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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT:

An Annotated Bibliography

Prepared by

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Development and distribution of this bibliography is part of an ongoing NASPAA research effort funded by the United States Agency for International Development's Bureau of Science and Technology/Office of Multisectoral Development. Two aims of the research agenda are knowledge consolidation and the establishment of a network of people interested and experienced in the management of social development. This annotated bibliography serves these two aims by making available a consolidated set of references on the subject.

The document constitutes a second draft in a continuing effort to capture references that pertain to the theme of social development management. It is recognized that this is far from a complete bibliography of pertinent material. We will continue to collect citations and encourage readers of this document to bring relevant material to our attention for incorporation as the project continues.

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INTRODUCTION

This bibliography on social development management relates to a broader concern with the effective management of the development process. The management of development is particularly complex since it involves changing human behavior. In the context of social development, management refers not just to activities of managers; it involves the entire process whereby resources are organized and applied to development goals. At the same time, policies and goals are subject to modification during the process of implementation itself, especially when the participation of those affected by the programs is integral to the process. When management is conceived in this way, it requires viewing planned change as a systemic process involving human beings inside and outside public agencies, as well as the physical resources which they utilize. Both cognition and volition are involved. Many of the components of the process are therefore beyond the direct control of any single organization or set of leaders.

Selected for inclusion in this bibliography are pieces addressing management within the uncertain environment of social development. The term social development incorporates recent redefinitions of development as meeting human needs and helping human beings realize their potential. New management concepts, attitudes, and practices are required. This reoriented praxis focuses more on impact than technique, seeks local initiative and mobilization rather than control, and requires holistic as well as analytic thinking. Most of the writers represented here share concerns for equity, sustainability, empowerment of weak groups, and increased social capacity for problem solving.

Several themes distinguish this approach. First, writers believe that real development involves significant social transformation growing out of learning through participation of relevant groups. As a participatory process in contemporary nation states, it constitutes a social learning experience in which individual and group needs and desires are expressed and considered and finally reconciled in action plans.

Second, in order for citizens to express needs and preferences, new kinds of organizations will be needed. Some of these will be government bureaucracies reoriented toward facilitating the self-development of the poor. Different skills for managing personnel and resources important to and inside these organizations are needed. Finally, community organizations through which the poor take charge of solving their own problems are equally needed. Organized mutual self-help efforts are desirable alternatives to service delivery approaches, not because the state does not have responsibility for well-being, but because it is only through the process of working for their own well-being that the poor can control and solve problems in their immediate environment and thus contribute to their own advancement. The interrelations between community and government organizations are complex and form a major thrust of study within social development management.

The entries are divided into three sections which correspond with these themes. In the section on social transformation and social learning, the vision of the future and broad reorientation of action and thought necessary to achieving it are discussed. The second section, on management and social development, contains entries dealing with the more specific processes of planned social change, of determining preferred futures and preparing steps to achieve them. The final section deals with those political aspects of democratic social change which are closely related to management. Many of the entries address more than one of these topics, but they have been placed, sometimes rather arbitrarily, according to dominant themes. The difficulty of categorizing their contributions highlights the holistic thinking of so many of these writers.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL LEARNING

The writers represented here share dissatisfaction with the current state of inequity and the widening gulf between the rich and the poor throughout the world, and often with the types of thinking which have been used to attack these problems. These ways of thinking have generated prescriptions that have failed to work or have even exacerbated the difficulties; and the scientism and methodological approaches that support such thinking are being increasingly questioned. Writers sense a crisis of confidence in the formulations that have produced high standards of living for some of the world's peoples but at the cost of serious pollution of the environment, rapid use of nonrenewable resources, and the growth of huge, alienating organizations. Some of the selections address social transformation processes which can bring about more preferred futures. New ways of thinking are presented which transcend objective or scientific knowledge as currently developed and may offer hope for a better world future. These writers reject the idea that major social goals can be technically determined by means of objective knowledge and its analysis; goals are based on value preferences and reflect political as well as technical choices. Social learning is the process of reconciling values and experiential knowledge in the search for social transformation.

Social learning can be a participatory process of conscious social choice. As part of this process, there are choices to be made along continua that express various dimensions of social organization: ownership (private—social), technology (hard—soft), sources of satisfaction (having—doing), mode of decision-making (hierarchical—participatory), and degree of self-determination (autonomy—integration). Reconciling different points of view on these choices is part of social transformation or development. Social learning is thus knowledge for and about social action. Because strategies for induced change must be formulated, more knowledge about what Edgar Dunn calls behavior-changing behavior is needed. But more knowledge is needed not just by academics and professionals; participation by the poor can only occur if the poor themselves have enough relevant information about economic and social issues. This information must be available to them in a form that is understandable and usable. This is one part of the transformation of knowledge called for by the social learning framework.

Another aspect of social learning involves an adjustment in the roles of and relations between experts and the intended beneficiaries of development. Academics and professionals are not assumed to be uniquely qualified to make decisions based on their greater control of fields of objective knowledge. The knowledge that ordinary people have about the conditions of their lives and the constraints on change is equally important. Social learning thus involves the uneducated learning to express themselves and being supported as they do so by experts simultaneously learning to listen to them and value their contributions. All participants in development have important knowledge to contribute and decisions to make.

Ackoff, Russell L. Redesigning the Future: A Systems Approach to Societal Problems. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1974.

Ackoff believes that the "new age" that so many analysts foresee is coming about as the result of a new world view, not as a result of science and technology. Ackoff calls the new era the 'Systems Age'; it is marked by synthetic rather than reductionist thought.

He detects four types of human actors: 1) inactivists, who are satisfied with the status quo; 2) reactivists, who seek to return the world to some previous state; 3) preactivists, who try to prepare for the future's effects on them; and 4) interactivists, who seek to create and control the future as much as possible. Interactivists are likely to be the ones who act to humanize organizations and to make organizational goals compatible with individual objectives. Interactivists have the potential to most affect the social transformations that are coming.

Botkin, James W., Mahdi Elmandjra, and Mircea Malitza. No Limits to Learning: Bridging the Human Gap. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1979.

As one volume in the series of reports to the Club of Rome, No Limits to Learning focuses on the world problematique: the "enormous tangle of problems in sectors such as energy, population and food which confront us with unexpected complexity." The authors call for a new societal learning process which, though it cannot by itself solve problems, can help people act more constructively in the face of new and perplexing situations.

Characteristics of such a learning process would be:

- 1) anticipation: thinking about alternatives, trying to influence and shape the future;
- 2) participation rather than passivity;
- 3) an explicit normative framework based on human survival and dignity;
- 4) objectives such as balancing autonomy and integration;
- 5) treating grassroots views not as feedback to correct models made at higher levels in organizations, but "as creative and innovative starting points."

Dunn, Edgar S. Economic and Social Development: A Process of Social Learning. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971.

Unlike many social scientists, Dunn is concerned with change in the basic conditions of human life, and sets out to explain not equilibrium and maintenance behavior but change and behavior-changing behavior. This changing of behavior, or development, is a social learning process, involving both individuals on their own and as members of groups. Dunn sees the goals of development as processes rather than as knowable states, so that social learning is a continuously evolutionary process whereby people (individually and in groups) experiment with self-transformation. Since a frequent error of social scientists has been to see the status quo among a certain group as the ultimate goal of development, thinking of the social sciences in terms of social learning would establish a different paradigm.

Friedmann, John. "The Epistemology of Social Learning: A Critique of Objective Knowledge." Theory and Society 6 (1978): 75-92.

Legitimization of technocratic order depends normally on practical success. If such success is not forthcoming, technocracy is justified on the epistemological premise of one integral reality which can be objectively known by those with certain skills. The world is assumed to be predictable because it is closed. If this premise is rejected, it is seen that technocracy rests on coercion.

Objective knowledge as conceived by Popper exists independent of the observer and may be studied by breaking it down into separate variables. Empirical studies are used to abstract universal meaning from particular situations. Knowledge is thus universally valid without regard to history. Furthermore, objective knowledge is communicated among an elite in a highly codified and abstract language which is understood only by the few who have spent years learning it. This organization of knowledge permits a social organization in which thinkers have power and does follow their directions.

Friedmann proposes a social construction approach which links knowledge to action. The world is assumed to be open; therefore knowledge of past events cannot certainly predict the future with any specificity about time and place. Social construction requires knowledge which is specific, concrete, and tied to its historical context. This type of knowledge is falsifiable in practice, not through the scientific method in a controlled environment. Since knowledge for social construction concerns the future, there can be no experts. Knowledge construction is part of a process of social construction and may either support or challenge the status quo. The richness of knowledge for social construction renders it difficult to test, so that no knowledge can be objective (i.e. verifiable). If different forms of knowing are all agreed to be ultimately non-verifiable, the claim of science to rule collapses.

Social practice begins in the world of relations among human beings, and its purpose is to solve problems which arise from the status quo. Goals and means are therefore inseparable. To change the system of dominant relations, new knowledge must be created. There are four components of this process: social values ("images in terms of which a given problem situation is to be transformed"), theory of reality (image of the problem); political strategy (plan of action), and social action ("the mobilization and use of resources guided by the strategy of action").

The adequacy of any of these components depends on results and their relation to the desired social values. The division between learning and acting, and thus between knower and doer, disappears.

Friedmann, John. "Towards a paradigm shift in regional planning" and "The recovery of territorial life," Chapters 7 and 8 in John Friedmann and Clyde Weaver, Territory and Function: The Evolution of Regional Planning. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1979.

Friedmann examines three ways of thinking about development which arose in the 1970's and delineates his own preferred strategy, agropolitan development. The three trends discussed are underdevelopment theory, international functionalism (a transnational corporation ideology), and forms of growth with equity (based largely on the Chinese model combining social solidarity and basic needs).

Agropolitan development is a variety of the latter adapted for use in agrarian societies which are characterized by high population growth, rising inequality, and dependency. Basic assumptions of this strategy are that basic survival needs should be satisfied first, that development should be organized in territorial (not functional) units, that production and distribution questions should be jointly resolved, and that the resource base for productive activity must grow. Selective territorial closure is a precondition for agropolitan development; the territorial community should make decisions about use of major resources, and access to bases for accumulation (information, skills, knowledge, finance, organization) should be equitable. Territorially based economies should be diversified, and domestic markets should expand. Physical resources should be developed as extensively as possible considering needs for conservation. Self-reliance, especially financial, is desirable. Social learning, or increasing capacity for problem-solving at all levels, must occur.

The basic unit of development is the agropolitan district, "the smallest . . . territorial units that are still capable of providing for the basic needs of their inhabitants with only marginally important resource transfers from outside." However, the central state has several important functions. It coordinates national policies, maintains balance among regions, and redistributes resources if necessary.

Friedmann, J. and G. Abonyi. "Social Learning: A Model for Policy Research". Environment and Planning Annual 8 (1976): 927-940.

The authors advocate a shift in social research from descriptive studies of what is toward open-ended, change-oriented exploration. Social research cannot take the form of closed experiments; rather, learning processes involve researchers as participants along with the affected population. The learning process has to establish boundaries that will allow evaluation and focus, but it is very far from being, or trying to be, controlled like laboratory settings.

Social learning goes beyond traditional research in yet another sense: traditional research has concentrated on the first stage of social learning, which is defining the situation. After this step, social learning has three others: "the articulation of relevant social values, the selection of an appropriate political strategy, and the implementation of practical measures or social action."

Hall, Budd L. "Participatory Research: Expanding the Base of Analysis." International Development Review/Focus 19 (1977): 23-26.

Educational reorientation has meant a shift away from valuing only elitist formal educational strategies. Less attention has been given to the democratization of research, which is still carried out by the few for the few. Researchers are not accountable to local communities; instead, they must satisfy funding institutions. The trend toward quantification of social science knowledge, though convenient for policy makers, has made research even less comprehensible to research subjects.

Participatory research has quite different characteristics. It is of direct and immediate benefit to a community; it cannot be justified solely as an intellectual exercise. The political and ideological implications of research are recognized. If conflicts between interest groups are irreconcilable, researchers must recognize that their work may be used by one group or another. Participatory research should involve the studied community in formulation of the problem to be studied, in designing the research plan, and in interpretation of findings. In this way, research can be an empowering process, liberating human potential and helping communities to mobilize resources for development.

Haque, Wañidal, Niranjana Mehta, Anisur Rahman, and Ponna Wignaraja. "Toward a Theory of Rural Development." Development Dialogue (1977).

This special issue of Development Dialogue, the journal published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, is devoted to suggesting a new rural development strategy based on humanistic values and the release of creativity. The authors call for collectivist as opposed to competitive models of development.

Section I sets forth the philosophy of the authors and then studies movements in India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and China which have been based on similar values. A third chapter is prescriptive; the authors reject reformism, espousing instead a very strong, even revolutionary push for breaking links of dependency when a critical momentum has been reached. They recognize that bureaucracies tend toward elitism and propose to remedy this by establishing link-cadres, party members who reach and lead peasants. They present a bottom-up model of national planning based on production plans prepared by each village; the role of central authority is to coordinate these plans.

Illich, Ivan. "The New Frontier for Arrogance: Colonization of the Informal Sector." International Development Review 22 (1980): 96-101.

The last decade has seen the discrediting of an earlier philosophy of development in which development was expected to occur through providing society with physical equipment and human beings trained to use the equipment. The view of the desirable society is changing, however, because of the huge externalities produced by the strategies used and because modern institutions leave the poor majority of the world's population ever more relatively disadvantaged. A socioeconomic formation based on commodity consumption is leading to monopoly of wage labor, redefinition of needs in terms of goods and services, and degradation of the environment.

There is a rising challenge to this view of development. Societal choices can now be seen to lie along three continua, the first of which is the political continuum which deals with questions of ownership and social justice (the x-axis). The second continuum (y-axis) involves technology choices, from soft (participatory, understandable by all) to hard (complex, requiring expert knowledge). The z-axis represents types of satisfaction in production, from using to consuming.

On the z-axis, questions of the nature, purpose, and organization of work are addressed. The work ethic of consumer society assigns dignity to paid labor, while traditional subsistence activities and unpaid, production-supporting activity (like women's housework) are considered degrading. This shift came into being as the West expanded its control in the world. With the expansion of the capitalist market system, omnicompetent preindustrial people had to be remade into people with needs which could be supplied by expanding Western economies. This was the transformation of natives into underdeveloped people.

Rapid transition to the soft path on the technology axis is seen as the base of a new definition of development. However, the soft path leads to authoritarianism if the z-axis choice is industrial consumerism. As wage labor grows in that case, so must its complement, which Illich calls industrial serfdom. Industrial serfdom includes gender-specific housework as well as other unpaid activities (formal education, commuting, etc.) which are necessary to support wage labor.

The opposite of the paid and unpaid work of the industrial economy is what Illich calls the vernacular domain, "activities which provide and improve livelihood, but which are totally refractory to any analysis utilizing concepts developed in formal economics." The vernacular domain can be balanced with industrial work if enough people seek out life styles characterized by soft technology with resources apportioned justly in accordance with the vision of human nature as deriving satisfaction from use more than from consumption.

Kariel, Henry. "Goals for Administrative Reform in Developing States: An Open-Ended Design". In Ralph Braibanti, ed., Political and Administrative Development, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1969: 143-165.

Kariel examines the assumptions of modern organization theory and social science and calls for putting some of these assumptions to the test. He feels that concern for solutions leads to under valuing and underemphasizing the processes involved in attaining goals. Administration should be a process which itself approximates the good society, rather than only an instrument for reaching the good society, defined as some end state. Testing the basic assumptions means experimenting with non-hierarchical forms of administration and thus requires higher tolerance of ambiguity and risk. Such experimentation would be a sign of faith in the human capability for self-government.

Korten, David C. "The Management of Social Transformation". Public Administration Review 41 (1981): 609-618.

A spreading perception of global crisis has led to questioning of the old goals of modernization and the emergence of a new world view with different development goals. The new paradigm is based on concern for sustainability and meaningful participation by individuals in the decisions and institutions that affect their lives. Korten contrasts the old and new paradigms and moves on to consider the operational implications of the new paradigm.

Social learning for innovation must be practiced to identify alternatives to conventional approaches to development. Social learning is based on field experience and supported by knowledge resource institutions. Each development agency and related knowledge resource institution could form, Korten suggests, a social learning cluster. The knowledge resource institutions from different clusters can form social learning networks in order to facilitate the exchange of information and make it usable and accessible by interested agencies.

Korten proposes that four topics derived from the new paradigm deserve urgent attention: planning methods for closed system economics, mutual self-help approaches, community level natural resource management, and bureaucratic reorientation. Radical departures from the old paradigm rather than mere "tinkering at (its) margins" should be sought.

Littrell, W. Boyd. "Bureaucracy in the Eighties: Introduction." Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 16 (July-Sept. 1980): 263-277.

The "bureaucratic revolution" has seen bureaucracy emerge as central in modern life, the "primary form of domination and authority in the modern world." As a basic change in social organization, the bureaucratic revolution has made new forms of social order possible. These new forms must be considered by social science. Littrell identifies four areas which urgently need study: 1) open organizational structures; 2) the nature of participation; 3) responsibility for social problems; 4) the relation between bureaucracy and the economy.

Lynd, Robert S. Knowledge for What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939.

Lynd examines the origins and ends of social science and concludes that social science is based in culture and should be aimed at finding out what people want and how to achieve it. He calls for a critical social science which can stand outside existing social institutions and even question the foundations of such institutions in the search for desirable goals.

Michael, Donald N. On Learning to Plan and Planning to Learn: The Social Psychology of Changing Toward Future-Responsive Societal Learning. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973.

Michael espouses movement toward long-run social planning (lrsp) as a strategy for helping to achieve a humane society. Lrsp is a mode of behavior for individuals, groups, and organizations which would entail important changes in the concept and activity of learning: values must be acknowledged, and ethical responsibility, conflict, uncertainty, and the need for change must be not only accepted but embraced. Lrsp, unlike social engineering, is open-ended; its results cannot now be predicted, since we are bound by existing cultures and institutions.

Michael examines obstacles to adoption of lrsp as well as reasons to hope that it may be possible. Organizational structures and norms would have to change in order to really learn from disturbing feedback. Conflict will have to be used creatively rather than suppressed. Finally, beliefs about the nature of science will change; lrsp undermines the authority of science by dealing with values, goals, and qualitative factors.

Schumacher, E. F. Small Is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered. New York, Harper & Row, 1973.

In this collection of lectures, Schumacher addresses questions related to the scale, ownership, goals, and satisfaction produced by economic activities. Modern capitalist conduct of such activity has been based on three main premises: that consumption of material goods provides the ultimate satisfaction; that the only appropriate goal of economic calculations is profitability; and that technology can solve the problem of production.

Schumacher believes that economic organizations have come to believe that larger is better. In the vast organizations which have resulted, people feel impotent and alienated. Since satisfaction comes from consumption, not from the creativity or social usefulness of work, people are motivated to work only until they can satisfy their wants. Advanced technology, which eliminates the need for human discretion from many jobs, has reduced satisfaction in work even farther.

Private ownership lends itself to short-term and selfish goals; public ownership offers the opportunity for goals other than profit to be introduced into economic enterprises. Profit and efficiency remain important, but long-run consequences and "free" goods can no longer be ignored. Public ownership does not automatically solve problems, however; it makes the choice of certain goals likelier.

Another social choice is related to the cost of technology. Advanced industrial technology is often regarded as the best. However, it is highly capital-intensive and so the degree of capitalization necessary to create one job is correspondingly high. Poor countries in particular would be better served by intermediate technologies -- that is, technologies which are efficient given the high cost of technology and the need to create employment.

Large organizations are a permanent feature of industrial society, but there are ways in which ordinary individuals can have decision-making power even so. The center (or top) should never preempt decisions which can be made at lower levels. The center may still formulate guidelines, but they should not be excessively complex, and lower levels should still have some discretion. Examples of cooperatively managed enterprises are given as illustrations.

Thomas, Theodore H. "People Strategies for International Development: Administrative Alternatives to National, Political, and Economic Ideologies." Journal of Comparative Administration (1973): 87-107.

Thomas finds that the New Public Administration, based on premises of equity and the centrality of human beings as effective actors who believe and feel as well as think, has important implications for development administration. If social equity becomes a significant criterion of effectiveness, organizations will have to become more democratic and less hierarchical. Following these precepts, New Development administrators would create programs that recognize and dignify different perceptions of reality and intervention mechanisms which build trust and a sense of human-ness rather than nationalism or regionalism in donor agencies. New style projects would be based on equality in partnership; administrators would work with local people and their values in solving problems.

Vanek, J. and T. Bayard. "Education Toward Self-Management: An Alternative Development Strategy." International Development Review (1974-75): 17-23.

The authors see worker self-management as an alternative to both capitalism and socialism, based as it is on equity, human liberation and worker control of the political and economic environment. However, educational strategy must support such a liberated, self-regulating system. Education for self-management should unite life and formal education and should be mobilizing and liberating rather than socializing and dominating. Vanek and Bayard list the steps for starting an educational enterprise to support self-management.

MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Management becomes a central component of development if two assumptions are made. The first is that resource scarcity is a fundamental problem of underdevelopment; redistribution alone will not solve development problems if this is true. Second, efficient and effective use of resources is assumed to be likelier to happen through judicious public sector planning to complement private decisions, rather than through uncoordinated private decisions alone.

Governments often control or arbitrate social decision-making through both legislation and administration of programs. The role of government agencies involved in development activities is particularly important, but bureaucracies have often been seen as elitist, preempting the decision-making role of other citizens even while providing welfare services.

A necessary condition for management to support social transformation is thus that the state actively support community level participation in decision making. This is not a sufficient condition, however, for communities and local organizations also need skills, access to information and physical resources, and power in order to sustain participation. The government's administrative apparatus must become capable of counterbalancing the influence of various more powerful groups to promote full participation of relevant groups. Development literature indicates that greater participation means more interdependence and, for previously isolated communities, more risks. Bureaucrats can protect the poor as they become more active and vulnerable if government agencies are oriented toward and structured for this role.

Most selections in this section focus on development organizations and the characteristics of administration for social transformation rather than social maintenance. Leaders in such organizations must have not only the will but also the capacity, both political and technical, to make participation the basis of the development process. Participation has been much studied in the last decade, and some of the literature discussing participation has been included here, notably the studies from Cornell University's Rural Development Committee. Most of the selections concentrate on how public agencies can facilitate participatory development, emphasizing that such agencies can only help in this process. While the support of bureaucracies is critical, they cannot create participation without corresponding mobilization of communities of constituents.

There is agreement that much behavior inside bureaucracies must change if they are to facilitate social transformation. This behavioral change has been called bureaucratic reorientation by David Korten, who points out that bureaucracies have lessons to learn from grassroots organizations about bottom-up decision making. Also, as long as bureaucrats and others educated in traditionally conceived development skills think of themselves as experts, they are likely to use the tyranny of expertise to circumvent participation by the poor who are, it is often asserted, too ignorant to make valid decisions about sophisticated systems.

Since existing administrative behavior is usually rational, given its context, incentive systems for behavioral change within organizations form an important focus of study. Client-centered organizations may require systems of incentives and accountability different from those in organizations where superiors inside the organization are the most significant judges of performance. Implementors need freedom to adapt programs to specific conditions, needs and community responses. But while development agencies are called upon to become more participatory internally, the ultimate goals are improved capacity and opportunity for the poor to have a voice in policy decisions. It is clear that top agency leadership must strongly support these principles.

This impact orientation and the uncertainty inherent in even the best planned social change mean that blueprint-type planning is not only unnecessary but sometimes counterproductive if it entails rigid concentration on procedure. Complicated procedures are likely to put participation out of reach of many who are not familiar with the requirements of the organizations which control the resources. Groups using resources must be held accountable, but the procedures should be simple and accessible.

In line with the reoriented conceptions of knowledge in the social learning approach, better information about the poor, especially the least visible elements, is needed. The poor are not a homogeneous group, nor poverty one phenomenon to be alleviated by a single solution. Instead, different situations (which may arise from dissimilar culture, resource bases, or from age, sex, or ethnic group) require different measures. Better information must be supplemented by re-examining formulations of the problems. While it is necessary to break problems

down to work on improving conditions, the whole picture must be kept in focus. This requires multilevel and multidisciplinary thinking by practitioners and academics. New kinds of knowledge and a new style of interaction between academicians, development professionals, and the public are important components of social development management.

Brinkerhoff, Derick W. "Inside Public Bureaucracy: Empowering Managers to Empower Clients." Rural Development Participation Review (1979):7-9.

In the existing sociopolitical world, radical empowerment strategies espoused by Freire or Goulet cannot be implemented. Instead the extent of participation by the poor is dependent largely on how national bureaucracies operate. So far, participation has been viewed as something which occurs outside bureaucracies, not inside them.

Brinkerhoff traces how structure influences behavior inside organizations. At present, field-level staff usually have little opportunity to participate in important organizational decision making. However, increased participation among lower-level officials causes them to identify more with organizational goals, therefore increasing their effectiveness. Organizational efficiency is not necessarily sacrificed to participation.

Bryant, Coralie. "Organizational Impediments to Making Participation a Reality: "Swimming Upstream" in AID." Rural Development Participation Review 1 (1980): 8-10.

The scarcity of participatory AID-sponsored projects may be due less to lack of staff committed to participation of the poor than to organizational structure and incentives which discourage such projects. Hierarchical structure discourages participatory behavior within the agency, and this tends to be replicated in interaction with the project environment. AID officials are rewarded for moving money quickly, not for taking the time to design participatory projects.

Bryant, Coralie and Louise White. Managing Development in the Third World. Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1982.

Bryant and White have written a text intended to guide those who believe that purposive social change is possible. Their definition of development includes empowerment, capacity, sustainability, equity, and interdependence, and these qualities are used as guidelines in their discussion of administering development. Their approach incorporates some of the insights from Marxist and dependency theory as well as those of more traditional Western development theory.

Topics covered are the nature of development, the nature of organizations, and administrative behavior. The section on implementation contains chapters on the project process, information needs, planning, managing participation, and field staff. The final section covers the urban and rural contexts of development.

Bryant, Coralie and Louis White. Managing Rural Development: Peasant Participation in Rural Development. West Hartford, Connecticut, Kumarian Press, 1980.

This book was written for those who are committed to participatory development but who do not know how to go about it. The authors start from the premises that 1) peasants act rationally under the conditions in which they live; 2) peasants need power to prevent others from making decisions for them; and 3) sequential reforms can lead to significant change.

Bryant and White see peasant participation as an investment dependent on the value of the desired benefits, the probability of achieving them, and the costs of working for them. Managers of projects which are intended to be participatory need knowledge of the context and special listening and communication skills to identify incentives that will help change public into private goods so that participation becomes a benefit rather than a cost. Development schemes should build on the interests and needs of local populations, know and utilize local leaders and organizations, and link local organizations with external sources of support. Seen in this way, the role of rural development professionals is not delivering services to target populations but empowering the powerless.

Calavan, Michael M. "Local Resource Management: Some Development Principles for Rural Thailand." Washington, Development Studies Program. U.S. Agency for International Development, no date.

Taking a close look at fisheries in Thailand, Calavan concludes that the context of village development projects is both deep (internally "complex, stratified, dynamic") and wide (dependent on the outside world). Development workers often seem unaware of the fact that villages are already complex management systems and that their projects add to management complexity rather than introduce it.

The breadth dimension of the context often involves considerations of dependency versus welfare. Development projects usually mean greater reliance on governments and other outside forces such as world markets. When planning projects, thought must be given to possible shifts in government policy and changes in market conditions which may disrupt supplies of project components from outside (equipment, spare parts, funding).

Carner, George and David C. Korten. People Centered Planning: The USAID/Philippines Experience. NASPAA Working Paper No. 2, Washington, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, 1982.

In spite of the priority given in the 1970's to reaching the poor, so far there has been little evidence of improvement in their overall condition. Central governments have tended to rely on macroeconomic analysis when they also need information about who the poor are and what interventions might help them.

Carner and Korten propose using households as the unit of analysis. Poverty is conceived as a process of survival; household members have access to particular resource bases in specific ways and must make choices on this basis. Planners must understand these constraints and their relationship to satisfying needs of the poor in order to formulate effective development strategies.

Chambers, Robert. Managing Rural Development: Ideas & Experience From East Africa. Uppsala, Sweden, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974.

Rural development strategies have not succeeded in part because major changes in management procedures are needed to reach the rural poor. Reorientation of training and professional thinking must be supported by political commitment to rural development.

Chambers reviews experience in East Africa with several participatory techniques: development committees, block grants, and self-help groups. Common obstacles have been that participation works best for those who already possess the advantages of knowing and having, and that participatory schemes can easily be taken over by local elites. Academic and professional thinking about rural development must also become more oriented toward the poor. Chambers identifies lack of knowledge about the poor as a major block to successful rural development. Furthermore, the scholarly tradition is biased toward abstract, ideal thinking rather than toward the possible, and toward knowledge as an end in itself rather than knowledge as inseparable from action.

Chambers, Robert. "Project Selection for Poverty-Focused Rural Development: Simple is Optimal". World Development 6 (Feb. 1978): 209-219.

Chambers believes the projects that can best help the poor are those which violate donor agency needs for control and evaluation. Donor agencies require complex and costly appraisal and planning procedures, but Chambers questions whether the benefits of such projects offset the costs.

The projects most likely to help the poor are small and administration-intensive. They are difficult to monitor and inspect because they are scattered in remote areas and too small to justify the expense of close monitoring. Such projects can be implemented by:

- 1) decentralizing
- 2) introducing simple procedures so that personnel need not be specially trained in complicated design and monitoring techniques; and
- 3) overcoming the urban, educated, elite bias of both country officials and donor agency employees. Chambers recommends that all such personnel be required to live in rural poverty settings so that they understand the problems of their clients.

Chambers, Robert. Rural Poverty Unperceived: Problems and Remedies. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 400. Washington, IBRD, July 1980.

Chambers examines the biases imposed by "rural tourism", the principal method for finding out about poor rural communities in development work. The physical and cognitive distance between development professionals and the poor have led to some persistent misunderstandings about poverty.

The shortness of visits and their limitation to project areas leads visitors to people who have been involved with projects and to those who are easily accessible, near roads and towns. Furthermore, they are drawn toward local elites, especially men, as informants; more affluent men are better able to communicate easily with urban, educated visitors. Disabled or feeble people—the very old and young, the sick—are unavailable unless special attempts are made to find them. There may also be embarrassment attached to forcing people to talk about their poverty and need; the subject is avoided out of politeness and social comfort.

Finally, the specialization and high level of education of development professionals leads to persisting ignorance about poverty. Narrow disciplinary or technical focus prevents professionals from perceiving the holism of poverty, and faith in the superior thought processes of the educated prevents them from valuing what the poor and uneducated have to say.

Doughton, Morgan J. "People Power: An Alternative to Runaway Bureaucracy." The Futurist 14 (April 1980): 13-22.

Examining efforts in the U.S. to provide services for the poor, Doughton concludes that the problem is not lack of caring about the poor but rather leaders who try to furnish services instead of stimulating people to civic participation. The underlying rationale for extending dependency-creating services is that the world is now too complex for the average person to be able to contribute to solutions. Doughton points out that this approach has met with little success in the U.S. and is far too expensive to be feasible in developing countries. He calls for decentralization and community-involving project designs.

Esman, Milton J. and John D. Montgomery. "The Administration of Human Development." In Peter T. Knight, ed., Implementing Programs of Human Development. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 403. Washington, The World Bank, July 1980.

Esman and Montgomery discuss the special administrative problems posed by recent development strategies which are intended to reach the poor. "The poor" cannot be treated as an undifferentiated group who can all be helped by the same actions. Instead, various groups operate under different constraints; the poor are scattered and live in remote areas, and little is known about their capabilities, needs and preferences. Cognitive, physical, and social barriers divide the poor and development workers, making information gathering more difficult.

The authors suggest that the ideal context for development occurs when both government bureaucracies and local organizations mobilize active participation. Special efforts are needed to promote activities for which there is low popular demand, because they will have a delayed effect on income and productivity.

Improving administration of human development programs requires better information (to direct programs to proper groups, to monitor performance, and to measure impact); appropriate incentives for those who work with the public; emphasis within organizations on impact rather than technique; and the organization and protection of the various special publics which comprise the poor.

Gow, David and Jerry Van Sant. Beyond the Rhetoric of Rural Development Participation: How Can It Be Done? Integrated Rural Development Working Paper No. 9. Washington, Development Alternatives, Inc., June 1981.

Gow and Van Sant define genuine participation as that which leads to new patterns of distribution and control of resources. Rural cooperatives, community development efforts and animation rurale are some of the strategies that have been used to develop participation.

External constraints on integrated rural development that must be appreciated by project personnel are national policies and established bureaucracies of both donor agencies and host countries. Projects must also be planned around local constraints: control over resources, local elites, and local history (i.e., collective experience). In view of these constraints and the failure of other strategies to design projects around them, they propose eight guidelines. A process rather than blueprint approach is needed. Early project activities should be small and simple and produce early benefits. Potential beneficiaries should make some resource commitment to the project; the size of the commitment can be tailored to their control over resources. Projects should utilize existing organizations wherever possible. In places where conflict among local people exists, organizers should work with more than one group. Two-way information flows and open management procedures should be adopted. Resources, behavior, and incentives for building organizational capacity should be emphasized. Local control over activities should be instituted appropriately, starting with those which are local in scope and for which skill and knowledge bases already exist in the community.

Finally, the authors review two encouraging examples of projects which have followed this kind of approach. The first is the Guatemalan Rural Reconstruction Movement, a small-scale, private voluntary effort. The other is the Indonesia Provincial Development Program, a large, government effort.

Grindle, Merilee Serrill. Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Peasants in Mexico: A Case Study in Public Policy. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1977.

Grindle focusses on the parts of policy formulation which occur during implementation. Public policy is formed by the interaction of administrators and politicians and by the interplay of their personal ambitions, their visions of desired social futures, and the structure of the political system.

For this study, Grindle interviewed high and middle level public officials in Mexico, focussing on CONASUPO, the commodities marketing agency. She found that patron-client relationships are found both within the government and between officials and the peasants they are trying to help. Government officials often replaced local caciques as gatekeepers for peasant interaction with the national society. In this case, a 'traditional' type of relationship, with all its personalism and particularism, can be used for development purposes.

Honadle, George. "Implementation Analysis: The Case for an Early Dose of Realism in Development Administration." In George Honadle and Rudi Klauss, eds., International Development Administration: Implementation Analysis for Development Projects. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1979.

Little writing about development administration has been based on the less than ideal conditions which development workers find in the field. Implementation is the crux of development projects and should be made a central concern in writings on development administration. Organizational effectiveness in benefiting clients, not organizational survival, should be another core concern.

The goals of development organizations are not met, however, when services or goods are made available; behavioral change among clients must also occur. Organizations must therefore be sensitive to the context in which their clients act so that they can help translate goods and services into the behavioral changes which constitute development.

Honadle, George H. and David Gow. Putting the Cart Behind the Horse: Participation, Decentralization, and Capacity Building for Rural Development. Washington, Development Alternatives, Inc., n.d.

Implementing agency personnel are key participants in rural development, and it is vital to know how to build a positive relationship between them and villagers. Bureaucrats can be important allies of villagers if they act as counterbalances to local elites.

There are four possible mechanisms for transforming implementors into agents of effective development for the poor. The first is an authoritarian management style, which works best where the goal is fixed and the means of getting there known; these conditions are only likely to obtain in some infrastructure projects with large technical components. In this case, hard work and obedience, not participation, are expected of project staff and beneficiaries alike.

Three other approaches (participatory management style, decentralization, and capacity building) complement each other. Beneficiary participation is not likely to occur unless project or agency staff are themselves seen as participants rather than mere instruments. Decentralization does not mean that central offices should abdicate authority, for they will need to remain strong enough to motivate compliance. Decentralization can only succeed when local level personnel and beneficiaries have the resources and access to skills required for the tasks of which they are expected to take charge. Finally, capacity building involves increasing organizational resources, strengthening human resources, and changing incentive systems.

Iversen, Robert W. "Personnel for Implementation: A Contextual Perspective." In George Honadle and Rudi Klauss, eds., International Development Administration: Implementation Analysis for Development Projects. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1979.

Project success is dependent on a project's ability to get support from as well as contribute to its environment. Development planners have often neglected to consider existing human resources when they design projects. If project designers first formulate goals, then search for human 'tools' to reach them, they may end up importing Western-trained implementation personnel. The other possible approach is to assess what kind of talent is available and then decide how to achieve denied goals; using these resources.

Iversen notes the existence of 'folk management', "that collection of skills that have, over the years, arisen as needed to guide a community or group in its efforts to survive unforeseen challenges". People with these skills can be identified by their accomplishments in the community. Often, the best candidates are not those who have formal education credentials, but those who have shown a willingness to learn. Participation by relevant members of local communities in project identification and design creates more interest and willingness to invest in these efforts. The synergy of group interest is an important factor in success. Active, willing involvement of local populations depends on projects being designed with them as the central actors.

Though successful projects are staffed in congruence with community values, this does not mean relying on local elites. The implications of power, status, and long-run advantages attached to project staffing must be studied. The aim of development is greater use of resources for the good of the community, and this is more likely to happen if projects draw on local strengths and act to upgrade them.

Jedlicka, Allen. Organization for Rural Development; Risk Taking and Appropriate Technology. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1977.

Jedlicka argues that where political and infrastructure conditions have been supportive of development, ineffective and misdirected management has been the critical constraint. Technology transfer to underdeveloped areas depends on local conditions and acceptance. Farmers have better knowledge of local conditions than many change agency employees, and projects will be more successful if farmers share in decision making areas of development projects. Therefore, humanistic and democratic management strategies are appropriate.

Jedlicka illustrates the participative managerial philosophy with the Puebla subsistence agriculture improvement project in Mexico. He advocates the use of small, well-organized client groups to help ease the burden on overloaded extension agents and urges the adoption of Likert's "linking-pin" organizational structure, which combines fast communication channels with participatory decision making.

The most important link in the technology transfer chain, the author believes, is the extension agent, the liaison between organization and client. Extension agents therefore must understand small group behavior and risk taking and must be able to work effectively with groups.

Korten, David C. "Community Organization and Rural Development: A Learning Process Approach." Public Administration Review 40 (1980): 480-511.

Though current development doctrine calls for participation by local people in development efforts, little attention has been paid to learning how to encourage participation; reallocation of funds to different kinds of projects is not sufficient to ensure that such projects meet the needs of the poor. Both the external political environment and internal climate of donor agencies encourage large, capital- and import-intensive, visible projects which can be implemented quickly and subjected to cost-benefit analysis. Such projects are planned and implemented using a blueprint approach, where donor agencies and planners delineate the tasks to be performed.

By contrast, successful peasant movements and development programs which have met the needs of the poor have emerged from experience at the grass roots level. They have been worked out on the basis of local needs, have had strong, usually charismatic leaders, and may involve conflict among the different groups found in rural communities. The learning process approach, in which blueprint planning is abandoned in favor of the search for strategies that fit local situations, requires organizations which embrace error, plan with local people, and link knowledge with action. These 'learning organizations' typically undergo three overlapping stages:

- Stage 1: Learning effectiveness - learning what works in a particular village context requires intensive use of resources including creativity and patience.
- Stage 2: Learning efficiency - organizations learn to operate with fewer resources than in stage 1; some effectiveness may be sacrificed.
- Stage 3: Learning to expand - organizations develop internal capacity to extend their operations, perhaps sacrificing some efficiency and effectiveness.

Agencies funding such projects will need to accept more risk than they currently do, and to allow more flexibility to those working in the field. Social scientists working with such projects must learn to act as partners rather than experts and to make the knowledge built by their inquiries useful and accessible to other participants.

Korten, David C. "The Working Group as a Mechanism for Managing Bureaucratic Reorientation: Experience from the Philippines." NASPAA Working Paper No. 4, Washington, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, 1982.

The Philippine National Irrigation Agency (NIA) is an example of an agency which has reoriented itself from a technocratic bureaucracy to a participatory organization which helps to strengthen the capacity of communities to manage their own resources. The Communal Irrigation Committee (CIC) within NIA has played a central role in the reorientation. The CIC is a coalition of interested persons both inside and outside the agency; though it focusses on field operations, it does not control them.

Factors in the success of CIC have been the ongoing interest of NIA Assistance Administrator Benjamin Bagadion, who chairs meetings of the committee. Committee members interact on a daily basis aside from regular meetings, and join or leave CIC based on interest and relevance. Multiple leadership has emerged in functional areas.

The role of an outside donor, the Ford Foundation, has also been important. The Foundation is able to be flexible about funds and has devoted ongoing staff time to the process of reorienting NIA. This outside participant has helped the process by keeping long-term goals in sight and by identifying the dedicated and effective NIA staff who need Ford's support. Finally, the strong commitment by the Foundation has lent legitimacy and prestige to the reorientation process.

Korten, David C. and Felipe B. Alfonso, eds. Bureaucracy and the Poor: Closing the Gap. Singapore, McGraw-Hill, 1981.

All the articles in this volume focus on the management components of development projects aimed at helping the poor, particularly the rural poor. The authors use case studies and personal project experience to highlight the importance of management. Bureaucratic administrative styles have often been obstacles to development because of 'blueprint' approaches implemented from the top down. The authors point out, however, that bureaucracies need not be obstacles; information from successful projects indicates that projects are most helpful to rural people when they involve a two-way flow of information and initiative between agencies and their clients.

John C. Ickis, "Structural Responses to New Rural Development Strategies." Ickis reviews attempts to implement new rural development strategies in Central America. The preferred strategy is seen as holistic, building capacity in local communities to cooperate with governments in development efforts. Three necessary components of this approach are social intervention capacity, institutional leadership, and systems management. Social intervention capability involves the ability of agencies to act in rural communities in ways that support program goals. In those places where positive changes had occurred, several common factors were noted: the presence in the community of credible leaders; an adequate resource base; access to technical skills and competence required for activities planned; and protection by the government from hostile action by predatory groups. Sensitive and committed institutional leadership is required to reorient the agency from a service-providing mode to a supportive, interactive, client-centered mode. This requires new incentives within the organization which reinforce the desired values. Additional conventional management training, which emphasizes hierarchy, uniformity, and efficiency, is not likely to be sufficient to achieve this reorientation. Beyond institutional leadership, there is a need for a systems manager to coordinate strategy development and adaptation, maintain commitment by each agency involved, and deal with conflict among agencies. Certain structural characteristics are also needed. The ambiguity and complexity of holistic programs require enough decentralization so that implementation can be quickly adapted to specific community situations and to changes in them over time. However, central offices resist decentralization because they fear abuses if uniformity and accountability to the center are reduced. The mistrust is often aggravated by cultural distance between agency heads and staff. In spite of rhetorical support for holistic strategies, close examination revealed that commitment to these strategies was often subverted by pervasive political influences: commitments to other social groups; accountability to the center rather than beneficiaries; and government reluctance to allow local organizations to raise new issues for the development agenda. In the face of these conflicting political signals, only two agencies were able to implement effective programs. Others exhibited a variety of responses, some conducting business as usual, some retreating from interdependence, some pursuing sophisticated technological solutions, and others expanding their functions to avoid dependency on other agencies.

Rushikesh Maru, "Organization for Rural Health." The author reviews Indian efforts to promote health education functions by making some health personnel accountable to local communities. Health education is often understressed because there is little felt need for such programs and because programs aim

toward achievement of targets. The Community Health Worker (CHW) scheme provided training in curative and preventive care for persons selected by communities. These people were given a stipend, though not considered government staff, and could be replaced by their community if their work was deemed unsatisfactory. In spite of community control over the CHWs, community education was still neglected in favor of curative activities. The author points to two complementary explanations. First, Public Health Clinic (PHC) personnel often considered CHWs to be extensions of their own curative program. Second, when routine (curative) and non-routine (community involvement) tasks are combined, the routine tend to dominate. The author finds most hope for health education through separation of the curative and education personnel at the community level.

Felipe B. Alfonso, "Assisting Farmer Controlled Development of Communal Irrigation Systems." Relying on the experience of the National Irrigation Administration of the Philippines, Alfonso concludes that bureaucratic re-orientation is most successful when it is designed from the bottom up, based on client needs which are situation-specific. However, there are some general guidelines for success. Social and technical aspects of projects need to be integrated with consistent and open communication between personnel working on the project components. Organizations need to bring their internal reward systems into line with their goals, and they should decentralize to allow local situations to determine action plans. Budget and control systems should provide some security for projects and incorporate farmer participation in these activities. Finally, creative and committed leadership, both within the agency and in the community, is helpful.

Arturo R. Tanco, Jr., "Mobilizing National Commitment to a Multi-Agency Program." Tanco uses the Philippine Masagana 99 rice production program to illustrate qualities needed in managers of programs which involve several agencies. Managers of such projects must be especially skilled at 1) securing scarce resources, 2) identifying the critical points for intervention, 3) evoking the cooperation of people in other organizations over whom they have no authority, and 4) building institutional linkages to ensure that the project will survive independent of the manager.

Edilberto de Jesus, "Local Linkage Building in a Small Farmer Development Program." This article highlights the role of the systems manager in the Masagana 99 program. The activities of a successful Provincial Program Officer (PPO) in coordinating a multiagency program at the local level are examined. This PPO took steps to strengthen the contributions to the project of banks, extension services, and marketing procedures. The PPO uses personal contacts effectively, has great technical competence, and continually assesses the environment for potential resources and linkages.

J. K. Satia, "Developmental Tasks and Middle Management Roles in Rural Development." Satia found that mid-level managers in India felt their function was to implement programs determined at higher levels by carrying out certain set activities. An alternative view of their function sees these district level administrators as persons who could help direct programming of resources in ways that would respond to needs of the poor. Reorientation of their role would involve rewarding them for improving welfare in their districts, not just for monitoring standard activities. Planning and control activities should be more flexible and responsive to local conditions, and budgets should respond to locally set priorities. More decision-making should take place at the district rather than state level, and information on populations, not activities, is needed. Finally, personnel systems should encourage longer tours in one location and the development of institutional capacity rather than personal performance.

Henry Gomez and Richard A. Myers, "The Social Service Module as a Social Development Technology." The authors discuss the experience of social service modules set up to house all government services directed toward urban squatter communities in Venezuela. They found that simply by putting services under the same roof, access has improved. Though no strong mechanism of formal coordination between participating agencies was built, informal cooperation has improved. However, agency personnel still consider their programs technical, and therefore resist extensive participation by the community. The authors recommend strengthening the role of the module administrator. To this end, three strategies are suggested: appropriate training with technical back-stopping for the administrators; an organizational climate permitting experimentation; and structural reorganization to strengthen the role of module administrators.

Ranjit Gupta, "The Poverty Trap: Lessons from Dharampur." Gupta recounts the experience of the faculty members from the Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad who collaborated in five years of action research focused on planning and implementing improvement of the economic status and quality of life of the rural poor. The dynamics of poverty in Dharampur were studied, and the author concludes that political and institutional action, as well as economic activities, are necessary. In constructing a plan, they found that they needed to take into account both the needs of the area and how existing political and institutional structures affect proposed actions. They drew four principal lessons from their experience:

- 1) Plans must consider bureaucratic obstacles like rigid budgeting systems and turnover of personnel in government agencies.
- 2) Planners need to look at better uses for existing resources, since often new resources will not be forthcoming.
- 3) The needs and claims of the poor will not be taken very seriously unless they can organize some political leverage.
- 4) Implementers as well as prospective beneficiaries must be involved in the planning process.

Justin H. J. Maeda, "Creating National Structures for People-Centered Agrarian Development." Moving 'the locus of development initiative from the central government to the people' has been a central theme in the Tanzanian experience, and Maeda describes the attempts to operationalize this principle. He identifies four general problem areas. First, ideological commitment and technical and organizational skills must be developed in villages. A major obstacle has been the absence of a tradition of collective production. Furthermore, there have been few incentives toward investing surplus rather than distributing it to individuals or using it to provide community services. Second, it has been difficult to make technical and administrative personnel accountable to villagers. However, as villagers acquire more experience with government agencies, they acquire more confidence in dealing with them. Furthermore, project managers make their reports to superiors in the presence of village representatives. A third area of difficulty has been that the government wishes to be responsive to the same people who are just beginning to reach a level of consciousness that would allow them to be mobilized and active. Government commitment to ensuring that richer individuals do not benefit unduly often leads to more interference in local affairs than is desirable, a continuing dilemma. Finally, the government has had to take a strong hand in balancing resource allocations.

Labdhi Bhandari, "The Poor as Consumers." Most development strategies have considered the poor as producers, not as consumers, and even when the poor are thought of as consumers, planners tend to assume that the rural poor share the urban and Westernized values of urban professionals. Often, planners assume that a rise in income for a household translates to a higher standard of living for all members of the household. Because of these biases, there is clearly a need for the rural poor to have more voice in determining consumption choices. Bhandari suggests a "professional approach" to decision-making as a remedy to the biases. This approach allows 'the people' to play the central role of expressing felt needs and deciding priorities. The policy maker would facilitate the process supplying an extra range of creative alternatives which might be beyond the experience of the people. He asserts that preference-identification need not be an active, conscious process; people's preferences can be inferred from their behavior, as is done in market research.

Frances F. Korten, "Community Participation: A management perspective on obstacles and options." This article summarizes organizational, community, and societal obstacles to participation and presents possible solutions. Korten recognizes that participatory schemes can be threatening to some governments and that, while governments which are committed to participation will progressively act to remove social and legal constraints, in other cases creative management will be required to circumvent obstacles without provoking reactions that will crush programs.

David C. Korten, "Social Development: Putting People First." Though development is often defined in economic terms, human beings should be the ultimate focus. Korten suggests that human ecology, "the study of interactions between human and ecological systems", can form the basis of people centered planning. Human ecology looks at individual households and their relationship to resources. "The poor" are not an undifferentiated mass; among the poor in any one country there are different sets of people with different kinds of adaptations within ecosystems. Development programs must take account of their varying prospects and needs. The people who are intended to benefit from development programs must also be able to participate in planning, and Korten suggests that a bottom-up learning process approach is a way to develop suitable programs. Managers involved in these programs will need to think synthetically (seeing problems in context) as well as analytically (breaking problems down into their components). The manager as a leader in social development has the difficult role of influencing people to build their capacity without controlling them for personal interests. Social development practitioners must be aware of the role of influence in society.

David C. Korten, "The Management Institute in Transition." Traditional management strategies have not been effective in dealing with broad problems of poverty. Institutions which wish to take a distinctive road in developing roles for themselves in helping with these problems can concentrate on "the facilitation of a learning process within the client organization." This approach would not involve transferring management technologies so much as it would require a commitment to learning about the poor and about organizational systems in the public sector. Problems rather than disciplines would form the basis for self-development of personnel. Incentive systems need to be developed to support commitment to social learning institutions.

"Addendum: A Commentary by Henry Gomez." Gomez comments that the United States also needs social development learning capability and that old-style management institutes may have become irrelevant to current perceptions of the complexity of the world's problems.

Korten, David C. and Norman T. Uphoff. Bureaucratic Reorientation for Participatory Rural Development. NASPAA Working Paper No. 1. Washington, National Association of School of Public Affairs and Administration, 1981.

Starting from the premise that bureaucratic procedures can be treated as variables to manipulate rather than as givens, Korten and Uphoff discuss characteristics of both conventional and reoriented bureaucracies and propose ways of accomplishing the changes necessary to assist participatory development.

In the past, development agencies have considered the attitudes of the poor as obstacles to change; the performance norms of such organizations have mistakenly treated expenditure as results, formal education as superiority and projects as development. The authors suggest that the attitudes of the poor are in fact responses to government agency bias against the poor and that the performance norms have inhibited beneficiary initiative.

Characteristics of bureaucracies reoriented for effective development include widespread agency understanding of and commitment to participation; more internal participation; strong support from the top for participatory strategies; simple, flexible planning and budgeting procedures; personnel systems which reward employees for building self-reliance among beneficiaries; and specialized units and services to meet the needs of different client groups.

The learning process approach to implementing bureaucratic reorientation has three stages. In stage 1, the organization learns to be effective through field experimentation; then it learns to be efficient by simplifying problem-solving routine so that they will be economical and widely applicable. During the final stage, learning to expand, the changes are institutionalized in appropriate units of the agency.

Korten, Frances F. "Building National Capacity to Develop Water Users' Associations: Experience from the Philippines". Washington: World Bank Sociological Workshop, 1981.

Using information from the Philippines, Korten describes the learning process approach in action. Water users' associations are formed early in the process of planning so that users can be involved in design as well as implementation, maintenance and distribution. In this way, commitment to managing and maintaining the system develops along with the physical infrastructure.

Besides the government and water users, academics and an outside donor agency have been involved in non-traditional ways. Academics have produced tools for action by farmers and agency personnel rather than policy recommendations. Ford Foundation's funding has shown the flexibility necessary for such ventures, since the specific activities undertaken emerge as the learning process advances; the activities cannot be specified in great detail in advance.

Lele, Uma. The Design of Rural Development: Lessons from East Africa. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

The African Rural Development Study examined several IBRD projects in Africa in terms of new concerns in development assistance: 1) participation of the poorest; 2) well-being as well as production; and 3) sustainability. Most of the projects they examined did not meet these criteria very well, since they had narrow economic objectives only and exhibited little consciousness of socio-cultural and institutional factors involved. Trained local personnel remained scarce.

The author points out that no standards for judging impact other than economic ones have been developed. Organizational dilemmas, such as integrating projects into existing governmental structures, must be solved. However, it is just as important that nationals of the project country be deeply involved in planning as well as implementing programs. There are two reasons for such participation: nationals, particularly local people, have knowledge about local needs and context, and their participation in planning and implementation constitutes improvement of local administrative capacity, which is necessary to prevent projects from being redirected because of outside sociopolitical pressures.

In another chapter, Lele examines attempts in Kenya and Tanzania to implement national government objectives. Decentralized planning and political constraints appear problematic in these cases. External donor assistance should be carefully planned so that it contributes to self-reliant development by helping develop internal capacity, rather than making limited and temporary economic impacts.

Leonard, David K. Reaching the Peasant Farmer: Organization Theory and Practice in Kenya. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1977.

For Leonard a fundamental problem of development has been the failure of governments to mobilize the rural periphery. In this book, he examines extension agents who work with small farmers; their 'output' is treated as the dependent variable as Leonard searches for ways to make them more effective.

Leonard looks at six organizational features which have implications for extension agent performance. First, there is a dichotomy between superordinate and subordinate interest groups, and the latter can act to limit output. Second, persons in positions of official authority increase their leadership when they provide more benefits/less disadvantages than expected by their subordinates. Third, contrary to the usual assumption, even secondary education can have detrimental effects on extension agent performance. Leonard recommends that those with more education need less authoritarian, more professional relations with their supervisors. Fourth, the movement of information between research centers and points of usage is problematic since information is lost/distorted with every successive link. Fifth, adaptive feedback from junior agents, who see research ideas in use, must be encouraged and used. Finally, extension services need to be directed less to wealthy and progressive farmers, in spite of the greater ease and results of working with such people.

In general, Leonard espouses more control and more attention to procedure rather than the more flexible, less hierarchical structures often endorsed by development administration specialists. He feels the latter approach will not work because extension agents are not strongly committed to development organizational goals, thus organizations must have control to promote compliance.

Meehan, Eugene. In Partnership with People: An Alternative Development Strategy. With Charles Reilly and Thomas Ramey. Washington, Inter-American Foundation, (1978).

Though the Inter-American Foundation is a U.S. Government agency, it has escaped some of the complex and rigid rules and procedures which have been criticized in other donor agencies. IAF's philosophy is also different from many other development agencies: IAF is based on the premise that change in human relationships, not inputs of capital and technology alone, leads to conditions where development can occur. The later chapters focus on how IAF survives in the U.S. environment.

Mendoza, Gabino A. "The Transferability of Western Management Concepts and Programs, an Asian Perspective". In Lawrence D. Stifel, James S. Coleman, and Joseph E. Black, eds., Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing Countries. (New York), The Rockefeller Foundation, 1977.

Management theory as presently taught all over the world is largely based on American industry models, with some French and British contributions. Mendoza suggests that the universality of this model is challenged by successful Japanese industrial development based on different management principles. Mendoza believes that management systems would be more effective if based on local culture and view of 'the good life'. For Southeast Asia, the values which might lead to a different management system are strong sense of group membership and responsibility, preference for personalistic relations, and preference for decision making by consensus rather than majority rule. A new school of thought on management will not be developed by Americans in universities but will come from developing countries' grass-roots experience.

Montgomery, John D. "Decisions, Nondecision, and Other Phenomena: Implementation Analysis for Development Administrators." In George Honadle and Rudi Klauss, eds., International Development Administration: Implementation Analysis for Development Projects. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1979.

Implementation analysis, which tells administrators whether programs are working, has been neglected in the literature on development, which concentrates on policy studies. Implementation analysis helps operations personnel learn from experience and adapt programs as needed. Their experience can in turn help policy makers learn about issues which seem external but which in fact influence project implementation.

Programs have three interacting subsystems, or decisions-orders, which may be disaggregated conceptually: productive technology, internal organization and public motivation. The decision-order method is useful for exploring alternative means to desired ends; interventions can be approached primarily through either technology, organization, or incentives. Keeping the three decision-orders in mind helps correct the frequent mistake of concentrating on first-order (technological) solutions. National planning is likely to concentrate on first-order decisions with some attention to the second-order (organizational), while implementors must focus on third-order decisions of targeting populations, motivating them, and delivering services. Implementation analysis also involves predicting problems in operations.

In the social arena, this is particularly complex, and Montgomery recommends that decision seminars be held by responsible managers in order to review and evaluate information. He finds this a less threatening procedure than external evaluation. Decision seminars can also be more productive, since they allow those operating a project to consider alternatives.

Moris, Jon R. Managing Induced Rural Development. Bloomington, Indiana, International Development Institute, Indiana University, 1981.

Moris examines the situational constraints and choices which development administrators encounter in the field, reviewing in the process literature on induced planned change. Moris pays particular attention to the role of administration as a central rather than residual factor in development. Though the greater part of the book is devoted to practical problems and alternatives in design and implementation, there is a section on ideologies of development and their strengths and weaknesses. Moris illustrates his approach with a chapter on the Tanzanian Masai Range Development Project with which he was involved for several years. The bibliography contains over 1,000 entries which are usefully cited in the text.

Moris, Jon R. "The Transferability of Western Management Concepts and Programs, an East African Perspective". In Lawrence D. Stifel, James S. Coleman, and Joseph E. Black, eds., Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing Countries. (New York), The Rockefeller Foundation, 1977.

Moris argues against treating management as only a collection of techniques which are easily transferable to developing countries. He asserts that there is also an administrative culture which must support these techniques. Good management can only be defined in context, and very little attention has been paid to the structural prerequisites which have accompanied successful management in societies like the United States. Moris points out some of these elements as well as elements of Third World administrative environments which appear problematic when trying to apply Western management. Attempts to use Western management techniques as models in development projects cannot succeed because of contextual factors, and the creation of semi-autonomous, Western-style management systems for projects may cause such jealousy among other local officials that projects are stripped of their assets as soon as donor control terminates. Moris suggests that rather than viewing Third World contextual factors as aberrant, development professionals should realize that these elements are rational within the system. It may be that administration can be adapted to the context.

Pyle, David F. From Project to Program: Structural Constraints Associated with Expansion. NASPAA Working Paper No. 3, Washington, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, 1982.

Pyle identifies three arenas of analysis which are useful in helping to understand why it is so difficult to expand pilot projects into large programs. First, it can be helpful to know the logistical profile of the project through quantifiable information about inputs, including staff profiles. However, organizational and political analysis may be even more important and qualifies the usual notion that pilot projects succeed because of staff dedication, leadership and intensive resource inputs.

Within organizational analysis, a results approach, with target specifications, is more characteristic of successful pilot projects than an approach emphasizing procedures. What appears to be innate staff dedication can actually be the good morale resulting from good management (merit promotions, participation, supportive management and useful feedback). Both staff and community are responsible for certain activities, and indications of success are simple and accessible so that progress can be measured regularly. Flexible procedures, especially for planning, are another characteristic. Finally, community participation in needs assessment as well as planning, design, and implementation is a feature of successful projects. Community members understand from the start their roles and responsibilities; it is this input which gives them a sense of ownership in the project and requires the government to grant them voice in decisions about the project.

Political analysis examines both the state and elite and interest groups. Is the government making the changes necessary to implement the project? Do elites and interest groups support, ignore, or oppose (actively or passively) the project? The nature and degree of elite involvement in programs often influences the direction of accountability. The political context faced by interventions changes when programs expand, since they become so much more visible and, possibly, unsettling. For this reason, programs may not be able to use precisely the same political strategies as pilot projects.

Smith, William E., Francis J. Lethem, and Ben A. Thoolen. The Design of Organizations for Rural Development Projects - A Progress Report. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 375. Washington, World Bank, March 1980.

Surveying World Bank social development projects, the authors conclude that many so-called 'management' problems are actually problems of organizational design and thus not susceptible to improvement by project managers. Infrastructure project managers may be able to control most project components. However, in social development projects they must also try to influence some parts of their environment by negotiation and coalition-forming. For most projects, still other parts of the environment can only be appreciated; the manager must understand and maneuver around these constraints.

A first step in organizational design is locating the formal and informal power centers for the project. The project can then be built from these power centers, with strong coordination between implementing agencies. Organizational design should be consistent with constraints as well as objectives and resources.

Stout, Russell, Jr. Management or Control? The Organizational Challenge. Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1980.

Management and control are different activities. The amount of information available determines which is an appropriate mode of behavior for action in a situation. To act in a control mode, perfect knowledge of cause and effect is needed; perfect knowledge leads to the ability to determine outcomes. Activities can be routinized, and obedience rather than creativity is called for. Using control strategies in uncertain environments, however, causes actors to tend to ignore error. As a consequence, wrong paths are persistently pursued. Many organizational situations call instead for management, a mode of behavior which acknowledges uncertainty and uses error to adapt. It is characterized by experimenting and learning. Incremental strategies are preferable so that adjustment can take place as learning occurs. Incremental strategies are often supposed to involve only slow and small steps; this need not be so, since, where more information is known, longer steps can be taken.

Strachan, Harry W. "Side Effects of Planning in the AID Control System." World Development 6 (1978): 467-478.

The rational control process of planning used by development assistance agencies has certain adverse effects on projects in the field. Strachan details four problems:

- 1) The need for preliminary technical, social, economic, and financial evaluations necessitates a long lead time to get projects started.
- 2) The tightness of control leads to high administrative costs.
- 3) The implementation process does not allow mechanisms for rapid feedback about problems encountered.
- 4) Local managers feel that projects were wholly designed by outside development agencies and their consultants. Lack of local manager involvement leads to low initiative in project planning and to subterfuge during implementation as local managers try to turn projects to their own ends.

Strachan suggests that the real value of planning is not as a blueprint for the future, since projections quickly lose their accuracy, but as "simulations of alternatives". Since planners cannot anticipate all the problems, the implementation environment should be one which fosters creative, capable local management.

Sweet, Charles F. and Peter F. Weisel. "Process Versus Blueprint Models for Designing Rural Development Projects." In George Honadle and Rudi Klauss, eds., International Development Administration: Implementation Analysis for Development Projects. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1979.

For development to occur in rural areas, strategies must be developed to suit particular physical, social, and cognitive environments. This type of project is characterized by high uncertainty and need for flexibility. The process model of project development is therefore more appropriate than the more rigid blueprint model, which is better used in construction and capital-development projects. In the process approach, it is not assumed that sufficient knowledge is available before implementation; it is assumed that projects will be modified as knowledge is generated. It is critical to identify the kinds of information needed to make decisions about project goals, activities, management, and resource needs. Local participation in decision making is necessary if projects are to become self-sustainable, and project staff must be allowed enough responsibility to use knowledge they get from the farmers themselves.

Tendler, Judith. Inside Foreign Aid. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Using AID and The World Bank as examples, Tendler demonstrates how the organizational environment of donor agencies determines the unsatisfactory performance of such agencies in designing programs for the poor. Performance standards, critical external environment, import financing, and economies of scale in large projects create a context in which it is rational for staff to favor large, capital intensive projects and to impose controls on recipient country behavior. Tendler hopes that recognition of the organizational determinants of such behavior can lead to changes which will encourage donor agency staff to design projects which will better meet the needs of the poor.

Thomas, Theodore H. and Derick E. Brinkerhoff. Semi-Autonomous Partnership Organizations for Development: Lessons from the JCRR Experience. Working Paper No. 8. Los Angeles, University of Southern California, School of Public Administration, no date.

In this paper the authors consider the necessary characteristics of participative organizations intended to engage in development as it was being redefined in the early 1970's. The bureaucratic organizations which had been entrusted with development tasks were based on the premises that development meant becoming like the industrialized West; that reality was objective, external to the observer, and determinable by logic; and that rationality was separable from human value preferences.

By contrast, participatory organizations are shaped on the assumption that reality is contextual and that there is no one universally accepted rationality. Participatory organizations therefore have features which promote the active involvement of affected people to discover their preferences. Agencies engaged in international development would be distinguished by partnership relations, decision making shared among organizational unities, integration of political and administrative decision-making, and responsiveness to felt needs of individual clients. It would be understood that such organizations are temporary, so that organizational survival does not become a major goal. Using the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (US-ROC) as an example, the authors discuss how such projects can be set up.

EMPOWERMENT, PARTICIPATION, AND ORGANIZATIONS:
THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

Given the preference of these writers of participatory development, altered relations between people are inevitably part of their scenario. Many authors suggest that empowerment of the powerless is necessary to ensure their participation in decision-making. Unless the powerless gain political leverage, governments will not stay committed to upholding the claims of the poor to participation in the face of elite pressures. There is disagreement about the prospects of governments being able to overcome various counter pressures within societies. In some cases, enough reform to create major change is possible; in others, the prospects are dim. More study of the prerequisites for dramatic change through nonviolent means is needed.

Differing views on the nature of power are represented here. Does empowering one group mean taking power away from another? Or is it possible that all groups can benefit in both the short and long terms? Is empowerment of the poor possible without threatening elites? Is power created, mobilized, taken, or given? The answers to these questions determine the strategy deemed appropriate. Confrontation may be necessary in some situations, cooperation possible in others.

Cooptation of development activities by elites is seen by many as an omnipresent danger, and new elites will emerge out of a misguided process of empowerment. Strong central advocacy on behalf of the poor seems necessary. However, even if governments take vigorous advocacy positions, whatever participation occurs may be manipulative rather than democratic. In this case, the participation is usually peripheral and tends to be system-maintaining because it appeases people without allowing them power.

Empowerment, or effective participation, can be brought about by organized (rather than undirected) action. While individuals can occasionally improve their personal situations, their doing so does not generally transform structures of inequality and underdevelopment. Collective action is required to change these structures. The articles in this section attempt to identify the attributes of organizations which have empowered disadvantaged groups and the characteristics of collective action for social development. Community organizations, constituency organizations, and mediating structures are channels for citizens to express preferences and counter government and business control of macrosocial processes

in both advanced industrial and developing societies.

The process of empowerment is complex. It must be recognized from the first as one which may sharpen preexisting divisions in communities. "Community organization" has been used by Mary Hollnsteiner to designate an empowerment strategy which has succeeded the "community development" of the 1950's and 1960's. It is similar to what George Honadle calls capacity-building, for both address structural as well as cognitive aspects of development. Not only a sense of power and self-worth but also actual control of resources by the poor are necessary to create the opportunity for changed relationships and behavior. The cognitive components must be supported by physical resources and valued returns on the investment of time and effort in community organizations. Responsibility can be devolved as communities build capacity to meet the requirements of increased expectations.

Outside change agents are faced with many perceptual dilemmas, some of which relate to political issues. Some authors point out that development entails changed relationships, but outsiders may have difficulty distinguishing protective from exploitative relationships and may consequently attack the wrong ones, leaving communities more vulnerable. If outsiders urge confrontational strategies or ones which make their clients more visible, they may be encouraging courses of action which will provoke crushing responses. Thus they may hinder, not enhance, the ability of community members to influence their futures, and it is this strengthened capacity of even the most disadvantaged to share in and benefit from social decisions which is at the core of the desire for more participatory societies.

Alford, Robert R. and Roger Friedland. "Political Participation and Public Policy." In Alex Inkeles (ed.), Annual Review of Sociology (1975): 429-479.

In this critical review of forms of participation and their systemic effects, Alford and Friedland use information from various U.S. programs. They first examine electoral politics, which is not found to be significantly participatory. Violence as a form of participation has rarely been studied and there is only spotty information on other "non-legitimate" forms of participation like rent strikes. Bureaucratic participation is found, when examined in context, to be ineffective and peripheral, encouraged only where it can have little impact on macrosocial structures and processes. Bureaucratic participation thus "functions to produce political quiescence while societal institutions continue to reproduce inequality and injustice." One reason this has rarely been perceived is that social scientists regard the state as a neutral structure which mediates among interest groups rather than as being itself a historically determined structuring of interests.

Berger, Peter L. and Richard John Neuhaus. To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy. Washington, American Enterprise Institute, 1977.

This extended essay focuses on the role of mediating structures, "those institutions standing between the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life" in modern industrial society. The authors argue that megastructures (e.g., the modern state bureaucracy, large economic conglomerates, large labor unions) lose contact with the meaning and the realities of everyday life. They view mediating structures as ways for individuals to relate to megastructures by asserting their grouped, democratically determined values; mediating structures help preserve pluralism, which the authors value highly.

Bryant, Coralie. "Squatters, Collective Action, and Participation: Learning from Lusaka". World Development 8 (1980): 73-85.

Urban squatters in Zambia have been able to organize to protect their interests. Viewing collective action as an investment, Bryant notes that individual as well as communal incentives were necessary to organize large numbers of squatters. In Zambia's case, the World Bank, the Zambian Ministry of Housing, and the American Friends Service Committee had agendas that were convergent enough to allow them to work with squatters so that squatter project participation led to more leverage for urban squatters.

In spite of the benefits for the participating groups, two problems in the context are visible. First, increased leverage for any urban group is likely to mean that they will demand resources at the expense of rural development efforts. Second, in Zambia, the IMF has required market prices for food, and this policy, in connection with the Bank's involvement in strengthening squatter leverage, may lead to urban discontent high enough to provoke government repression of uncontrolled participation. The Bank and the IMF appear disconcertingly unaware of the contradictions between their policies.

Cohen, John M. "Rural Change in Ethiopia: The Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit." Economic Development and Cultural Change 22 (July 1974): 580-614.

Cohen's conclusion from the CADU experience was that little development is possible unless governments are committed to land reform. If, as in the Ethiopian case, governments promote growth only when it tends to maintain rural sociopolitical structures, there is little hope for widespread improvement of conditions for peasant farmers. Participation was problematic for CADU; even a controlled project like this was captured by local elites, and Cohen feels that without outside monitoring, projects will be used by local elites to the detriment of small farmers.

Cohen, John M., Gladys A. Culagowski, Norman T. Uphoff, and Diane L. Wolf. Participation at the Local Level: A Working Bibliography. Bibliography Series No. 1. Ithaca, Rural Development Committee, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1978.

Over 1000 entries are organized under eight topic headings. Special sections on selected French and Spanish literature are annotated and contain short literature reviews.

Cohen, John M. and Norman T. Uphoff. Rural Development Participation: Concepts and Measures for Project Design, Implementation, and Evaluation. Ithaca, Rural Development Committee, Cornell University, 1977.

Cohen and Uphoff define the different kinds and components of participation (who, how, and what) and elaborate on how project environment and task characteristics influence participation. The second section presents ways to analyze participation in actual projects, using the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (Ethiopia) to illustrate the use of the concepts.

Conlin, Sean. "Participation versus Expertise." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 15 (1974): 151-166.

Conlin uses the case of the revolutionary Peruvian government to show that, even when physical resources are redistributed, elite control of 'scientific' ideas can be used to keep the uneducated dependent. Though the government redistributed land and promoted peasant participation, government administrators still exercised the tyranny of expertise to induce peasant cooperation in government development schemes.

Esman, Milton J. "Development Administration and Constituency Organizations." Public Administration Review 38 (1978): 166-172.

In the U.S., administrative systems have tried to deal with the poor by extending social services to all, but Esman claims this will not work in developing countries for several reasons: the very large numbers of rural poor, the lack of financial and administrative resources, lack of government information about the poor, lack of mutual confidence, and government expectations of behavior change in the poor. Developing countries have often attempted to use traditional non-governmental channels to distribute services, but these structures are often weakened by the processes of development so that they lose legitimacy and effectiveness. New forms of intermediary organization can be developed to fill the gap.

Constituency organizations can be more effective than individuals in dealing with problems of the rural poor. Such organizations can probably also be formed in urban areas and in more developed countries. Their creation should be seen as complementary to strengthening government administrative capacity, since constituency organizations and government agencies are interdependent in many respects.

Goldsmith, Arthur A. and Harvey S. Bluestain. Local Organization and Participation in Intergrated Rural Development in Jamaica. Special Series on Rural Local Organization No. 3. Ithaca, Rural Development Committee, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1980.

The authors studied small farmer organizations for the Second Integrated Rural Development Project. They conclude that farmer participation is most likely to occur when projects provide tangible benefits and meet needs defined by local people. Organizations should build on established groups and local leaders, and members must have some control.

Grindle, Merilee S. "Anticipating Failure: The Implementation of Rural Development Programs." Public Policy 29 (Winter 1981): 51-74.

Integrated rural development programs are expensive and complex and have long-term goals with few short term benefits. These problems could be overcome with strong political support at high levels, but in fact the political environment often exacerbates the problems. Urban constituencies are more organized and therefore more visible to policy makers. Top administrators often have political ambitions and therefore compete for budgets and control rather than cooperating with each other. Finally, competition in the program environment for benefits means that measures must be taken to ensure that middle and lower level officials act in accordance with agency goals; however, such measures often stifle creativity and initiative among these officials.

Grindle, Merilee S. (ed.) Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980.

The articles in the volume trace the translation of politically determined goals into development programs.

Merilee S. Grindle, "Policy Content and Context in Implementation". Grindle argues that although policy (broad goals) and programs (actions taken) are easily separable conceptually, they are not so clearly distinguishable in practice. In the Third World there is usually little public input as policy is formulated, so public influence is focused on the implementation stage.

Stephen A. Quick, "The Paradox of Popularity: 'Idological' Program Implementation in Zambia." Quick disputes the notion that popularity is enough to guarantee success. In the case of cooperatives in Zambia, the support of top leaders allowed the program to ignore signals that it was not working. Resources for the program were abundant, so it was easier to spend more money than to engage in critical self-examination. The existence of multiple goals complicated the program as well because priorities were not established.

Cynthia McClintock, "Reform Governments and Policy Implementation: Lessons from Peru." The Velasco junta in Peru was an example of reform government, defined by McClintock as a government which aims for participation and redistribution. The junta came to power very suddenly and tried to implement major changes, with the result that there were contradictions among programs.

Gerald E. Sussman, "The Pilot Project and the Choice of an Implementing Strategy: Community Development in India." Sussman deals with the problems encountered in moving from a pilot project to an extensive rural development approach. The Etawah pilot project used resources (including managerial ones) intensively, but as planners tried to develop a wider rural reconstruction movement, they began to compete with other goals for resources and had to abandon the intensive approach which worked well for the project.

David F. Pyle, "From Pilot Project to Operational Program in India: The Problems of Transition." Pyle acknowledges that intensive resource use, dependence on outside organizations for critical supplies, and lack of committed leadership all contribute to the difficulty of translating pilot projects into larger programs. However, political and managerial factors are also at work. Looking at Project Poshak, an integrated health and nutrition project in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh, Pyle concludes that project staff failed to make any plans for continuation of the project beyond the pilot period and failed to build up any base of support for the project at some level of the Indian government. The outside PVO, CARE, played an important role in the pilot project, not only in supplying a critical input, but also in administering the project as a demonstration and research project. Consequently, the state government did not feel involved and felt little responsibility for the project after CARE terminated its support.

Irene Fraser Rothenberg, "Administrative Decentralization and the Implementation of Housing Policy in Colombia." Decentralization does not automatically mean more popular participation. Rothenberg points out that empowering local administrative levels does not have to mean taking power away from the center; power is not a fixed-sum good. Her study of a Colombian housing project indicates that decentralization ought not to be implemented when the local government is divided structurally and/or politically, when a patronage system is strong at the local level, and when local agencies are unresponsive.

Susan G. Hadden, "Controlled Decentralization and Policy Implementation: The Case of Rural Electrification in Rajasthan." Decentralization works best, Hadden found, when the same resources can be used to satisfy both political and economic goals effectively and when there is widespread agreement on both means and ends. Effective decentralization is controlled from above: higher levels can withhold resources if beneficiaries do not contribute as needed.

Merilee Grindle, "The Implementor: Political Constraints on Rural Development in Mexico." Grindle sees coalitions between low-status beneficiaries and national and regional administrators committed to development as necessary to help low-status groups. Without such alliances, elites block development programs.

Frederick T. Temple and Nelle W. Temple, "The Politics of Public Housing in Nairobi." The authors document how subsidized housing in Kenya, intended to accommodate low-income families, has become available only to middle income people. Those with some political power can secure housing for themselves and friends; furthermore, houses are built with a certain amount of amenities so that the government cannot be charged with having a colonial-like mentality about proper housing for Kenyans.

Janice Perlman, "The Failure of Influence: Squatter Eradication in Brazil." Perlman shows that the Brazilian government's squatter eradication policy, which has meant relocation of families to areas far removed from jobs and friends, has led to marginalization of the former squatters.

Peter S. Cleaves, "Implementation Amidst Scarcity and Apathy: Political Power and Policy Design." Drawing from the case studies presented in the book, Cleaves concludes that there are opportunities for significant improvement of conditions of the poor through reform. In order to make the best of these opportunities, implementors must consider the distribution of power in a particular society, and programs must be designed to meet short-term material needs as well as working toward long-term goals. Real change requires regime tolerance of "relatively autonomous political organization among the poorest sections of the population"; if this is not tolerated, it is possible for "anti-system advocates" to turn the frustration to their advantage.

Grindle, Merilee. "Power, Expertise and the 'Tecnico': Suggestions from a Mexican Case Study." Journal of Politics 30 (1977): 399-426.

Grindle examines the thesis that increasing the numbers of technicians in administration will solve development problems by ensuring that technically sound rather than politically expedient solutions are chosen. Using Mexican data, Grindle rejects this on three grounds: 1) technical and political appointees are not mutually exclusive categories, 2) a technically "best" solution does not emerge clearly from consensus among technocrats, and 3) "technification" can actually increase administrative unresponsiveness by lengthening the amount of response time needed.

Grindle, Merilee S. "Prospects for Integrated Rural Development: Evidence from Mexico and Colombia." (draft-forthcoming in Journal of Comparative International Development).

Integrated rural development programs are technical and educational packages which are intended to increase rural productivity and material living conditions. Examining IRD programs in context as part of overall national policy, Grindle concludes that real improvement for the rural poor cannot occur without changes in land tenure and the acquisition of political power by peasants, including the landless, who are too often ignored by such programs. High level political decisions consistently block either of these developments. While national governments support improvement in material conditions for the rural poor, they cannot support changes in sociopolitical relations outside of isolated communities.

Hirschman, Albert O. "Revolution by Stealth: The Case for Sequential Reform." From Journeys Toward Progress; Studies of Economic Policy-Making in Latin America. New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1963.

The rural land structure has been one of the most intractable barriers to national development leading many to believe that only revolution can bring about the necessary changes. Hirschman maintains that there are many situations in which reform can be effective, if people are creative enough to take advantage of opportunities offered.

In times of crisis, a sense of urgency may lead to new insights about problems. In addition, governments may be amenable to serious reform when the alternative seems to be revolution. Meaningful reform, however, is a complex process involving building coalitions and maneuvering around opponents. Change occurs because of people who think through the various steps which need to be taken, rather than trusting that solutions will come out of cataclysm.

Holdcroft, Lane E. The Rise and Fall of Community Development in Developing Countries, 1950-65: A Critical Analysis and an Annotated Bibliography. MSU Rural Development Papers. East Lansing, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, (1977).

Reviewing the history of community development strategies, Holdcroft concludes that CD failed because of two underlying weaknesses: the approach did not deal with structural impediments to development, and the growth of rural social services outstripped rural productivity.

Holdcroft points to several lessons in the CD experience for those designing integrated rural development projects. He suggests that coordination between program components may be most important and easiest to achieve at the village rather than ministry level and that production and income generating components should be central, with services planned around them as appropriate. Holdcroft notes that CD workers often used self-help projects to attract the attention of the poor, but neglected long-term institutionalization and mobilization which could have supported sustained development.

The final sections include a literature review and list of bibliographies on community development.

Hollnsteiner, Mary. "Mobilizing the Rural Poor Through Community Organization." Philippine Studies 27 (1979): 387-416.

In this article, Hollnsteiner uses a particular definition of development (capacity of rural masses to control their environment) and a strategy (addressing basic human needs) to contrast the community development (CD) and community organization (CO) approaches. CD does not recognize divisiveness and conflict in rural settings nor does it address structural and institutional constraints. The CD approach uses technical training and motivational training without considering resource scarcity.

By contrast, CO approaches people as rational, self-interested actors. CO begins with personal, short-term, concrete issues, moving in time to longer range systemic issues. Elite reaction is instrumental because it makes the poor angry, and anger is a mobilizing force. CO seeks out tactics that will disconcert elites and uses confrontation. Finally, the organizer enables people to make their own decisions, but does not usurp their place in decision-making.

Hollnsteiner seems to expect the charge that this confrontation will extend to the national-government level; her response is that governments that care about real rural development will welcome this process, not feel threatened by it. Suppressing conflict leads to more unrest in the long run, not less, so that strategies that permit confrontation are healthier.

Honadle, George H. Fishing for Sustainability: The Role of Capacity Building in Development Administration. IRD Working Paper No. 8. Washington, Development Alternatives, Inc., 1981.

Honadle presents capacity building as a structural approach to development which is different from both resource transfer and from purely cognitive approaches. Building capacity in local organizations means creation in such organizations of problem-solving ability, and the issue of empowerment is at the core of the approach.

Honadle identifies seven elements of capacity building. Two are structural (incentives, resource base) and five process or cognitive (risk sharing, multiple levels, demonstration, collaboration, learning emphasis). He also identifies three approaches to capacity building: those that focus on the internal characteristics of the organization, those which look at the organization's boundary spanning ability, and those which examine organizational impact.

From case studies of consultancies in Jamaica, Liberia, and Indonesia, Honadle concludes that, of the seven elements, the two substantive ones (incentives and resource base) are critical; if these cannot be addressed, an activity has little hope of success. Consultancies are likely to be effective if they address the impact of organizations rather than focusing solely on internal characteristics or on linkages with other organizations.

Sequencing of activities is crucial. With the assumption that social development in a specific situation is a process about which little is known, a step-by-step approach is indicated. Thus beneficiaries have security as they move into a program; risks taken are not drastic enough to be disastrous. A carefully sequenced project begins with process factors, which are least threatening to entrenched interests, moving slowly toward the resource and incentive issues which constitute a more radical and threatening approach.

Honadle calls for development workers to take a stand on empowerment for the disadvantaged. Social institutions should be treated as changeable if it seems warranted. However, he cautions that the danger of outsiders as development workers is that they may easily mistake "anchor chains" (or safety nets) for "prison chains" and, by changing structures inappropriately, can make conditions worse for the very people they intended to assist.

Levitt, Theodore. The Third Sector: New Tactics for a Responsive Society, New York, AMACON, 1973.

Levitt regards the "third sector" as a residual category of organizations, neither governmental nor private and for-profit, which attempt to address problems left unresolved by government and business. The question he addresses in this book is how these organizations can make bureaucracies responsive to individuals without producing such chaos that the physical benefits of modern industrial society are threatened. The third sector organizations are important in correcting the fundamental American attitude that the business of society is business and that therefore profit and efficiency take precedence over social goals like fairness and quality of life.

Levitt notes that bureaucracies are very vulnerable to disruptions of routine. Persuasion and confrontation can be useful techniques for third sector organizations. However, there is danger in too much confrontation and disruption: people become too confused and disillusioned to be able to cope with the problems. Constructive rather than excessively confrontational third sector activities are therefore a necessary complement to electoral politics and market participation.

Krefetz, Sharon Perlman and Allan E. Goodman. "Participation for What or for Whom?" Journal of Comparative Administration 5 (Nov 1973): 367-80.

Krefetz and Goodman urge exploration of the effects of participation on social systems. If participation does not achieve desired results, resulting frustration and hostility may damage the social system.

Lindenberg, Marc and Benjamin Crosby. Managing Development: The Political Dimension. West Hartford, CT, Kumarian Press, 1981.

Lindenberg and Crosby have collected some of the cases used at the Central American Management Institute (INCAE) to illustrate the political aspects of development management. The political skills of managers are needed mainly in their dealings outside their own agencies. In integrated rural development programs, the success of managers' projects usually depends on their ability to marshal resources in these external arenas. Negotiating and bargaining skills are necessary to get cooperation.

From the manager's point of view, the issues move from the general ones of analysis (who gets what, when and how) to the specific processes of identifying desired goals and the resources needed to achieve them. Managers must then determine who presently controls the resources and how and when they can be obtained. Particular attention must be paid to defining problems and identifying relevant social groups (those who can influence a particular policy). Strategy and tactics must be formulated considering the probable counter-moves of these groups.

The case studies are presented as they might be used in class, challenging the reader to formulate strategies within the constraints of domestic and international pressures.

Maguire, Robert. Bottom-up Development in Haiti. 2nd Edition. Washington, Inter-American Foundation, April 1981.

IAF operates from the premise that local people can, given favorable conditions, identify their needs and organize to meet them; people, not capital or technology, create development. Maguire gives a clear picture of Haiti from the point of view of those at the bottom, delineating both constraints to development and survival techniques.

IDEA, an institute for peasant leadership training supported by the Catholic church, offers various training courses for animateurs. Maguire relates the experience of one community where the animateurs have been moderately successful in organizing peasants to meet some of their development needs. Among the factors required for success are sponsorship (support within the community for the animateurs). Animateurs need initiative and organizational and conscientization skills. Animateurs are more successful if they can coordinate with other IDEA trained personnel. The training program stresses local solutions for problems, but change agents still tend to favor schemes involving sophisticated technology and infrastructural improvements which are beyond the scope of what can be provided among the community. Finally, Maguire recognizes that IDEA's scheme involves changes in social relationships which may threaten elite groups. Consequently, organizations must plan carefully to avoid provoking hostile reactions against which they cannot defend themselves.

Miller, Eric J. "A Negotiating Model in Integrated Rural Development Projects." Extract from Chapter 15 of W. Gordon Lawrence, ed., Exploring Individual and Organizational Boundaries. Chichester, John Wiley and Sons, 1979.

As a consultant to the Mexican government on the large integrated rural development project PIDER, Miller addressed the problem of the kind of relationship between development professionals and their clients, since a fundamental problem of planned development is not lack of ideas for projects but rather whether rural communities can use these projects. Policy directives may indicate desired directions, but projects are influenced more by the structure and culture of implementation. Miller found that two conflicting models of relations were articulated. The top-down model considers development professionals as experts whose role is to implement the correct programs, which are technocratically determinable. Resistance from rural communities is considered to be irrational. The bottom-up model conceives of underdevelopment as caused by a cycle of deprivation which can be broken by changing impoverished communities' conceptions of themselves. When they perceive themselves as self-confident, energetic, and able to influence their worlds, they will be able to make demands on governments.

In practice, what Miller calls 'enlightened paternalism' was operating as a compromise. Teams of developers visited communities, assessed needs and possibilities, and presented plans to the men of the community. At this last stage, the community was expected to participate by offering comments and alternatives which the teams could take into account when finalizing plans. In fact, this set of procedures creates ever-greater dependency by extending services without attempting to organize communities for mutually initiated, sustainable development.

Miller proposes a negotiating model alternative. Differences of interest and desire between governments and communities are to be expected and should be acknowledged. These differences can be dealt with in three steps. In the first, the government provides resources to help communities formulate their own plans. At the second stage, programming consists of reconciling the plans of different communities. Finally, a contract is negotiated, with government and community both agreeing to contribute some resources.

Relationships between government personnel and communities are central to the definition of development, which consists of the extension of control over the environment. Human resource development is a first component, and it should be combined with an increase of community physical resources. This should lead the community to extend its control of the physical environment. However, relations with socio-economic-political environment must also change if development is to be sustainable.

Montgomery, John D. "Allocation of Authority in Land Reform Programs: A Comparative Study of Administrative Processes and Outputs." Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (March 1972): 162-75.

Comparing land reform programs in which authority for administering reform was given to centralized bureaucracies, decentralized bureaucracies, and local politicians, Montgomery found that small farmers benefit most from the latter strategy, which he calls "devolvement". He suggests that devolvement may work better because:

- 1) local leaders have readier access to more information;
- 2) authority is put in the hands of people with stronger motivation for change;
- 3) communication inside local communities is better than that between peasants and bureaucrats;
- 4) community solidarity is increased.

Montgomery, John D. "The Populist Front in Rural Development: or Shall We Eliminate the Bureaucrats and Get On With the Job." Public Administration Review 39 (Jan.-Feb. 1979): 58-64.

Montgomery calls for balance in assessing the benefits and dangers of decentralized, participatory strategies. He spells out the danger of both "acute localitis" and "bureaupathology."

Leaving development to local organizations has some serious drawbacks. First, local elites can easily subvert programs. Second, the poorest may not benefit at all, while the moderately prosperous majority has more capacity for self-help. Third, there is a need for coordination at regional and national levels, since local communities do not exist in isolation. Finally, local communities may be weak in financial management skills, requiring supervision from outside agencies.

However, excessive dependency on national bureaucracies is equally problematic. It discourages local initiative, and bureaucrats tend to prefer to associate with local elites. Where there is conflict between local and national objectives, bureaucrats tend to favor national ones for the sake of their careers. Given the dangers at both extremes, Montgomery calls for development of mutually supportive local and bureaucratic institutions. Rural development is complex and requires better, not less, administration.

Montgomery, John D. and Milton J. Esman. "Popular Participation in Development Administration." Journal of Comparative Administration 3 (Nov 1971): 358-383.

Montgomery and Esman review the assumptions of 'elitists' and 'populists' about participation in development programs and present a model of participation related to administrative rather than political dimensions of development. They point out that, from the administrator's point of view, participation is not in itself a goal but a means of making programs more effective, efficient, stable, and equitable. Finally they call for more research to establish the conditions under which participation helps to maximize administrative effectiveness.

Naparstek, Arthur J. "Policy Options for Neighborhood Empowerment." Prepared for National Urban Policy Roundtable, Academy for Contemporary Problems, Columbus, Ohio, 1976.

Naparstek argues that making neighborhoods actual formal units of action is an important step in making people self-governing. The scale of management and delivery of services would enable individuals to make an impact, something which most people do not feel they can do under present forms of urban organization. However, sudden, poorly planned decentralization may create even more frustration, since neighborhood organizations may be overwhelmed with new demands and since resources are often not provided along with responsibility. Instead, Naparstek recommends a step-by-step process in which authority is delegated slowly, beginning with advisory functions and building up to administrative and legislative functions. City councils would eventually become the locus of coordination for neighborhood councils, and city government would arbitrate conflicts and exercise budgetary oversight.

O'Brien, David J. Neighborhood Organization and Interest-Group Processes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

This study of urban organization in the U.S. argues that political and social organization for action happens when individuals receive appropriate incentives. Poor people cannot afford to give time and energy to schemes which only promise future benefits, yet too often community organizing efforts have neglected to analyze the resource needs of neighborhood organization. O'Brien argues that the poor are indeed rational actors who move when incentives and resources are related to strategies. Another weakness of past efforts to organize neighborhoods has been failure to consider the context and implications of desired action. There are social, economic and institutional constraints on neighborhood mobilization as well as real conflicts of interest which necessitate political solutions. O'Brien recommends addressing individual incentives first, building gradually to building collective perspectives in neighborhood organizations.

Sherwood, Frank P. "Devolution as a Problem of Organizational Strategy". In Robert T. Daland (ed.), Comparative Urban Research. Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1969, 60-87.

Sherwood distinguishes between decentralization and devolution and begins to specify the conditions under which devolution may be a useful development strategy. He perceives decentralization (giving power to local offices of central government agencies) as hierarchical, whereas devolution (giving decision-making power to local governments) is non-hierarchical. He summarizes the findings of Dr. Paulo Vieira, who found devolution to be correlated with GNP, number of local government units, a mass media index, industrialization, and age as a nation.

Stokes, Bruce. Helping Ourselves: Local Solutions to Global Problems. New York, W. W. Norton and Company, 1981.

Stokes outlines ways in which people can empower themselves to improve the quality of life and minimize the vulnerability of modern industrial society. He calls for self-help and cooperative self-help efforts on the issues of production, energy, housing, food, health, and population.

Community self-improvement could either strengthen the existing political system or lead to radical changes, but in either case, citizens can take back the problem solving responsibility that has been ceded to politicians and bureaucratic systems.

Stokes, Bruce. "Local Responses to Global Problems: A Key to Meeting Basic Human Needs". Worldwatch Paper 17. Washington, Worldwatch Institute, Feb 1978.

Self-reliant participation in meeting community problems is receiving new support today. Stokes reviews self-help programs in four sectors (housing, food supply, health, and energy) with special attention to the social context. He believes that isolated self-help efforts do not promise much capacity for change; mutual self-help efforts which are carefully planned to consider the economic, political and social environment are more likely to succeed. At the national level, governments should become more sensitive and responsive to expressed needs of communities; channeling aid through grassroots organizations is a desirable mechanism for ensuring this. As the focus or organization to meet needs shifts to the local level, local people begin to learn to work out the solutions most appropriate to their communities.

Trifunovic, Bogden. "Self-Management and People's Participation - A Demand and Perspective of our Time". Translated by S. Petnicki. Socialist Thought and Practice: A Yugoslav Monthly 10 (Oct 1981): 25-38.

The basic difference between worker self-management and participation is that worker self-management involves ownership by the producers of the means of production. Participation in management can be progressive, but it is also useful to elites as a means of reducing tension in the political system without structural economic change.

Uphoff, Norman T., John M. Cohen, and Arthur A. Goldsmith. Feasibility and Application of Rural Development Participation - a state of the art paper. Ithaca, Rural Development Committee, Cornell University, 1979.

The authors review the literature on development participation and attempt to break the ideas covered by the term "participation" into components which are specific enough to be analyzed. They identify three dimensions of participation. What kinds of participation identifies the activity (i.e., decision making, implementation, benefits, evaluation) involved. While considering who participates, they point out that different groups of people must be distinguished. The how of participation includes channel, structure, and scope of and incentives for participation. The context of participation (purpose, project characteristics, and task environments) is also discussed. The authors conclude that "participation" is not one thing but instead is most usefully analyzed through specifying dimensions and context.

Uphoff, Norman T., and Milton J. Esman. Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience. Special Series on Rural Local Government No. 19. Ithaca, Rural Development Committee, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1974.

Uphoff and Esman discuss different types of organization in rural development and the functions they must perform. They identify structural and behavioral prerequisites for effective rural local organization.