landownership in few hands; b). corresponding landlessness among a high proportion of cultivators; c). concentration of landing power among landowners, with corresponding unavailability of credit to most cultivators except upon usurious terms; d). low agricultural productivity, with poor methods of cultivation generally; and e). insecurity and low income among the landless, whether tenants or wage laborers.

The following examples of unsatisfactory land tenure practices as obstacles to community development were noted:

We were informed in some Pakistan villages that without consent of the local zamindar (landowner -- money-lender) it was not possible to get a bored-hole latrine installed. In the Philippines dissatisfaction with inequitable land tenure conditions in some areas on the Island of Luzon had reached a stage of armed uprising and outlawry within recent years, requiring field operations by the Army of the Philippines. In some instances, especially in Pakistan, we found zamindars almost vying with each other to invite the benefits of a community development program for their villagers, but the appearances of this seemingly favorable condition were deceptive. In Pakistan we found landlords sharing the increased yield from rice fertilized by purchases of the tenant through the V-AID program, without sharing the cost.

The retention of such pervasive power over the lives of others as the extensive ownership of land confers, especially under primitive or "undeveloped" conditions, is a threat of potential injury suspended over villagers, and a contradiction to freedom and democratic principles. Few persons seem able to exercise such power consistently for the general good and on the side of progressive community development. In practice, concentrated landholdings have not generally favored improving the methods of agricultural production and credit, diffusing the benefits of greater production, or promoting general education and improvement.

It is inherent in progress generally that it creates problems as well as solves problems. Community development is no exception. One of the most pressing problems created or aggravated by community development is an

unbalance between natural resources and the numbers of human population. In India and Pakistan this unbalance has existed generally for a long time, and to an extreme degree in the Brahmaputra-Gangetic Delta, where human density stands at the extraordinary figure of 777 per square mile for all of East Pakistan and much higher for the habitable area. In the Philippines land resources still are liberally available for development, but even there pressure on land is heavy on portions of Luzon, and the rate of natural increase of human population is so rapid that future general pressures can be forecast. In five generations from the beginning of the nineteenth century population in the Philippines has increased, by the best estimates, from 1.5 million to 20.5 million, or more than 13-fold, almost exclusively by natural increase. Present rate of growth, if continued, will produce populations of 33 million by 1975 and 55 million by 2000. Although large redistributions of population to unused land areas are still possible in the Philippines, these are possible in India and Pakistan on a restricted scale.

The "Planned Parenthood" posters in community development centers in India give visible evidence of official awareness of a problem of increasingly unfavorable relations between numbers of people and land in that country. There is less evidence of similar awareness in Pakistan, although East Pakistan is already one of the world's most heavily-populated spots. All three countries will need to face the fact sooner or later, that by placing village health and sanitation measures close to the top of community development programs, they are lowering the death rate. A rigidly restrained death rate, coupled with an unrestrained birth rate affords a reliable basis for forecasting unbalance between population and land resources.

Thus community development, solving one problem, will raise another. But population pressure is no more than an example. Too rapid introduction of agricultural machinery could also create unbalance between people and land resources. Neither fact is reason to shy at community development. If community development will create problems, it is equally true that it will solve some of the most urgent that face mankind, viz., human misery accumulated for generations and massed in great areas.

## COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS: CONTENT, METHODS AND PROBLEMS

We have outlined the formal structure of community development programs in the three countries under consideration, as responses to a number of common needs, and have pointed out certain characteristics of and limitations to culture change which influence such programs. Now we propose to examine community development programs, with respect to content, methods, and problems, under the headings of a). planning, b). program operations, c). training, and d). evaluation.

### A. Planning.

Programs of the magnitude of those under consideration require careful planning by intelligent, well-informed and imaginative administrators. Sound planning implies recognition of the total economic potential of the nation; careful budgeting practices; an understanding of the proper sequence of projects; knowledge of human motivations to change, and the ability to utilize these motivations in forwarding projects; and awareness of the social and cultural barriers which inhibit adoption of new ideas and customs. Planning in a democratic society also implies respect for the feelings and desires of the "felt needs" of those persons to be affected by programs.

This opposition between necessity for the superior and specialized knowledge of the planner, and respect for the felt needs of the community, has produced a basic dilemma in all countries visited that has not been resolved satisfactorily. The traditional cornerstone concepts of community development are recognition of people's felt needs, belief that programs should exist primarily to satisfy these needs, and assertion that only through recognition of felt needs can people be stimulated to action. It is true that people change attitudes and customs more rapidly when they feel they will gain through such changes, but it is naive and dangerous to assume that community development programs can be based primarily on what people by themselves come to feel they specifically want.

As pointed out social and economic development is a complex, little-understood process, limited and channeled by numerous factors, some inherent in the principles of culture change, others present in the peculiar situation of each country. Satisfaction of felt needs can in fact be achieved only within the limits of this larger framework. This means that what a villager desires may often be incompatible with cultural reality. We found, for example, that better health is high on the list of village felt needs. But better health is the

product of the interaction of complex social and economic factors: pure water, environmental sanitation, preventive measures (inoculations, vaccinations), personal hygiene, and national productivity high enough to support programs making these services available. But these specific means of achieving better health are not felt needs to the villager, and their necessity as a means to a desired end is difficult for him to understand. We found that the villager usually is unwilling to pay the full price in terms of change of habits that would permit the degree of better health he says he wants, and that is technically possible.

This apparent logical contradiction between planning and identification of felt needs is resolved when the dual nature of the latter is recognized. "Identification of felt needs" is the first step in the operation of the community development process; it is the means of awakening the villager's desire for change and stimulating him to take action. It is also an aid to planning. Competent and mature planning recognizes the economic and social limitations of developmental programs. It must identify the most commonly voiced felt needs and incorporate them whenever possible into specific projects, and it must discourage felt needs that it knows to be incompatible with the nation's economic potential and the villager's readiness to accept changes he cannot understand. When the dual nature of "felt needs" is generally understood project officers will not ask the question—raised in an Indian training center—"How do we teach villagers their felt needs?" Nor will they enquire—as one did in the same discussion—"How can we reconcile the setting of material targets and goals by planners with the principle of village self-determination of felt needs?"

The nature and extent of people's contributions to projects is a second problem not entirely resolved. We noted instances in which government officials brought significant material improvements to villages in the form of wells, without consultation with villagers as to where they should go, and without requiring village participation of any kind. Subsequently many of these wells were not maintained. We observed other cases in which the government was able to offer little more than technical advice and moral encouragement. Some progress was made under such conditions, but material resources of villagers usually are so meager as to set rigid limits on substantial improvements based on this method alone. In general we found that successful community development work requires both government funds and supplies and the active participation of villagers in the form either of work, funds, or both.

The proportion of matching village funds to government funds must be worked out on an individual basis in each country, and will vary from village to village with local conditions. In India the government normally puts up

from a third to a half of the cost of new schools, wells, and the like. In general no projects are started until after a village council has organized, and joint plans have developed for sharing responsibility. In one state, however, we noted a practice whereby development officials, aided by volunteer city youths, simply went to villages and started building roads, in an effort to shame villagers into helping themselves. It was impossible to tell how effective this system was, but it seems undesirable.

The material resources of the Pakistan government are more limited than those of India. Nevertheless, one project officer felt that his V-AIDS had been successful precisely because they had so little material aid to offer free. By selling such items as fertilizer, DDT and the like at nominal prices a sense of responsibility and appreciation of value was instilled in villagers that was difficult to obtain otherwise.

In the Philippines we found, perhaps because no overall philosophy of community development has been developed, that no systematic plan for people's participation had evolved. Our impression was that the importance of requiring village contributions was not sufficiently appreciated by program planners. Although we noted, as exceptions, individual projects in which villagers had given land, materials and labor enthusiastically the general tendency seemed to be for villagers to look to the government for help, rather than to attempt to utilize their own resources.

We feel that the nature of government aid is particularly critical during the first years of community development work in a village. During this initial period it is important to have sufficient government matching funds for projects to assure stimulation of villagers to action. Sunk in lethargy, they often are unaware of their potential ability to go forward through self-help until they experience a demonstration. If sufficiently generous government aid is available at this stage when interest is being awakened and confidence established, the particular need for government aid will decline in subsequent years.

We found in general, both in the U.S. Operations Mission and in the community development planning divisions of the countries visited, that the relationship between basic research and planning is not fully appreciated. As pointed out, community development programs are based upon the twin principles of: 1) strengthening and coordinating government technical services in agriculture, public health, education, etc., and 2) stimulating an awareness within the village of needs and group self-help potential in attacking these needs, in cooperation with government.

Community development program planning and operations should be grounded upon two kinds of scientific knowledge. Advances in the fields of

agriculture, animal husbandry, medicine, public health, and road construction are predicated upon continuing research in the so-called "exact" sciences. That is, laboratory and experimental field research provide general theoretical concepts and sets of principles which serve as guides to specific projects. Consequently, the answers to local problems in these fields are either known or the techniques exist whereby they can be found. Experimental agricultural work, for example, makes it possible to determine with a maximum of economy the best fertilizers, the most productive seeds, the preferable planting and harvesting techniques, and the most efficacious ways of combatting plant disease for any specific area. In animal husbandry similar technical methods give comparable results. In the fields of health and environmental sanitation disease causes are known or in process of discovery, methods of cure or prevention are far advanced, and the principal scourges of mankind require primarily money for their elimination. The recognized importance of continuing and expanding research in all of these fields is attested by the growing number of research institutes found in the countries visited. For it is generally accepted that technical services in community development programs can be no better than the research that lies behind them.

In the same way advances in methods of awakening villagers to their needs, in stimulating them to desire to help themselves, and in helping them to organize for action, should depend upon continuing research in the social sciences. These are the sciences that study man as a member of a society, that seek to analyze the relationship between the individual and his culture, that try to understand the motivations that lead men to action, that change their ideas, that facilitate harmonious group living. These sciences deal with the whole developmental process, in the sense of progress and change; the abandoning by people of outmoded ways and ideas that no longer contribute to the well being of the group and the acceptance of new ways better suited to current conditions.

Yet recognition of the potential usefulness of scientific research in the broad fields of social and economic development generally is conspicuous by its absence. The few American social scientists we encountered were seriously hampered by the failure of their colleagues and superiors to recognize the importance of research into the human aspects of community development. The United States supports research in agronomy, animal husbandry, medicine and education in many countries as parts of development programs, but contributes very little to the research that will promote more effective utilization of the fruits of these technical investigations. Social science research apparently is not a "felt need" of the U.S. Government, at least in ICA programs.

We found that, as far as official agencies are concerned, there is almost no exploitation of the rich research possibilities inherent in community development programs. Little attention has been given to learning more of the

personal motivations which are the mainsprings of change in group action and thoughts. The full implications of cultural barriers to change are recognized by only a few persons, and the ways of breaching these barriers, through better understanding of motivations, are only beginning to be worked out. Community development experimentation is limited to small numbers of "pilot" projects, and few of them are really studied in a scientific manner. Analysis and evaluation of programs, with a notable exception, is limited to counting material achievements and measuring accomplishments against administratively-set goals. The social science research institutions of the countries visited have little or nothing to do with community development programs. The services of their personnel are not desired and their research results are not utilized.

We believe that, until such time as social science research techniques and knowledge are utilized much more fully in planning and operations, community development programs will not realize their full potential.

#### B. Program Operations.

A basic function of an operating program is to translate technical knowledge in agriculture, animal husbandry, environmental sanitation and so forth into terms that can be understood by the villager, and to deliver this knowledge at the local level through the village level worker or some other means. It is this function that requires the setting up of an adequate administration and the training of personnel capable of performing it. In India a well-reasoned and mature government organization exists to accomplish this task. Pakistan has a small but efficient nucleus of an organization which can be expanded to achieve the goals outlined in the country's new 5-year plan. In the Philippines no overall plan for organization has crystallized.

There appear to be two principal ways of organizing personnel administratively for promotion of community development on the local level:

1. The unspecialized multi-purpose village level worker.
2. The coordinator of specialists in agriculture, environmental sanitation and similar fields at an area level, e.g., the district or municipality.

The first is a well-tested device which, under the social and economic conditions that prevail in India and Pakistan (and perhaps in a good many other less developed countries) appears to us to be logical and effective. The second is more properly a proposal than a well-tested device, but in our opinion it may well be the best method for countries (e.g., the Philippines) not fully industrialized in the Western sense, yet much above the elemental level of village society.

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 have 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, backstopped 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. The "coordinator" is--or perhaps more properly "should be"--a more mature individual, not less than 35 years of age, who has previously had wide experience in dealing with people. Our belief in the potential utility of the coordinator stems from observations in the Philippines, where government technical services are far better developed than in India and Pakistan. Because of this, because of the relatively high percentage of village literacy, because of the multiplicity of efforts being made by both public and private agencies to stimulate community development, and because of the lesser degree of village isolation (as compared to India and Pakistan), we feel the best use of money and personnel is to coordinate specialists' activities now existing, and to strengthen these specialist services. For example, less than 12 months after municipal agricultural extension agents had run a few demonstration plots of "Masagana-Margate" improved rice cultivation, more than 300 hectares were so planted in the vicinity. No VLW is needed to convince the reluctant villager, over a period of years, that improved tillage is possible. A social mechanism to bring farmer and agricultural technician together with a minimum of lost time to the technician is what is needed. That is, the technician should not be obliged to spend his time looking for the first farmer for the demonstration. A coordinator, perhaps working through school teachers and lay leaders, should make all arrangements for such demonstrations, thereby greatly extending the range of the agricultural specialist. The same is equally true for all other

specialists. In view of the near-ubiquity of schools in the Philippines, and the relative ease with which lay leaders are found, we believe that a mature coordinator on the municipal level (i.e., 15-25 villages), trained in extension and group dynamics techniques, would be a more effective agent as a community developer than a village level worker.

### C. Training.

Three basic types of training appear to be required in community development work:

#### 1. Training of technical specialists.

Reference here is made to specialists in agriculture, animal husbandry, public health, education, cooperative organization, etc. In all three countries training facilities for such personnel have existed for many years, but in all cases (except for teachers in the Philippines) facilities need expansion and some improvement.

#### 2. Training of administrators.

Executive officers at the several program levels should be individuals skilled in general administrative techniques. In addition, it is essential that they have specialized training in the concepts and methodology of community development.

#### 3. Training of community development personnel.

Reference here is made to those individuals whose specialized knowledge is in the field of human relations, who know how to work with people, to stimulate them to action, to help them to identify their felt needs, and to awaken a desire to take action. Reference is made specifically to village level workers, to coordinators, and to social education organizers.

Each type of training requires special facilities, only part of which apply to community development in the more limited sense. Technical specialists must continue to be taught in existing and new training institutes by technicians skilled in each particular field, and those assigned to community development programs should receive additional training in human relations, and in the nature and methodology of community development. Likewise, the bulk of administrators' training must consist of the specialized knowledge essential to efficient and wise governing, but additional orientation is necessary for those administrators assigned to community development programs. The

lengthiest training is that given village level workers and social education organizers. Training facilities studied in the three countries are as follows:

1. India.

The Community Development Programme has set up three types of training institutes: for VLWs; for SEOs (social education organizers); and for administrative officers, particularly block development officers, project executive officers and district officers.

a. VLW training institutes (45 schools).

VLWs, mostly men until the present school year, normally are "matriculates," i.e., high school graduates (11 years), although not infrequently "intermediates" (2 years of college) are found; candidates from "tribal peoples," i.e., more primitive peoples not included in the caste system, with as little as 9 years of schooling are sometimes accepted. Usually a VLW comes straight from school, so that minimum ages are as low or lower than 18. There is a general belief that village boys work best (although recent studies suggest that this should not be a rigid requirement and that city boys, strongly motivated, do excellent work). Indian evaluation also indicates that a major failing in the VLW program is the extreme youth of most graduates. In a country with traditional respect for age, villagers express the feeling "what can this youth teach me."

Trainees receive one year of "basic" work in agriculture and animal husbandry in agricultural schools specifically set up for this purpose, after which they receive 6 months of "extension" work. Instruction in health and environmental sanitation, education, cooperatives, and the like, is also given during this period. The first hurdle in all institutes visited is teaching the dignity of physical labor. VLWs, not infrequently Brahmins, described their horror at finding the amount and kinds of physical labor they were expected to do. The emphasis on punctuality, and the performance of duties on time, is also disturbing. "Learning through doing" is a technique new to India, not congenial to traditional educational methods, but enthusiastically accepted when understood and its results appreciated. Rigorous schedules and hard work of training centers produce among village level workers an esprit de corps not often found in Indian schools. One VLW, who spoke of his initial discouragement, and his desire to quit, described how at the end of training "tears came to my eyes when the time to leave my friends came."

Village level workers generally are "posted" in the same areas from which they have come, but usually not in their home villages, where it is felt

pre-identification with local factions would diminish their utility. No standardized procedures appear to have been worked out to ease the VLW into his villages; each must work out this problem in his own way. VLW "refresher" courses have not yet become a part of the Indian pattern, but VLWs in the same project areas meet together periodically to compare experiences and profit by the experience of others.

Beginning in 1955, 25 training institutes for gram sewikas, women VLWs, are being established, but none of these was in operation in the areas we visited. We did, however, talk with several gram sewikas in West Bengal.

b. Administrative officers training schools. Two types of institutes were observed:

1) Block development officers training institutes. Candidates are university graduates, taken from state administrative officers, preferably between the ages of 30-35, to a maximum of about 45 years. It has been felt that older men tend to be too rigid to adjust readily to the different concepts and methods that characterize such work. The curriculum, 6 weeks until the summer of 1955, is being expanded to 8 weeks in the future. These men administer the Block, the smallest administrative unit in the community development program.

2) Administrative officers training school. Candidates have qualifications similar to those of Block development officers, and some may be drawn from the ranks of the latter. Others are drawn from state administrative services. The basic training course lasts 6 weeks.

c. Social education organizer training institutes (5 schools).

Although it was not possible to study SEO training practices in the same detail as VLW training, we had the impression that training was handicapped by poor definition of the role of the SEO. SEOs with whom we talked likewise expressed uncertainty as to the precise nature of their function. At the highest administrative level in New Delhi, social education is defined as the equivalent of the UNESCO Basic or Fundamental education, i.e., functional education for community and village living. At a seminar of SEO instructors in Hyderabad it was suggested that social education is a "process" to achieve a "goal," loosely defined as social improvement. Other SEOs looked upon themselves as (to use their term) "publicity" specialists, to "sell" community development to villagers. "Publicity" does not seem to be the American term to convey the idea;

rather, such SEOs seemed to be groping toward the concept of "communication experts," i.e., specialists in the ways of transferring ideas and concepts from one person to another. Ideally, it seems to us, the social education organizer's function should be that of a social scientist and a human relations expert. He should be able to discover the cultural and social barriers that inhibit change in a group, be able to help village level workers and others cast new ideas and projects in terms that utilize villager motivations to change, and be competent in stimulating group actions and organizations as a means of helping achieve planned goals and satisfying felt needs.

## 2. Pakistan.

There are six V-AID training institutes in West and three in East Pakistan, each with a capacity of 60 students, including women trainees. They are generally patterned after the Indian VLW institutes.

Pakistan institutes were financed initially by the Ford Foundation (100% operations the first year, 75% the second, 50% the third, and 25% the fourth), which also contributed to the cost of construction. Each institute is under the direction of a principal chosen for his ability as an educator and administrator. In addition in a typical institute there are 9 instructors with one each in agriculture, horticulture or fish culture, education and literacy, sanitation and health, animal husbandry, workshop management, home economics and cottage industry, and half-time instructors in both cooperatives and engineering.

Male trainees usually are selected from among village-reared men who have worked with their hands on parental farms. Most provinces require that they be at least 19 or 20 years of age, and not over 30 or 35, and that they have a high school education (i.e., be "matriculates" with 10 years of schooling). Practical tests of farming skills and physical endurance, as well as psychological and other educational tests, are administered in an effort to obtain the best qualified youths. The importance of careful selection is emphasized by the fact that at one institute (Daulatpur) there were 3,000 applicants for 60 openings. In the province of Sind, however, there were fewer applicants than positions, and educational standards were lowered.

Forty-nine female trainees are enrolled in five of the training institutes. Women candidates are more difficult to obtain than men owing in large part to the traditional seclusion of women and the accompanying negative attitudes toward their education and their participation in public life.

The philosophy of the training program is to "learn by doing." Until the first batches of trainees were graduated and placed in development areas where their deficiencies became apparent, this philosophy received mostly lip service. Although most of the instructors were well versed in a book knowledge of their subjects, they too were victims of the old British educational lecture system and few of them were able to demonstrate the techniques about which they lectured. Preliminary evaluation of the training and development programs has resulted in a change in emphasis of training to the practical at the expense of the theoretical.

The chief content of training for men is in agriculture (including horticulture, animal husbandry, and fish culture) since this is by far the greatest industry of Pakistani villages. To facilitate this plan each institute is adjacent to a large farm or agricultural station where practice and demonstration farming can be carried out. The training period lasts one full year, to give opportunity to follow the annual agricultural cycle to its completion. Parallel to all the substantive training on improved practices in the various fields are courses in methods of extension education, and the meaning of and techniques for community organization and development, with particular emphasis on youth organizations and village development committees.

Training for women consists largely of the domestic science skills of clothing and food supplemented by courses in child and maternal care, poultry and garden production, and methods of organizing women's groups and girls' clubs. The period of training for women is 6 months. Each training institute is adjacent to a series of villages which are used for in-service training. Both teachers and trainees go to selected villages several times a week, to work on special projects. This plan for in-service training in general seems excellent; but the best ways in which it can be done have not yet been fully worked out.

Pakistan practice differs from Indian in that new project areas (usually 100-150 villages) are opened up as blocks, staffed with the graduating class of an institute. To date project areas have been adjacent to institutes, so that close touch is maintained between training and operations. Since technical backstopping "group level workers" have not been developed in Pakistan, this liaison is essential, since it is primarily through the institute faculty that the V-AID receives continuing technical backstopping. This is, however, only an expedient, and plans must be made for formal operational backstopping of V-AIDS.

No other training institutes now exist in Pakistan, but two "academies" for project directors and other administrators are to be established.

### 3. The Philippines.

Philippine training facilities reflect the absence of a unified national community development program, and the function and interest of the sponsoring organization. Two types of institutes were noted which appeared to be doing good work and which, with the establishment of a formal national community development program, can and should be expanded.

- a. Pangasinan Normal School, Bayambang, Pangasinan Province, the site of the UNESCO Pilot project in fundamental education. This established (1926) normal school enlarged its curriculum from 2 to 4 years in 1952, and since UNESCO participation in 1952 stresses the community development aspects of schools and education. New courses include an introduction to community education, rural sociology, 2 years of home economics, 2 years of elementary agriculture (up from 1) and 2 years of handicrafts (also up from 1). Simultaneously units of work have been reduced from 24 to 21 to permit more time in fields, shops, and home economics laboratories. A new course on fundamental and adult education includes the concept and methodology of the Purok program, and students visit Puroks 2 to 4 times a month.

The UNESCO staff consists of up to six persons from such countries as India, New Zealand, Great Britain, Denmark and the United States. They are specialists in adult education, secondary education, agriculture, science, and the like. They function both as teachers, and as community developers in the pilot project area around Bayambang.

The Pangasinan Normal School could be reduplicated in other Philippine normal schools; it is doubtful, however, if it could or should be extended to other countries of different socio-economic types. Originally the UNESCO Pilot Project was thought of as a model for southeast Asia, but now it is generally felt that this is impractical, that it is a national rather than an international experiment.

- b. Social Welfare Administration training school, Manila. This school, opened in 1952, is operated as part of the central administration of the Social Welfare Administration, and makes use both of permanent staff members and outside specialists, drawn chiefly from Manila and adjacent universities, as teachers. Trainees are university graduates in social welfare, who receive 6 weeks of special training in groups of 30-40 before being sent to villages. The instructors with whom we talked were competent, well trained individuals, some with social welfare experience and training in the U.S. Graduates are considered to be "multi-purpose" field workers. This term, however,

is used in a sense different from India and Pakistan, and is restricted to the sense of "well-rounded in the broad concepts of social welfare."

#### D. Evaluation.

The significance of evaluation as a basic part of community development is appreciated fully only in India, where a small but competent administratively separate evaluation organization functions. The country is divided administratively into 3 areas, each with an evaluation officer in charge, and within these districts 23 project teams composed of an evaluation project officer and several assistants function. The background of evaluators includes training particularly in economics, sociology, and agriculture. Two types of evaluation are done: statistical, and specific studies. The former is quantitative, and is simply a double check based on statistics, goals set, goals achieved, and the like, the figures of which are furnished by the project administrators. A typical evaluation team will do this statistical evaluation in the three blocks of a project area. Specific studies are "qualitative," and include general censuses of a few selected villages, the following of a few representative families over a period of a year, the making of detailed economic and social studies, studies in changes in purchasing power and habits, changes in diet, and the like. Significantly, the "qualitative" study is becoming increasingly the recognized standard of measurement to be used in evaluation and subsequent planning.

Although there is a good deal of opposition to evaluators on the part of operations personnel, who tend initially to regard them as "snoopers" and destructive critics, the importance of evaluation as a basis for sound planning is recognized increasingly. The two published annual reports of evaluation are models of conscientious study and impartial analysis. This evaluation organization, understaffed as it appears to be, is one of the great strengths of the Indian community development program.

Pakistan community development administrators have not recognized fully the importance of evaluation as a basic part of their programs; however, plans are being made for the inclusion of evaluation in community development programs in the new 5-year plan. No plans for evaluation of any kind were noted in Philippine programs, either in operation or projected. This is a most serious situation, and should be corrected at the earliest possible time. Good evaluation is just as basic to community development programs, if less obvious, than are good planning (which is dependent upon evaluation for much of its material) and good training.

## VI. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS CULTURE CHANGE

A community development program, however carefully planned and executed, is successful only to the extent that individuals and groups of individuals are motivated to give up ideas and habits of long standing and adopt new ways. In this sense, community development can be thought of as "culture change." The processes of culture change can be objectively analyzed and, in a general way described, just as any phenomena can be scientifically investigated. Until recent years, however, relatively little research into the nature of the processes of culture change had been carried out, partly because there has been little practical demand for this information, and partly because of imperfect research techniques. Now, however, the need for scientifically-based knowledge about how and why people change their ways of living is urgent, and research methods are available. Certainly community development planners and administrators who have information of this kind can work more effectively and achieve greater success.

In this section we hope, by the illustrations given, to: 1) indicate the kinds of knowledge about people that are aiding community developers in their programs, and 2) show how more systematic and intensive research into this problem than was possible during our hurried trip would benefit community development programs. For convenience we treat the subject under three headings: A) Barriers to culture change; B) Motivations to change; and C) Techniques that produce results.

### A. Barriers to culture change.

In general we found villagers much more ready to accept significant changes than we had expected. Often they were more ready than government administrators realized. At the same time it must be recognized that a relative readiness to accept change does not imply spontaneous and universal desires to abandon old ways for specific new ways. Experience shows, for example, that something more than a good lecture, however clear and logical, usually is involved in persuading people to build and use sanitary latrines. A basic part of the problem in all countries studied consists in helping villagers understand, and consequently to desire new methods, ideas and practices that will raise their standards of living. Much resistance to change may be thought of in terms of "barriers" inherent in the cultures of the countries studied. Examples of "barriers" we noted are:

1. Social and religious factors.

In India, and to a lesser extent Pakistan, the rigid caste structure stands in the way of rapid change. The prerogatives associated with each group are jealously guarded, and attempts to infringe upon them are resented. Under the old system, for example, members of certain different castes could not draw water from the same well, attend the same schools, eat together, or otherwise mingle. The types of physical labor one could do were rigorously prescribed, and violations of the rules were condoned neither by members of one's caste nor by members of castes that normally would do such work. Changes in the caste system are occurring rapidly, but not so rapidly but that each time Brahmins agree to share the use of a well with Untouchables it is considered a great victory over tradition.

Organized religion likewise affects and limits change. Family planning, for example, in the absence of Hindu religious opposition, is at least a token part of community development in India, and in the future it is likely to loom much larger. In Pakistan, largely a Moslem nation, and the Philippines, largely a Catholic nation, the church is a retarding influence in population control. Whether the people of these two countries will resist family planning, or particular methods of family planning is not yet clear. Certainly the relation of organized religion to population pressure is of immediate importance in India and Pakistan, and ultimately it will be of importance in the Philippines.

## 2. The traditional position of women.

In Pakistan, and also to some extent in India, religious custom and tradition place severe strictures on women's activities. Women generally receive little education, enjoy limited personal freedom, and are permitted only the slightest voice in village and national decisions. Under such conditions women have few opportunities to learn alternate ways to enjoy a richer life. In West Pakistan, for example, we found women V-AIDS who felt it necessary to enter purdah in order to reach many village women. Community development cannot be limited to one sex, and only to the extent that women can also participate in community activities can such programs be considered successful.

## 3. Apathy and tradition.

"It was good enough for our fathers and it is good enough for us" is a village attitude found in varying degree in all three countries that seriously affects the rate of change. Fear and suspicion of novelty,

of anything new and untried, is a significant factor that must be overcome in order to effect change.

4. Suspicion of the government's motives.

Particularly in India and Pakistan we found that villagers were initially suspicious of the motives of community development workers. In these, as in so many countries, the traditional role of the government has been to tax, to arrest, and otherwise to hinder one's free action. It is, therefore, often difficult for villagers to realize that community development is an entirely new concept in government-village relations, and that there are no sinister hidden motivations behind the VLWs friendliness. The first major problem that faces all VLWs is that of establishing friendship with villagers, the gaining of their confidence. VLWs often told us of their initial discouragement; of the stone-wall of passive resistance they first faced when they entered their villages. Only after time and skillful cultivation of selected individuals is it usually possible for a VLW to begin work.

5. Factionalism.

In India and Pakistan we found that "factionalism," the traditional rivalries and enmities of families and groups within villages, seriously impedes progress. Factionalism has various bases; a common one is disputes over ownership of land. If members of one faction approve a new idea, members of the others are automatically against it. In-group quarrels and disputes in many, many villages hamper community development workers and their projects.

6. Vested interests.

Vested interests, both economic and social, influence the rate and degree of change, sometimes positively but more often negatively. In all countries we found examples of progressive members of the upper classes who, attracted by new ideas brought by community development workers were instrumental in bringing about rapid change. In Pakistan, for example, wealthy zamindars were noted who paid for schools, 4-H club supplies, and other civic improvements. In the Philippines large farmers not infrequently were the first to appreciate improved rice-growing techniques. More often, however, such vested interests adversely influence community development programs. The share-cropper has little freedom in deciding whether to try new methods or not, and he is little interested in developing new methods if his landlord will be the principal gainer.

The home renter has no desire to install capital improvements (e.g., the smokeless "chula," or a latrine) on property he does not own, and the owner sees no reason why he should do so. Community development also implies new forms of democratic community organization and decision-making, and in lands where traditionally a small minority has had this privilege there is opposition to sharing it. Conversely, people unused to making decisions find it difficult to exercise the right when it becomes theirs.

#### 7. Lack of knowledge and information.

Much change, of course, does not take place simply because people do not know better ways. Lack of knowledge is a cultural "barrier" only to the extent that a culture traditionally has not provided sources of new knowledge and avenues of communication to all who can use such knowledge. As community development programs are extended this "barrier" becomes less and less significant.

#### 8. Faulty community development techniques.

Not infrequently faulty techniques introduced by government personnel seriously hamper the even processes of development. An East Pakistani complained that the V-AID assigned to his village was incompetent; it developed that the V-AID had advised too much ammonium sulphate fertilizer for a bottle gourd plant, and the plant had died. In one area in West Pakistan smallpox vaccines lost their potency due to lack of refrigeration, and a number of deaths occurred among persons supposedly protected. Vaccinators the following year found their task almost hopeless.

In the Philippines we received reports of sugar cane burned because of improper fertilization, and of hogs that died after receiving faulty cholera serum. In one area in India we were told that local soil conditions were such that in about one-third of the area in which improved seed was tried, and for which the usual claims were made, the results were unsatisfactory. These cases, while not isolated, are not frequent. Nevertheless, they point up the necessity of never trying to introduce new techniques unless the techniques are known to work in that particular area, and unless the community development worker is completely informed in the methodology.

#### B. Motivations to change:

We were greatly interested in the question as to why villagers are willing to change their ways. Two reasons--visible economic advantage, and

prestige and honor--stand out as near-universals, and several other reasons were so common as to bear mentioning.

1. Visible economic advantage.

Almost always, we found, when it is possible to demonstrate economic advantage in a new practice, that practice will be adopted with little opposition. This is why it is far easier to bring about improvements in agriculture and animal husbandry than in sanitation and other health measures. More rice per hectare and bigger and healthier chickens can be seen, and their advantage understood with little trouble. But economic advantage in latrines, pure water and vaccination is difficult and usually impossible to demonstrate convincingly to villagers.

2. Prestige and honor.

|| The desire of people to live more like those they consider to be their superiors seems almost universal. In food habits, in dress, in houses, in sanitation measures and in work patterns we found that one of the strongest motivations was that of acquiring honor and prestige, usually by imitation. Even in India, where a rigid caste system has heretofore restricted imitation and the copying of others, we noted examples of such change. Although traditionally social status there is "ascribed" (i.e., determined by birth, and unchangeable), villagers find that through assuming leadership in community development they may aspire to "achieved" status (i.e., earned status). We were told by community development leaders that a "healthy, constructive, competitive spirit" often results from the desire of villagers to raise their position in their villages. Latrines frequently were installed, we found, not because of understanding of sanitation, but because a latrine added a note of elegance to a man's property, or because the village level worker would bring others to see a new latrine, and the owner would thus rise in importance in the eyes of his peers.

3. Jealous rivalry and competition.

Competition, sometimes healthy but sometimes jealous, not infrequently spurs people to make changes. In one case a rival threatened the established village leader by building the first latrine; only by building a bigger and better latrine was the leader able to maintain his position.

4. Convenience, modesty.

These two motivations, often linked, are most often given as reasons for acceptance of pure water supplies and latrines, and occasionally for other innovations as well. The germ theory and its relationship to health is rarely grasped by villagers, but most women appreciate and desire a source of clean water conveniently located. Women also sometimes find the convenience of a near-by latrine sufficiently attractive to overcome their reluctance to frequent a spot where feces of several people are accumulated.

5. Religious motivation.

In India, we found, the desire to be able to read the sacred scriptures of the Gita, and hence to enjoy a more secure place in afterlife, motivated some people to learn to read. This motivation parallels the early Protestant emphasis on literacy so that one could read the Bible for himself.

6. "To please the VLW."

With great frequency we found the reason for acceptance of change was a desire to please the VLW. Sometimes it was because he had become a friend, and the villager was willing to do things he did not understand, simply as an act of friendship. At other times friendship was tempered with the desire for gain. Cooperative villagers found they were favored with fertilizer, perhaps food, seed, and other advantages as well. Not infrequently villagers cooperated simply because from experience they had learned they would receive something in return.

7. "The novel toy."

In Daulatpur, East Pakistan, we were told of villages, in which over half of the families had dug latrines within two weeks of health lectures and demonstrations of the bore-hole technique. Since such enthusiastic acceptance of this particular type of environmental sanitation runs contrary to general experience, we were anxious to fathom the reason. We were reasonably sure that there was more to it than good lecture and good demonstration. Insistent probing revealed that the earth-auger used in boring the holes had captured the imagination of the villagers, and they were willing to pay almost any price within their means for the privilege of experimenting with this wonderful toy for a few hours. One rupee eight annas for the pre-cast perforated latrine slab was a small price to pay for the privilege of using the marvellous boring device; competition developed between teams, and in one case an 18 foot hole was bored in 1-1/2 hours. The

motivation for latrine installation had little to do with the desire for health. But--and it seems to us this is the important thing--the job was done by the people, willingly, eagerly. Moreover, inspection of several latrines indicated that they were being used.

### C. Techniques that produce results.

From an analysis of the barriers to change, the forces that motivate villagers, and the case studies of our notebooks, we found certain techniques that tend to be the most successful in bringing community development work to villages. This "list of rules" is not complete; it simply represents the most common cases that came to our attention. In part the list is based on the theory that arguments for change should be tied into the known motivations of villagers, and in part on observations of what we saw to work:

#### 1. Demonstration.

When possible, the argument for a new practice should be based on an effective and perfected demonstration. As pointed out, this is most effective in the fields of agriculture, home economics, and the like, and least effective in health measures and sanitation. In the latter field, however, the "tie-in" or "linked" demonstration is often effective. DDT spraying, for example, usually convinces people of its utility in reducing mosquitos and malaria. By skillfully exploiting the success of this type of demonstration to build prestige and confidence in the person of the demonstrator, it is often possible to convince people that the public health specialist can aid them in fields such as vaccination, sanitation, etc., where the same type of demonstration cannot be so easily executed.

#### 2. Prestige.

By explaining new ideas in ways that offer to confer prestige on those who accept them, people often can be motivated to action they would otherwise not take. In many places we asked who was the first individual to take up a new practice, and when we found out, discovered that the desire to be first, and hence to gain status in the eyes of others, was often a significant factor in the decision to work with the VLW. Prestige is not, of course, separate from other motivations; in fact, new practices and beliefs are almost always adopted as a result of multiple motivations.

#### 3. Progressive villages.

Just as there are progressive individuals, open to new ideas, so are there progressive villages. It is difficult to define the characteristics

of progressive villages, but in all three countries we found that community development people had quickly spotted them, and tended to concentrate their work there. As a general rule it seems useful consciously to search out progressive villages, and initiate work in them. Other villages that may be immune to suggestion may be "softened" up by example, perhaps become jealous of the attention being showered on a rival village, and then be receptive to the community development worker's program. With respect to factionalism and village character, some workers suggested that a small village generally was less reft by factions, and hence more easily persuaded to action.

#### 4. The middle class target.

When a village has been selected for work, the most likely candidates for first approaches must be singled out. In general members of the middle classes seem most receptive to new ideas. The reluctance of the very poor to change is often due to the fact that their economic margin permits no experimentation. They believe that the uncertainties of life are great enough as it is without introducing more uncertainty by gambling upon the word and knowledge of a stranger. The frequent resistance of members of the upper classes is due to a variety of reasons. Upper class families in the Philippines, for example, sometimes resist DDT spraying because it stains the walls of their homes. They can afford nets for sleeping, and feel this solves their problems. At other times members of the upper classes feel they may lose prestige by taking suggestions from persons who may be of a lower class. Still other times they are content with what they have and are content to let well enough alone. Middle class people can afford to risk a little of their security, and are not so well off but that they are desirous of improving their position.

#### 5. People's contributions.

The validity of the "aided self-help" principle is amply borne out by experiences in the three countries visited. As a general rule giving services or materials to people, however poor, without requiring some type of contribution, tends to diminish self-help, although it may stimulate initiative in finding ways to extract more contributions from government. Likewise it often produces lack of interest: people feel that if something is given away it must lack real value. We were impressed with the willingness of villagers to give their time and money, once they were convinced of the utility of a project. We believe that only in the most unusual cases should aid be given to villages unwilling to contribute something themselves.

## 6. Harvest season timing.

For those projects that require money contributions from villagers, the appeal for funds can well be timed to coincide with the harvest season. As in all agricultural communities, money is spent more freely when crops are freshly in, before the pinch of seed for next year's planting is due. Projects may gain acceptance during this critical time of the year that would fail if suggested at any other time.

## 7. Dangers in criticism.

A series of points should be borne in mind in working with villagers. "Never criticize what the villagers do" is the sage advice of a successful Indian training institute director. In his teaching he uses this example: while explaining the advantages of the mold-board plow, he compared the native plow unfavorably with it. This irritated the villagers who started to criticize the new plow. "It's too heavy, hard to turn, etc." they said. With a flash of inspiration the leader turned to the principal critic and said, "You have indeed pointed out defects in this plow we hadn't realized, and we are grateful to you. We will try to correct them. Can you show us other faults as well so that we can remedy them?" The astonished farmer, embarrassed for having talked so boldly, and flattered at having his advice asked, began to say, "There are really some very good things about this plow; it runs easily, cuts deeply; turns the earth, etc.," and he ended up by convincing himself of its value. The plow was left with him to try, and, with a little continuing supervision he made a number of converts.

## 8. Established leaders.

The same director states as another of his cardinal principles, "always try to work through village leaders and existing institutions." This, he says, is particularly important with tribal peoples, where the headman often is hereditary and has great powers, but it is also a good principle to follow in many other situations.

## 9. Dealing with factions.

In personal relations that involve factions, a village level worker in Pakistan said he found if he spoke privately with all potentially interested members of all factions before proposing a new idea, usually they all agreed. But if he gave any an opportunity to go on record against a project, it was usually impossible to carry out the project.

## 10. Religion.

Religious justifications can sometimes help in promoting change. In one Indian village a woman SEO experienced difficulty in getting women to come to a community center. One day she announced she would read from the sacred Ramayana. That day a few women came, were delighted, and clamored for more. The SEO realized she had the key to success. Each day she read from the Ramayana, and with her group assembled she was able to teach them many other things. In India village level workers have been successful in implementing reforestation in some areas by reading passages from the sacred Rig Veda which compare the acts of planting and nurturing trees to the act of procreation and care of a son.

## VII

### APPRAISAL OF UNITED STATES AND OTHER FOREIGN AID

Although community development programs in the three countries visited are national programs, staffed and largely financed by nationals of each country, international contributions in the form of ideas, money, technical experts, study teams, and the like have played significant roles in developing the present picture. Disregarding the history of foreign participation in community development programs in each country, the principal factors at present are: International Cooperation Administration of the United States Government; specialized agencies of the United Nations; private foundations, especially the Ford Foundation (in India and Pakistan); denominational colleges and universities, financed especially from the U.S. and England. Measured by dollar contributions and numbers of personnel, the International Cooperation Administration missions are most important.

#### A. United States Aid.

United States contributions to foreign community development programs take three principal forms: 1) technical advisers; 2) supplies and equipment; 3) aid in training host-country community development personnel, especially through grants to visit the United States. These three forms will be discussed in turn.

##### 1. Technical advisers.

We were well impressed with the American personnel whom we met and with whom we worked. They were competent, and genuinely interested in the work they were doing. Often they worked under conditions of personal hardship and discomfort and frequently at great family sacrifices: families must be divided, when children are sent off to school; health is continually threatened; and recognition among the American public and American institutions of potential alternative employment of work well done, often is not forthcoming. As in any large organization, some individuals, because of training and personality, are not particularly successful in their work, but as a group we believe the International Cooperation Administration personnel whose work we saw merits the respect and appreciation of all Americans.

The U.S. Mission administrative organization of technical advisers does not conform to an established pattern. Within the mission to Pakistan were 28 positions for community development advisers; in India there were three; in the Philippines, one. But in India a number of advisers, chiefly agricultural, were in fact doing the same work as community development advisers

in Pakistan; also in the Philippines agricultural consultants were doing much community development work, even in the absence of a formal program. It therefore seems best to consider the contribution of American technical personnel as a whole, contributing in one way or another to the broad objectives of community development.

The chief accomplishments of the U.S. advisers seemed to us to be the following:

- a. Cooperation in developing a realization that community development is a process of human organization which can materially aid in the coordination of technical services of the state, and thereby contribute to the social and economic progress of people.
- b. Cooperation by giving counsel in planning government organizations to carry out community development programs.
- c. Assistance to the administrations at national and local levels in day-to-day planning and operations of programs.
- d. Making available technical knowledge and methods of teaching and administration to the staffs of training institutes, and to national community development technicians at all levels. Particularly to be noted are the significance of extension techniques, including the dignity of manual labor whatever one's position in life.
- e. Advice and aid in technical programs in public health, education, agriculture, home industries, and the like.
- f. The building of real friendships based on community of interest and growth of mutual understanding of the American philosophy of life and the philosophies of life in foreign countries.

We asked community development leaders in all three countries about the professional and personal qualities of foreign technicians, including Americans, that were most appreciated in cooperative programs of the type we were studying. There was general consensus of opinion in all three countries on the following points:

- a. Advisers should be of such technical calibre and proficiency as to command the respect of their counterparts in host countries.
- b. The most effective advisers are those who come with the spirit of "we want to work with you, shoulder to shoulder, in solving the problems that are our mutual interest." Advisers who, although they may

- come from materially more advanced countries, refrain from criticism of what they feel to be shortcomings in the local culture, who show no signs of feelings of superiority, and who do not "give orders," are appreciated everywhere.
- c. Advisers who realize that technical aid does not mean transplanting in toto the program of a more advanced country to a less developed country are the most successful. Those who understand that development in any country must begin with what exists, and must be a function of culture, economy, history, and political structure; who know that the pattern of the more advanced country simply furnishes basic ideas, not the plan, as to what can be worked out in local terms, are those that leave lasting results.
  - d. Although English is widely spoken in all three countries visited, foreign advisers who make an effort to learn the local language gain the special gratitude of host-country nationals. We were told, and observed, that a genuine attempt to learn something of the language is a courtesy to local people that never goes unnoticed, and that it is one of the most effective gestures toward establishing friendship. Moreover, judging by our experience, there are many times when ability in the local language greatly facilitates one's work.
  - e. Foreign advisers who have been thoroughly briefed by their organization as to the exact nature of their roles are integrated into local programs with a minimum of misunderstanding. The range of conception of roles is surprisingly great: at one end are those who feel their main job is "to make friends" for their country, and that their technical contribution is secondary; at the other end are those, equally conscientious, who feel their responsibility is to carry out a set program, regardless of the possible toll in offended host personnel, the cost, or the problems.
  - f. Host country community development personnel particularly stressed the value of contributions made by foreign advisers who stayed longer than the usual U.S. minimum period of two years. They pointed out that a new man usually needs a great many months to learn his way about in a strange culture, and that during this "learning" period his contribution is much less than after he is familiar with local customs and ways. The frequency with which local people said to us, "we so hope John Doe can return to us after his home leave" is both the highest compliment for work well done, and criticism of a situation which frequently does not permit fullest realization upon the investment in sending American technicians abroad.

## 2. Supplies and equipment.

It has been the policy of the United States mission in India and Pakistan to support community development programs by providing supplies and equipment agreed upon by the mission and community development officials as necessary. The criteria generally used to determine whether the U.S. or the host government makes the purchase is the necessity for use of foreign exchange. If the latter is required the mission makes the purchase.

The types of supplies and equipment which have been purchased vary from blackboard chalk to tractors and road building machines. Most of this equipment seems to have been well used for the purpose for which it was supplied. The largest exception to this statement is the agricultural machinery ordered in the early days of the program. This consists mainly of American horse-drawn plows and other horse-drawn implements, seed cleaners, chaff cutters etc. which have little present use in the agriculture of the country. This fact has been recognized by the present advisers who are taking steps to have this equipment tested by agricultural engineers and adapted if possible to meet local soil, crop, and climatic conditions.

The equipment and supplies which seem to give the greatest returns on the investment are those which can be used for instructional purposes at the training institutes and in the project areas. Transportation—especially Jeeps—is the form of equipment which seems to have received the most enthusiastic welcome.

## 3. Trainee grants.

Considerable numbers of trainees in a wide variety of fields have been sent to the U.S. on "leader grants." These all-expense grants usually cover a period of six months, and give the leader a chance to observe the type of operation in which he is interested in a number of different parts of the United States. The general principle of leader grants cannot be questioned. Almost without exception such individuals were enthusiastic about their trip, felt they had learned a great deal, and gained added prestige in their work upon their return.

A frequent comment by returned leaders—not criticism on their part—was that the rapid pace of their trip often resulted in a blurred memory of what had been seen and learned. The rapid pace of our own trip made us sympathetic to this feeling. Many felt that, while they enjoyed seeing so much of the U.S., they might have learned more by remaining in fewer places for a longer period of time. We believe that many leaders who will teach in training institutes or occupy similar positions of influence will profit greatly by a full academic year in the United States.

## B. Other Foreign Aid.

Systematic study of the contributions made to community development by other foreign or international agencies could not be made. Programs of the United Nations, and its specialized agencies of UNESCO and WHO, impressed us as making distinct contributions. International multi-lateral programs enjoy certain operating advantages, and certain psychological advantages, that are not found in bi-lateral cooperative programs; but limitations on overall funds usually restricts their work to "pilot" or "demonstration" projects. The long-range contributions of denominational schools in raising the general educational level of many places, and in agricultural experimentation and community work, is likewise impressive. Although operating under severe budgetary limitations, these schools generally multiply their contribution through the policy of stationing teachers and technicians in the same community for a number of years, so that language and local customs cease to be a barrier to efficient work.

The contributions of the Ford Foundation to community development programs, in the strict sense, have been particularly noteworthy. Through help in establishing new training institutes, recognition of the importance of evaluation, and of giving the right kind of aid at crucial times and places, and by the high calibre of counsel given, the Ford Foundation evidences a mature grasp of the nature of community development that places its aid in a class by itself. It furnishes an interesting contrast with the U.S. Operations Mission in both emphasis and method. Both are interested in advancement of community development and we found no indication of inharmonious relations or destructive competition between them. On the contrary, their representatives in the field professed common goals, and plainly the work of one agency complemented the work of the other. Yet we were not left with a feeling that the present manner of operations by these agencies represents an entirely satisfactory and enduring solution. Observation of Ford Foundation operations raised questions whether the U.S. Operations Mission has yet found the best ways of organizing itself to aid community development. This is more important than whether the Ford Foundation has found the best way for itself, for the resources of government vastly exceed those of the Foundation and the task is large.

The Ford Foundation operates at present in India and Pakistan, but not in the Philippines. In India it maintains an office largely concerned with community development, consulting closely with Indian officials and making grants of funds for specific purposes, such as construction of buildings at training centers, for health and sanitation training and for bringing top-flight U.S. personnel to India in small numbers for consultation.

The pattern of Ford operations in Pakistan is much less developed, but apparently is moving along lines laid down in India. In one significant respect, however, the Foundation in Pakistan has undertaken a departure in manner of operations. By contract with the Government of that country it supplies the Planning Commission with funds to employ a small group of American technicians under sponsorship of Harvard University; a portion of the work of the Planning Commission and of the American technicians relates to community development. This activity of the Foundation in Pakistan differs more in form than in purpose from the Foundation effort in India to make top-flight technicians available for consultation.

Observation of Ford Foundation activities suggests several tentative comparisons as to the advantages and limitations of aid to community development through private foundations and direct government operations, respectively.

1. Foundation Flexibility.

A foundation has greater flexibility of operations than the government. It can move faster to make funds available at points and in time of crucial need; this has been of inestimable value in advancing community development action programs. It can choose and remunerate top-flight U.S. personnel free of restrictive regulations and practices that prevail in direct government employment. These are substantial advantages of private operation in the promotion of ends shared by both foundation and government. It may be that the government could find ways of achieving greater flexibility, but at present it suffers by comparison in promptness and often in effectiveness of action.

2. Official position of private organizations.

It is easier in some ways for a foreign government to deal with a private organization than with the U.S. Government. This is not because of lack of common purposes in community development, but is inherent in the difference between an agency representing private interests negotiating with a single purpose, and one representing the full range of interests, sometimes conflicting or inconsistent, of a sovereign power answerable to a broad and diverse public rather than to a closely-knit governing board. To hazard involving a discussion over how to secure action in a particular situation, in the toils of international diplomacy and sensitiveness over "face," is to risk inefficiency and embarrassment.

### 3. Problems arising from Congressional policies.

Related to the preceding comparison is the fact that Congress, representing widely differing interests, sometimes writes two or more policies into the same statute which, however justifiable each may be by itself, impair the effectiveness, one of the other. Congress appropriates money to provide more foreign technical aid, and at the same time limits the ways the money can be spent.

### 4. Resources of the U.S. program

It is acknowledged by all familiar with community development that government aid has played a very important part in the achievements of community development to date. The great advantage that government has in comparison to a private foundation, is that it has vastly greater resources at its disposal. Once it determines that a policy and program such as community development should be supported whole-heartedly and unequivocally, government can give support needed to achieve results far beyond any private agency, or all private agencies combined.

The preceding description is confined to government operation and private foundation operation as we found them. The limitations we observed in government aid do not appear to be insuperable, and in our recommendations we make suggestions for minimizing them, and for maximizing the advantages of the government's role in aiding community development.

VIII  
RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Policy.

Our experience in the field has given us confidence in some broad principles that we believe can usefully guide participation by the United States, through the International Cooperation Administration, in programs for community development in India, Pakistan and the Philippines.

1. Values of community development.

Community development is a great effort by governments and village people together to replace old ways and attitudes with new—poverty, isolation, misery, ignorance and apathy with better crops, animals and home practices, roads, health, education and the active participation of free men shaping their own future. It is a method of creating strong and healthy bonds between governments and peoples based on cooperation for mutual interests in place of age-old indifference or hostility based on friction and suspicion. We have seen community development demonstrated in action; it works.

An American editor wrote recently that "Most of Asia awaits leadership out of the grim cul-de-sac bounded by poverty and Mao-Tse-Tung, and needs far more imaginative economic cooperation than we have given so far." The United States, through the International Cooperation Administration, has been giving economic and technical assistance to incipient community development programs in the Asian countries we visited. These programs have caught the imagination of Prime Minister, President and villager alike, in Asia. We believe community development will catch the imagination of the American people, too, when they are sufficiently well-informed on this method of economic and cultural cooperation.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (1) We recommend increased U.S. economic aid for community development to support expansion of program in India, Pakistan and the Philippines.
- (2) We recommend greater effort to inform the people of the United States of the meaning and progress of community development in countries receiving U.S. aid.

## 2. Necessity for support of specialized programs.

Community development is more than a bundle of specialized programs to improve crops, livestock, home living, cottage production, roads, and the health and education of people, but it can succeed only with the success of these programs. Trained personnel is necessary to provide sufficient "back-stopping" support to generalized village level workers and in some situations, as in the Philippines, in lieu of village level workers.

### RECOMMENDATION:

- (3) We recommend increased economic cooperation in support of all the specialized programs that contribute to the success of community development.

## 3. Necessity for basic research into community development processes.

The prospect of enlarging movements for community development in many countries makes imperative the provision in ICA for greatly increased research and evaluation facilities. It is essential that community development knowledge already in existence be systematized, and that the scientific method be utilized to build up theory and principles which will permit sound, economical planning of programs, provide administrators with guides to action, and save U.S. taxpayers' money. Basic research of the type proposed embraces scientific knowledge of the whole process of economic and social development of nations. Two types of investigations should be carried out: intensive studies within single countries; broad comparative studies covering many countries; to provide perspective for single-country programs.

### RECOMMENDATION:

- (4) We recommend the establishment in ICA of a Research Division charged with the study of the processes of economic and social development of nations. This Division should be freed of administrative responsibilities, and staffed with personnel of various disciplines, but especially the social sciences, for work both in Washington and overseas.

## 4. Importance of flexibility and variability in community development program operations.

Community development is a young endeavor. As with other young endeavors, it is desirable to maintain flexibility and variability in program operations, to prevent early crystallization of concepts and methods. This need for flexibility applies both to unnecessary legislative "strings" to

economic cooperation, and to administrative policies and forms of extending technical aid. Economic, social and political conditions differ sufficiently between countries to justify different ways of obtaining results in different countries. There is no single "right" way that necessarily fits all situations; variety permits experimentation in search of efficiency.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (5) We recommend that basic U.S. legislation permit the ICA as much administrative flexibility and variation as is consistent with the national interest.
- (6) We recommend that U.S. Operations Missions encourage variety and flexibility in cooperative programs in foreign countries.
- (7) We recommend that the ICA explore the advantages and disadvantages of various administrative devices for extending economic cooperation, including for example, direct government mission operations as at present, government-sponsored "development authorities" or "development corporations," contracts with private organizations equipped to perform special development services, etc.

5. Necessity for strengthening community development organization within ICA.

The importance attached to community development by the Governments of India, Pakistan and the Philippines, as well as administrative considerations, justify strengthening the Division of Community Development. Coordination of specialized services constituting agricultural, health, education and other programs is indispensable to successful community development. A strong division in ICA having a primary interest in promoting well-rounded programs, and responsibilities for planning, research and evaluation, will greatly aid this coordination. Field personnel need additional types of servicing, particularly in the form of gathering, analyzing, and distributing information on community development programs in all countries where there is a U.S. mission.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (8) We recommend substantial strengthening of the Community Development Division of ICA and assigning it increased responsibilities for a coordinated program of community development.

- (9) We recommend that the Community Development Division of ICA explore the possibilities of servicing field missions by gathering, analyzing, and distributing community development data and experiences which might be applicable in a number of countries.

## B. Specialized Programs of Community Development.

Success of community development depends upon strong supporting specialized programs. We saw no special programs for community development in the countries we visited that did not merit approval as to purpose. Here we made specific recommendations as to several programs, some of which are generally recognized as part of the community development program, and others which we believe are closely related to it.

### 1. Agriculture and animal husbandry.

These programs are well-adapted to the primary position they now occupy in the broader program of community development, since they serve national purposes of increasing production and improving nutrition, and find ready acceptance from villagers.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- (10) We recommend continued effective support for improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry, including support for expansion of community development project areas:

### 2. Home economics.

This program has not only the intrinsic value of improving living within the home, but also the advantage of encouraging women to participate actively in community development.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- (11) We recommend special encouragement of home economics programs.

### 3. Public health and environmental sanitation.

Prevalence of preventable illness seriously handicaps villagers' participation in community development. Because of insufficient trained personnel and because of special problems in persuading villagers of the importance of sanitation and hygiene, public health programs are less effective than is desirable. We believe the solution to this problem involves a stepping up in the

rate of training of public health and medical specialists, the inclusion of curative services as a part of government health services, and much more extensive "backstopping" of village workers by trained personnel than is now the rule.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (12) We recommend additional ICA support for training doctors, nurses, pharmacists, sanitary engineers, sanitary inspectors, health educators and similar health specialists to meet present and expanding needs of community development programs. We believe that eventually these specialists should relieve village workers of most of their health responsibilities.
- (13) We recommend that U.S. Operations Missions support programs in which curative as well as preventive medicine is included in government health services. By meeting this type of village-felt-need a sound base for environmental sanitation and other preventive practices is established.

#### 4. Land tenure.

Concentration of landholdings on one hand and widespread landlessness on the other, fragmentation of holdings, insecurity of tenure and excessive rents are prevalent in the countries we visited. Devices suited to improvement are known, yet progress in correction of these conditions is spotty and insufficient.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- (14) We recommend encouragement of vigorous measures to improve conditions of land tenure.

#### 5. Agricultural credit.

Credit facilities remain grossly inadequate in India, Pakistan, and large portions of the Philippines, and constitute a continuing inequity, source of potential discontent, and brake upon the progress of community development. A good system of agricultural credit not only provides cultivators with low interest rates on loans for seasonal production, capital equipment and land purchase, but also places an economic incentive directly behind many phases of community development. It organizes tangible support behind educational appeals for better farming and ways of living. Substantial successes in establishing a credit system have been achieved recently in the Philippines, and appropriate devices can be applied in India and Pakistan.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (15) We recommend encouragement of vigorous measures to establish a system of agricultural credit in India and Pakistan, and to extend facilities recently instituted in portions of the Philippines throughout that country.

6. Education.

Schools are powerful influences for community development, diffusing a disposition to accept change throughout each generation and equipping people generally to act effectively. This strong and pervasive support is lacking in India and Pakistan where development depends upon enlisting the participation of adult village leaders lacking in education and with generally few years of active life remaining after their cooperation has been won. In the Philippines a strong public school system has flourished ever since its inception under William Howard Taft. Its influence is reflected not only in the freedom-loving and democratic spirit of men and women in the Philippines, but also in a relatively large reservoir of personnel with basic training to initiate and sustain community development.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (16) We recommend greatly increased encouragement and aid to establishment and spread of public school systems.

7. Roads.

Experience from many countries shows that when a new road for the first time connects a village with the outside world, a series of economic and social improvements almost immediately takes place in the village. Passable roads are essential to permit effective community development work in villages. We noted in a number of places that programs were seriously hampered by the poor condition or total absence of roads. Road building is a part of developmental programs in all three countries, but an increased tempo of building would greatly aid community development programs.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (17) We recommend greater encouragement and aid to road improvements, and other means of increasing the mobility of development staffs and villagers.

C. U.S. Personnel.

1. Administrative determination of types of jobs needed, and selection of personnel.

There are no general criteria for determining the optimum size of a U.S. Operations Mission in a country. American personnel in all three countries generally felt their respective missions were understaffed, and in India more than 80 vacancies were unfilled at the time of our visit. This points up a significant fact: there appear to be insufficient numbers of top quality technicians in the U.S. willing and able to take ICA assignments to show America to best advantage. In India, and to some extent in Pakistan, we received indications that host-country nationals felt that significantly greater numbers of U.S. advisers might give too much of a foreign flavor to their programs. Perhaps most U.S. missions, as far as gross numbers are concerned, are about as big as they should grow, unless substantial expansion of development programs increases the need for their services, and the United States is able to increase its supply of top-quality technicians available for foreign service.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (18) We recommend that in staffing missions the ICA think first in terms of quality and then in terms of quantity. If the choice must be made between filling a job immediately or leaving it open until just the right person is found, the latter course is preferable.

2. Orientation and training of U.S. personnel.

Better training and more complete orientation of U.S. personnel sent overseas seem indicated. This means measures of two types: a longer Foreign Service Institute training period in Washington, and more thoughtful and thorough orientation of personnel in the country to which they are sent. We found few Americans who felt they had had sufficient help from their missions in explaining their roles, orienting them to local problems, and easing them into their jobs. In India Americans and Indians alike were enthusiastic about the Ford Foundation grant to set up a training center with a 4-week course for all new American personnel, under direction of the School of Economics of Delhi University and using Indian and American instructors.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (19) We recommend strengthening the Foreign Service Institute in Washington to provide longer and more complete training of personnel to be sent abroad.
- (20) We recommend that, within the possibilities of each country, new U.S. personnel should be given much greater help in orientation and training. This help might take any or all of the following forms:

- a. Establishment of training institutes of the type projected in India in large countries; or "regional" institutes to serve personnel going to smaller countries with similar conditions. The possibility of greater use of the ICA-sponsored International Cooperation Center in Honolulu, as a regional training and orientation center for some Asian countries, should be explored.
- b. Provision for "in-service" training for new U.S. personnel. New arrivals usually accomplish little during their first 6 months or year. If assigned to work with an American already on the job for several weeks or months they would learn the day-to-day problems and methods more rapidly than by trial and error while on their own.
- c. Supply new personnel with simple mimeographed booklet giving basic facts on the country, the nature, composition and task of the U.S. mission, and the nature and extent of all other developmental programs (national, United Nations, Ford, other foundations, missionary schools, etc.).
- d. Require formal linguistic training of all U.S. personnel. Time off for classes in the local language should be allowed over a period of many months.

### 3. Tours of duty.

U.S. Operations Missions suffer because of the relatively short tours of duty of personnel. Normally a second tour is far more productive than the first. ICA programs would benefit if more advisers would return for second (and third) tours of duty.

### RECOMMENDATION:

- (21) We recommend that ICA offer special incentives to persuade personnel to return for second and third tours of duty. Such incentives might take the form of bonuses, temporary advancement to higher rank, longer leaves, etc.

### 4. Recommended new posts in community development.

#### Regional consultants.

U.S. community development personnel feel inadequately informed on the nature and progress of programs in other countries. They feel that a

regional consultant, so stationed as to visit several countries at regular intervals, spending long enough to understand each program thoroughly, would be invaluable as a clearing house for information and a source of new ideas and stimulation. Efficient pooling of knowledge from a number of countries would thus be possible. Such a consultant might also aid in evaluation and research projects.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- (22) We recommend that a regional consultant should be stationed on an experimental basis at a centrally-located spot to do the work above described, and at the end of a year his performance should be evaluated to determine the advisability of extending the system.

"Communication" specialists.

We found little understanding among host country officials and U.S. personnel of the great strides made in recent years in the United States in "communication" theory. Yet a major problem in all countries is that of helping the villagers understand the real meaning to them of community development, and in teaching community development people to recognize cultural barriers to change, and ways of utilizing motivations to promote progress. Extension methods work well in some areas, e.g., agriculture, but they have not been notably successful in others, e.g., public health and sanitation.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- (23) We recommend assigning "communication" specialists drawn from the fields of psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology to study in cooperation with national personnel the nature of communication barriers, the cultural causes of resistance to change, etc. Specifically, such an individual might be assigned to a SEO training school in India to work with instructors and students and simultaneously carry out experimental work in adjacent villages to develop techniques applicable to Indian villages in general.

Evaluation experts.

We believe no community development program is complete without provision for continuing evaluation of selected projects, and with constant "feed back" of findings to planning groups to revitalize the program continually. The Indian evaluation program aided by the Ford Foundation, is a useful model.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- (24) We recommend that U.S. Operations Missions should stimulate interest in the importance of program evaluation, and offer technical aid in setting up and operating national programs. An evaluation adviser should be free of all other administrative and operational responsibilities.

"Case study" analysts.

The case study method is among the most useful of pedagogic devices; it is especially well-suited to training VLWs. Many institute teachers in India and Pakistan believed that careful compilation of case studies of the processes of culture change and the methods and techniques used by VLWs in persuading people to adopt new ideas and customs would be of great value in teaching. Constantly we found the most effective techniques to solve a particular problem were being worked out independently, time after time, often with much loss of time and money. Yet experiences and problems of community development workers are so similar that inclusion of graphic experiences in a case book would simplify the task of teaching the worker.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- (25) We recommend assigning "case study" analysts (the expression is coined) to Indian and/or Pakistan missions to work with national and U.S. personnel in compiling case books to be used as teaching aids. "Case study" analysts probably should be sociologists or cultural anthropologists. This specific task might be a part of a broader assignment in research.

Maintenance experts.

U.S. personnel have experienced much difficulty in teaching "maintenance" to host-country nationals. Jeeps are not greased, tools are not oiled, spades are not cleaned etc. No formal U.S. effort seems to be made to attack this problem directly. Yet maintenance can be taught as a formal subject.<sup>1/</sup> Improper use of American tools in training institutes (e.g., wood saws pulled toward the worker who sits on the floor holding a plank with the left hand and one foot; wood planes placed blade down on work benches) is another similar problem.

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<sup>1/</sup> At Philippine Central University College of Agriculture at Ilo-Ilo four courses are given in this field, and results are said to be gratifying:

- a). "Farm mechanics." Assignments include taking apart and reassembling an automobile engine, electric motor, etc.
- b). "Care and use of farm machinery."
- c). "Carpentry." (Methods of repair and replacement of parts of common
- d). "Forge." (farm machines, and general care and proper use of tools.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (26) We recommend assigning a "maintenance - jack - of - all - trades" Yankee handy man on an experimental basis to a VLW or V-AID training institute. This man would teach proper motor patterns for use of American tools and ways of caring for them; he would teach maintenance of vehicles and other equipment by doing the work with trainees over their entire training period; he would introduce system into the idea of teaching maintenance.

Additional audio-visual experts.

U.S. audio-visual experts have two roles: help in preparation and utilization of materials to be used in training institutes; help in preparation and utilization of materials to be used in village education. Nationals of all countries agree that the science of audio-visual teaching is one of America's great contributions to their programs, and they desire more equipment and more help. Aid in preparing materials for local use, based on cultural forms of each country and even each area is particularly important.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (27) We recommend that requests for additional U.S. audio-visual experts should be critically studied, with a view to some increases in the amount of this aid sent.

D. U.S. Aid in Training Host-Country Nationals for Community Development.

U.S. technical aid takes the forms of advisers, equipment, and trainee grants. This aid is allotted both to community development programs, in the limited sense of "community organization," and to the technical fields of agriculture, public health, etc. Each form complements the other. Recommendations in the latter field are dealt with in part B. of this section. Specific recommendations for training of VLWs, SEOs, and for work in villages in general, follow:

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (28) We recommend that ICA offer such forms of aid in the field of VLW health training as will:

A. Promote the use of public health personnel rather than M.D.s as the trainers of village level workers.

- b. Increase the amount of public health training received by the village level worker, including both class room lectures and practical field exercises in environmental sanitation.
  - c. Provide better backstopping for the village level worker in the problems of environmental sanitation, inoculations, health education and other public health activities.
  - d. Increase the emphasis placed on problems of nutrition, with a view to experimental work aimed at improving diet within the limits of economic conditions.
- (29) We recommend that ICA offer such aid in the field of community organization work as will:
- a. Facilitate the identification of lay leaders.
  - b. Make possible types of training for lay leaders that will enable them to carry some of the load of the village level worker or the municipal coordinator.
- (30) We recommend that ICA offer aid in the Philippines in working out a training program for "teacher-coordinators," and in financing and initiating a large-scale experiment to determine the utility of this type of individual as a key person in Philippine community development programs.

In the field of equipment and supplies U.S. policies in general appear to have been good. Aid in transportation, teaching materials, fertilizers, insecticides, etc. has greatly facilitated programs. In the past more elaborate types of farm equipment than can be used have been sent, but this problem seems largely solved. Audio-visual aid materials and advice, and more books and supplies for teaching and equipping field personnel, are the things most in demand.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (31) We recommend that requests for additional audio-visual aid materials be examined with a view to possible increases in this field. Care should be taken to separate justified needs from the desire to possess all of the latest and most elaborate equipment, much of which is unnecessary.
- (32) We recommend that a continuing analysis of U.S. contributions in the form of texts and other forms of literature be made. Some

types of important periodical literature appear not to be sent with regularity. Reference works on public health appeared to be inadequate for satisfactory teaching.

- (33) We recommend exploring the possibility of U.S. aid in the form of translations into the vernacular of basic texts and similar works. While reference materials for institute teachers are fairly good, we encountered a general feeling of difficulty in working with VLW and V-AID trainees because of lack of reading materials in the local language.
- (34) We recommend that ICA consider supplying larger amounts of public health demonstration equipment, such as well-driving and digging equipment, augers for bored-hole latrines, chlorine test sets etc. In the Philippines the need in regional health training centers was noted for manikins for demonstration of nursing care and techniques, anatomical and physiological models, obstetrical models for training mid-wives (showing normal and abnormal fetus positions and different periods of gestation) etc.

Grants to foreign nationals for specialized training and observation in the U.S. are soundly conceived and play an important role in promoting community development programs. Returned grantees with whom we talked indicated that they had enjoyed and profited by their American experience, and that they were better able to carry out their functions than before their trip. Many expressed the belief, however, that in their six months (the usual time for "leader" grants) they had travelled too far and too fast, and that much of their trip had become a pleasant blur in their memories. They felt that perhaps longer visits to fewer places would have been more profitable.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (35) We recommend that selected numbers of grantees be sent as an experiment to fewer places for longer times, and their subsequent performance upon their return be compared with that of trainees sent to a great many places.
- (36) We recommend that thought be given to keeping some leader grantees for longer than six months in the U.S. Many expressed the belief that an additional three months would have doubled the usefulness of their experience.
- (37) We recommend that, in view of the general shortage in the countries visited of nationals trained in evaluation and social science research techniques and concepts, several grants for from one to

two years be given qualified young persons in the three countries to study in U.S. universities, with a view to taking part in national community development evaluation and research programs upon their return home.

- (38) We recommend that, in view of the general weakness in the countries visited of undergraduate training in sanitary sciences, thought be given to bringing qualified individuals to the U.S. (or sending them to the American University, Beirut) for such training. This would be helpful in improving standards for training of sanitary inspectors, and it would lend prestige simultaneously to this type of work.

## APPENDIX A

### Team Itinerary, June 20 - September 12, 1955

- June 20-25 Washington, D.C. Seminar on community development and orientation in ICA offices.
- June 25-29 En route, Washington, D.C. to New Delhi, India.
- June 30-July 2 Hyderabad, India. Conferences with the state development commissioner; attendance at seminar for social education organizers at Himayatsagar Training Center; inspection of Training center and talks with instructors and village level worker trainees; visits to villages to observe community development projects.
- July 3 Nagpur, Madhya Pradesh, India. Conference with state community development officers and with ICA agricultural consultant; visit to agricultural experimental station.
- July 4 En route, Nagpur to Ranchi, Bihar, India.
- July 5-9 Ranchi and vicinity. Discussions with Project Executive Officer and other personnel of Ormanjhi Project; visits to training centers for village level workers, block development officers, and administrative officers; visits to Kanke Agricultural School, and to Soms and Sosai sub-health centers; inspect cottage industry centers (weaving, pottery, soap-making etc.); attend "cultural programs" at Hethu and Chakla villages; intensive interviews with village level workers; inspection of community development projects in many villages; attend advisory committee meeting of Ormanjhi and Mandar Community Projects.
- July 10 Calcutta, West Bengal, India. Conference with the state development commissioner and staff; visit to Fulia rural-cum-urban development project and village level worker training center.
- July 11-12 Jhargram, West Bengal, India. Inspect many activities of this community development project including the Garroh Exchange Hat for inter-village barter; talk

- with Bamunmara Village Committee and see Women's home economics activities; attend cultural program at Kesia village and see home economics activities; visit new village Santigarh Sabar Palli of resettled criminal elements.
- July 13                      Calcutta. Conference with the state development commissioner and staff.
- July 14                      En route, Calcutta to New Delhi, India.
- July 15-19                  New Delhi and vicinity. Conference with United States Operations Mission Director and staff; individual conferences with section chiefs; discussion with the director of the Ford Foundation; conference with the Director of Indian Community Development Projects Administration and staff; interviews with evaluation personnel of Sonepat Project Area.
- July 20-21                  En route. New Delhi to Daulatpur Training Institute and Project Area, East Pakistan (via Dacca); continuing discussions with the Director of Village Aid for East Pakistan who accompanied the team July 20-July 28.
- July 22-24                  Daulatpur and vicinity. Individual conferences with Training Center principal and staff, and with trainees; inspection of many village projects including land reclamation dikes, wells, schools, fish culture ponds, village industries, etc.; discussions with ICA agricultural consultant; interviews with V-AIDS.
- July 25                      En route, Daulatpur to Dacca, East Pakistan.
- July 26-28                  Dacca and vicinity. Visits to Tejgaon Training Institute, and interviews with the principal and staff; attend "cultural program"; interview with the Director of the ICA for East Pakistan and with sectional chiefs; visits to villages to inspect community development activities.
- July 29                      En route, Dacca to Karachi, West Pakistan. Meeting with the Director of the ICA for Pakistan, and with the staff.

- July 30-Aug. 6 (Taylor and Adams) Karachi and Sakrand, Sind Province. Visit Sakrand V-AID Training Institute and Project Area, including interviews with principal, staff, project officer and V-AIDS and trainees, and visits to villages.
- (Foster) Lahore, Punjab, and vicinity. Visit to Bhalwal Project Area; inspection of village works; interviews with project officer and V-AIDs; visit Lalamusa Training Institute for interviews with principal and staff; discussions with ICA director for Punjab and staff.
- Aug. 7-9 En route, Karachi to Manila, Philippines.
- Aug. 10-11 Manila. Discussions with ICA personnel, with United Nations Technical Projects Adviser, and with Philippine Rural Rehabilitation Movement leaders.
- Aug. 12-16 North Central Luzon Province. Visit San Miguel Purok workshop and conference and talk with leaders; inspect Central Luzon School of Arts and Trades at Cabanatuan City; Agricultural College near Munoz; Mountain National Agricultural School at La Trinidad, Benguet, Mountain Province; talk with director and personnel of the anti-malaria unit of Sison, Pangasinan Province; interview with Bureau of Public Schools "teacher-coordinator;" discussion with provincial supervisor of home economics demonstrators at Santa Barbara; inspection of FACOMA plant at Santa Barbara, Pangasinan Province, and discussion with president and secretary; interview with staff of Pangasinan Normal School at Bayambang and with staff of associated UNESCO Pilot Project; visits to numerous barrios.
- Aug. 17-19 Manila. Interviews with ICA staff members; visit PRRM project in Marikina Valley.
- Aug. 20-22 (Foster and Adams) Naga City, Legaspi, and vicinity. Discussions with Agricultural Extension Director and staff and with ICA agricultural consultant; attend meeting of "Rural Improvement Club" of Palestina barrio of Pili City; attend meeting of NAMFREL community development project at Calabanga; visit numerous barrios.

Aug. 23-24 (Foster and Adams) Ilo-Ilo. Visit Western Visayas Regional Training Center for public health workers; discussions with sanitary inspectors, nurses, mid-wife instructor and others; interviews with the president of Philippine Central University and the dean of the agricultural college of the same institution.

Aug. 20-21 (Taylor) Mindanao Island. Inspect Philippine Army EDCOR resettlement projects for ex-Huks and others at Nica-an (Genio project) and Buldun (Gallego project); visit rural coastal areas between Cotabato and Malabang.

Aug. 22-24 (Taylor) Bohol Island. Attend meeting of governor's Rural Development Coordinating Council, and visit several village development projects near Tagbilaran; visit Taloto development of Department of Education.

Aug. 25-26 Manila. Visit Social Welfare Administration offices and training school. Begin report preparation.

Aug. 27-28 En route. Manila to Honolulu, T.H.

Aug. 29-Sept. 5 Honolulu. Visit ICA-sponsored International Cooperation Center; visit University of Hawaii Institute of International Education orientation center for Asian Fulbright scholars. Prepare preliminary Report draft.

Sept. 6 En route, Honolulu to U.S.

Sept. 7-11 (Foster and Taylor) Berkeley. Draft report.  
(Adams) Indianapolis. Draft report.

APPENDIX B  
SAMPLE DETAILED ITINERARY

DETAILED TOUR PROGRAMME OF THE TEAM OF AMERICAN VISITORS  
TO ORMANJHI - RANCHI - MARDAR COMMUNITY  
PROJECT AREA FROM 5/7/55 to 9/7/55

<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Place</u>
5/7/55	9 a.m.	Arrival from Calcutta by Howrah-Ranchi Express.
	9 a.m. to 10 a.m.	Settle down at B.H.R. Hotel.
	10:30 a.m.	Arrive at Kutey. See Basic School. Irrigation well, irrigation bundh, etc.
	11:30 a.m.	Arrive at Balalong. See road constructed, causeway, sluice gate, Basic School, Maternity Centre, Japanese method of Paddy cultivation etc.
	12:30 p.m.	Leave Balalong.
	1 p.m. to 3 p.m.	Lunch and rest.
	3 p.m. to 4 p.m.	Visit Cooperative Training Institute, Ranchi.
	4 p.m. to 6 p.m.	Visit Extension Training Centre, Ranchi.
6/7/55	8 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.	Visit Buch-opa-irrigation scheme. Mandar Block Headquarters, the Poultry Breeding Centre, Artificial Insemination Centre, Veterinary Dispensary, Agricultural Extension Service Headquarters etc.
	1 p.m.	Return to B.R.N. Hotel
	1 p.m. to 3 p.m.	Lunch and rest.
	3 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.	Visit villages Chutia, Nankum, Hethu and see the Community Project works. Attend a cultural programme at Hethu.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Place</u>
	9 p.m.	Return to B.R.N. Hotel.
7/7/55	8 a.m. to 11 a.m.	Visit Kanke Agricultural School and Kanke Farm.
	11 a.m. to 12 noon	Administrative Training School.
	1 p.m. to 3 p.m.	Lunch and rest.
	3 p.m. to 8 p.m.	Visit villages Irbá, Ormanjhi, Anandi, Palu, Ichadag and Chutupalu in Ormanjhi Block. Attend a cultural programme at village Chakla.
	9 p.m.	Return to B.R.N. Hotel
8/7/55	8 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.	Visit villages Hesal, Magri, Ratu, Muram and Sons and see the Calico-Printing, Knitting and Embroidery, Blacksmithy and Carpentry, Soap-making, Basket-making. Durea-Weaving Training-cum-production centres, the Health Sub-centre, the Maternity and Welfare centre and other works.
	1 p.m.	Back to Mandar.
	1 p.m. to 3 p.m.	Lunch and rest.
	3 p.m. to 5 p.m.	Visit Brambay Gram Sewaks Training Centre and villages Jaher, Kantu and Ratu.
	5 p.m.	Return to B.R.N. Hotel.
9/7/55	8 a.m. to 9 a.m.	Visit Development Officers' Training Centre, Dipatoli.
	9:30 a.m. to 12 noon	Visit Meara. Attend Project Advisory Committee meeting and see exhibition of rural arts and crafts.
	1 p.m.	Return to B.R.N. Hotel.
	3 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.	Discussion with the Project staff.
	5 p.m.	Departure for Calcutta.

## APPENDIX C

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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