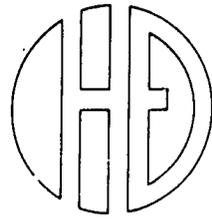


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PLANNING FOR INTEGRATED RURAL AND
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPT PAPER

**MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. HOSPITAL/
CHARLES R. DREW MEDICAL CENTER**

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPT PAPER

P. Stanley Yoger, Ph.D

Office of International Health and Economic Development
Charles R. Drew Postgraduate Medical School

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INTRODUCTION

During the past several decades numerous different strategies for promoting development in the Third World have been proposed. The term "Third World," coined by Alfred Sauvy after the Bandung conference of 1955, has been used since then to label nations that are neither Western and industrialized, nor part of the Communist block. Usage of the term implies that these nations share certain characteristics generally defined in socioeconomic terms. These characteristics include a low level of technology, non-industrialized economies that generate little or no surplus, very low levels of consumption, and minimal social services. Socioeconomic conditions in these nations contrast sharply with those of Western nations, where one finds a high level of technology, industrialized economies that generate a surplus of goods, a high level of consumption, and a variety of social services available to the majority of the population. In addition, no matter what indices of the quality of life are used (level of production, level of consumption, health status, education, literacy), the well-being of the populations of the Western nations is always judged as far superior to that of the populations of the Third World.

It has long been assumed that the quality of life in the nations of the Third world could best be improved by increasing the level of development in those nations as a whole. At least until the 1970s, it was thought that this could be accomplished by designing and implementing projects that would increase the productivity of target populations. Since the overall problem in the Third World was "under-development," defined largely in economic terms, it was thought that a combination of infusion of capital and a transfer of technology to the

Third World nations would increase productivity and increase the level of development. Improvement in the quality of life would then follow. This has not occurred as anticipated. Most development projects have failed to produce the results expected by the planners of those projects.

This paper will present the rationale for planning development projects for rural areas of the Third World in ways that recognize the complexities of the relationships among the various domains of daily life, considered in the light of successes and failures of development projects already attempted. It will be necessary to redefine both "development" and "under-development" in a way that permits us to examine local realities and the structures that maintain the status quo in the Third World. Past failures in development efforts have occurred not only because they failed to recognize local socioeconomic conditions, or because they failed to take into account local participation, or because they failed to consider the overall economic and political circumstance of the country involved. They also failed because of faulty assumptions about the nature of development itself.

The paper is organized into sections that reflect lessons that can be learned from successes and failures of development projects. The first section (after the Introduction) discusses the definition of development and various criteria used to evaluate it. The second section presents generalizations about life in rural areas of the Third World. The third section compares various strategies for development. The fourth section discusses in more detail key issues that must be addressed in planning and implementing projects of any kind. The fifth section presents the components of projects that stress

Integrated Rural Development (IRD) for specific communities. The final section sets forth the case for Integrated Rural Development.

Since at least the mid 1970s, development experts have recognized that projects must be reoriented in two major ways: they must maximize local participation in both planning and implementation, and they cannot be exclusively defined in economic terms. Projects must, rather, seek to enhance the overall quality of life for rural people. One can find many excellent statements in the literature about the importance of these principles. The difficulty lies in finding ways to be specific and to implement these principles in practice. This paper will seek to be as specific and realistic as possible, but will discuss issues in a way that is relevant to rural communities in the Third World generally.

I. DEVELOPMENT AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT

The concepts of "development" and "under-development" (or "developed" and "under-developed") are problematic in many respects. First, the point of reference has always been the societies of Western industrialized nations. This insures that no matter what indices of development are used, nations of the Third World will always come up short. There is a built-in paternalistic bias to this conception of development with two immediate and unfortunate results for development planning: the bias makes it more likely that local priorities and realities will be unrecognized or judged unimportant, and it makes unlikely that Western nations can learn from the experiences of Third World nations. While there

is no question that Third World nations need assistance in increasing their level of productivity, in increasing literacy rates and the standard of education, and in increasing health services, the bias of Western experts complicates the role they might play in improving the overall quality of life in the Third World.

Second, until recently development experts have used primarily economic criteria to evaluate the level of development everywhere. This has led experts to design projects aimed at improving the performance of specific sectors of economic activity. The emphasis on economic production as the key to development has meant that social and political aspects of social change have been neglected.

Third, it has been assumed that nations not directly within the Soviet orbit will develop along classic capitalist lines according to principles of the free market system. It assumes that Third World nations have both the desire and the power to sell their raw materials and build an industrial infrastructure within the present international market. The assumption fails to recognize that most Third World countries find themselves locked into a situation of economic dependence on Western nations that forces them to accept low prices for their products and remain dependent on outside sources for capital investments. Most often this dependence has major political and military aspects to it as well. The fact of this dependency is important, for it colors all aspects of development projects. The situation has worsened considerably in the late 1970s since the quadrupling of the price of oil. Most of the power,

whether economic, political, or military, rests in the governments and corporations of Western nations.

Classical conceptions of development assume that nations can be ranked as more or less advanced than Western ones with respect to their level of production, consumption, and infrastructure. Along with this conception goes the assumption seen most clearly in the writings of Walter Kostow, who describes five stages of development for societies: 1) traditional societies; 2) conditions prior to "take-off"; 3) the "take-off" stage; 4) a movement toward maturity; 5) an era of mass consumption. In this view, capital investment provides the driving force for movement from one stage to another.

In their study of the criteria of under-development, Cazes & Domingo (1975) mention that under-development is usually used to refer to two types of situations: a situation in which there is less than an optimal exploitation of the available economic and human resources of a territory or an insufficient accumulation of capital; or it may refer to nations less advanced than Western ones in their levels of production, consumption, and organization. Neither of these conceptions seem particularly useful, for one can always say that there is a "less than optimal exploitation" of any kind of resources, and nothing that some nations are less advanced tells very little about their situation.

These same authors also mention six indices of under-development frequently used to characterize a state of under-development.

- 1) Demographic - very high levels in the birth rate, fertility rate, and Infant Mortality rate; low average life expectancy; a young population with high dependency ratio.
- 2) Level of consumption - a food supply deficient in both quantity and quality; low level of consumption of energy and materials.
- 3) Production and economic organization - predominance of the agricultural sector; exports primarily of raw materials; little accumulation of capital for investment.
- 4) Sociological - low level of average income; a very small middle class; high unemployment; few social services; a low level of literacy.
- 5) Political - largely authoritarian governments with centralized control over economic activities.
- 6) Spatial - national territory poorly integrated in terms of infrastructure and communications; great variations among regions in socio-economic activity.

These indices are frequently used to compare Third World nations with Western nations and with each other. They are also used to select particular problems that development projects might address. Taken together as a list, they are misleading, for the list implies that the opposite situation may constitute development, and that is erroneous. The pertinent question to ask of such a list of criteria is: what are the relationships among these factors, and what are the structures that act to maintain these conditions? Finding answers to these questions requires a different kind of definition of development and under-development.

What is needed is a definition of under-development that recognizes it as a process rather than a state, a process maintained by certain social, economic, and political structures. The true cause of under-development is not malnutrition, unemployment, mass migration to urban areas, or insufficient capital for investment. These are but descriptive terms that characterize certain aspects of situations that are produced by gross inequalities in the power of individuals to control their own activities. To cite but one example: mass migration from rural to urban areas is often used as one indicator of under-development. The problem is not the migration, but rather the situation in rural areas that provokes people to seek a better life elsewhere. If a development project wishes to slow down the rate of migration, then it must consider, among other things, the structures of inequality that underlie the everyday life in rural areas.

Formulating a useful definition of development is rather like formulating a definition of "health." People have a strong intuitive feeling about the distinction between health and sickness, yet scholars have not been able to formulate a definition of health that adds much to our understanding. They have, rather, derived numerous indices that indicate health status in some way. Health is defined by the absence of sickness (or dysfunction). In the same vein, development is defined by the absence of certain indices of under-development. For an understanding of development, what is most important is a conception of what development is and is not, what the interrelationships are in the various sectors of society, and what the structures are that maintain the status quo.

In the past few years development experts have tried to redefine development in terms of the improvement of the quality of life in general. That is, there is a recognition that the improvement of maize production or the raising of the literacy rate by itself may have little impact on communities. On a most general level, one could say that development consists of social changes that increase individual and group capacities to control their own destinies, that increase local options for social, economic, and political activity. This conception implies both that local definitions of problems to be addressed be considered as important in choosing a focus for development project, and a willingness to examine local conditions that maintain the status quo.

II. RURAL LIFE IN THE THIRD WORLD

There are two ways to consider life in the Third World that are directly relevant to the planning and implementation of development projects. One can compare Third World countries with developed countries in terms of statistics on demography, economic production and consumption, health status, education, and social services available. Such comparisons are generally used to demonstrate the need for development projects. These statistics are vital for the study of long term trends in population, ecology, land use, economic production, or patterns of disease. One can also try to generalize about the nature of everyday life in rural areas of the Third World, in order to better understand what those peoples value most, what they consider their greatest needs, and how they go about making their daily decisions. The planning of appropriate

development projects needs both types of perspectives, the statistical and the generalizations.

Developed and Less Developed Countries: Statistical Comparisons

The statistics presented divide the nations of the world into developed and less developed one without making a distinction between rural and urban areas. Countries are considered developed if the per capita Gross National Product (GNP) has reached \$500 US or more (see Pearson 1969). The figures stem from information from the late 1960s. The most striking aspect of this comparison of the two types of countries is the tremendous inequality which they show, and the consistency of that inequality. The table has been adapted from Cazes & Domingo (1975:40).

<u>Items of Comparison</u>	<u>Developed</u>	<u>Less Developed</u>
Crude Birth Rate	18.5 %	39.4 %
Crude Death Rate	8.5 %	17.3 %
Rate of Natural Increase	10.0 %	22.1 %
Life Expectancy at Birth	65-75 yrs.	45-60 yrs.
Infant Mortality Rate	13-25/1000	75-150/1000
Daily Food Intake (calories)	3200	2300
Per Capita Energy Consumption	3000-5000	100-300 units
Illiteracy Percentage	2-15 %	30-90 %
Percentage of Population Engaged in Agriculture	less than 25 %	more than 60 %
Per Capita GNP	\$1650	\$240

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These figures are significant primarily because they show that whatever the basis of comparison, the situation of the developed countries is always the more favorable. In the domains of productivity and consumption, the gap has widened considerably in the past decade. For instance, the 1979 World Population Data Sheet of the United Nations gives \$490 as the average per capita GNP for less developed countries, and a corresponding figure of \$5210 for developed countries. In the domain of mortality rates, on the other hand, the gap has narrowed recently. Both the Crude Death Rate (CDR) and the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) of most Third World countries has decreased, and the average life expectancy has increased. These data on mortality or morbidity have a certain importance and reality that data on per capita production do not. If country A has an IMR of 18/1000 and country B an IMR of 180/1000, we know that infants in country B die at a very high frequency and the health problems are serious in that country. It is far less clear, however, what it means for the population of country A to have an annual per capita income of \$2000 while that of country B is but \$200. Certainly the population of country A has a vastly superior buying power and a much higher level of consumption, yet in terms of local definitions of material success and the ability to expand productivity the comparison becomes problematic. In short, statistics on health and population lend themselves to international comparison in a way that data on production do not. That is why general statements about relative poverty say so little.

While figures such as those of the table can be used for long-term planning by government agencies to pinpoint specific problems and establish

general priorities for the use of funds earmarked for development, they are far less useful for predicting or anticipating the chances for success of development projects. Far more important is an understanding of the everyday life of people in communities being considered for possible development projects, an understanding of local conceptions of needs and priorities in relation to national needs.

Realities of Everyday Life in Rural Areas

It should be recognized at the outset that generalizing about the life of the rural populations of the Third World, the "rural poor," as USAID documents put it, is dangerous. One can easily find many exceptions to such generalizations. There are areas of Asia and Africa where food is plentiful and people control most aspects of their everyday lives. Some areas are densely populated while others are quite sparsely populated. Yet it does seem worthwhile to attempt some generalizations, for so many development projects have been planned with little understanding of the realities of everyday life of the populations targeted.

The first priority for most people is producing and obtaining enough food to sustain themselves. It is common to speak of the perennial food shortages of the Third World. Those shortages are real and have increased during the past decade. Reasons for those shortages include the dislocations of the colonial era, mass migrations of young people to urban areas, the rapid increase in population, the diversion of labor from food crops to cash crops, and the refusal of governments to pay farmers

equitable prices for their crops. Young children and pregnant women suffer the most from these shortages.

A second item of high priority for rural people is obtaining enough cash. They need cash to pay taxes, to buy clothes, to pay school fees, and to buy salt, oil, and fuel. Subsistence farmers have very little means to build up any reserves for emergencies. They must rely on the sale of food and cash crops and on raising domestic animals for their revenue. Pastoralists, on the other hand, have their cattle which they can convert to revenue when necessary. In most parts of the world, however, pastoralists find their way of life threatened as they are forced to settle in permanent villages and their grazing areas are allocated to settled farmers.

Another item of high priority is individual health. Rural people everywhere use a combination of local healers and health care offered by Western medicine (biomedicine) for their health care needs. While they need cash to pay for services of a biomedical practitioner (usually a nurse), payment to a local healer may be deferred or paid in a form other than cash (domestic animals).

Yet another item of high priority is the material prosperity and the fertility of local lineages. In most parts of the Third World social organization is ascriptively based on lineage and clan affiliation. One's individual identity and success is linked to kinship affiliation: to a clan, a lineage, an extended family. Food, labor, and material resources

are shared within lineages. The ongoing prosperity of the lineage is determined by the fertility of women and the resources of adults in general. Rights to land are also based on lineage affiliation. The material success of adults, the health of lineage members, and their success in obtaining sufficient food are all tied together. Misfortunes in any of these domains may be caused by neglect of one's obligations to members of one's lineage. Households who become particularly prosperous are obligated to share their resources with less fortunate members.

A social organization based upon kinship affiliation in which status is determined by birth and seniority offers numerous adaptive advantages to populations with scarce resources. The obligation to share food, land, labor, and other material goods, as well as knowledge, permits the lineage to survive. In areas where food storage is difficult, obligations to share food surpluses keep food from spoiling, for it is immediately redistributed. For instance, a hunter who kills a large antelope will distribute the meat to relatives and friends, knowing that at another time he will be on the receiving end. A man and wife who finds ways to raise lots of animals, and thus seem better off than other kinsmen, must share some of their good fortune lest they be accused of ill will toward their kinsmen.

These obligations to share land, labor, and resources do not lend themselves well to participation in programs that stress individual or household prosperity and land ownership. For instance, in parts of southern Africa, agricultural programs in development have been aimed at men.

These programs have encouraged individual ownership of fields in order to encourage farmers to grow their own crops. This has both deprived women of the use of fields which they once cultivated for their own food crops, and has led to increased dependence of women on their husbands for support. Such a trend makes families more vulnerable to natural disasters, for crop failures in a few fields may deprive households of food for a season (see also Hunter & Hughes 1970).

These traditional kinship structures, which emphasize relations of reciprocity among kinsmen, have long acted to protect individuals from natural disasters. It is a way of spreading the risks of crop failure and the loss of domesticated animals. As these people become more involved in a monetary system of exchange, they grow more dependent upon the ability to buy certain foodstuffs. If this transition is combined with little local control over prices, as is so often the case, farmers become more vulnerable to events outside their own lives. While the process of integration into a monetary system of exchange is inevitable, and promises many benefits in the long run, in the short run rural peoples become caught in the middle.

In most Third World countries, the colonial governments imposed a political structure over the traditional kinship organization over land, labor, and other resources. These controls, maintained by the power of the central government, have been continued by the regimes that followed independence. Local farmers use their own labor to grow food for themselves and for the urban areas. They also provide the food and other

resources necessary for raising children to adulthood. However, rural areas lose the labor of many young people to the cities. The loss of young adults represents a steady drain on the resources of rural areas.

Two more general aspects of rural life deserve special mention. One, people have a minimal control over the environment. This means that they are vulnerable to changes in weather, rainfall, soil erosion, or natural catastrophes that affect crop production. It also means that they are vulnerable to epidemics of disease. Farmers plant their crops in times and places in ways to minimize the risks of loss. People also have minimal control over their social and political environment, for the locus of power lies outside the rural areas.

Two, all aspects of everyday life in rural areas are interrelated. This means that changes in the weather or the conditions of roads will affect decisions about seeking health care. It means that significant events (births, marriages, deaths, etc.) influence choices about whether or not to go to the fields, go to market, or attend meetings. This aspect of rural life relates directly to the minimal control over the environment. In industrialized societies, where life has become compartmentalized, there are ways to insure that energy for heating, cooking, and transportation is nearly always available, that food is always accessible to those with an income, that life goes on despite changes in weather, that individuals are protected by various programs against personal disasters.

This interrelationship of all aspects of life constitutes the strongest argument for development programs that integrate different sectors of life. Changes in the pattern of food production or in land tenure rights inevitably affects other rights and obligations. A project which provides a permanent water source for a village will change the way in which women and children get together, for they will interact at the source of water. A program that increases educational opportunities for children removes them from the labor pool. Changes in the pattern of residence affects the spread of disease. An IRD program must be able to anticipate such changes.

III. ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPMENT

It is not possible to review the extensive literature on the philosophy underlying various strategies for development within the scope of this paper. Rather, I shall comment briefly on the approach to development taken in the 1950s and 1960s, in order to have a background for a more detailed discussion of the lessons learned and the current thinking of experts in the late 1970s. This will lead up to the rationale for planning projects for Integrated Rural Development (IRD).

Planning for rural development in the 1950s was dominated by economists who recognized that major economic reforms would be necessary if Third World nations were to have viable economies. It was recognized that these nations' economies suffered from a lack of investment capital, poor infrastructure, a lack of technological know-how and trained

personnel, and low agricultural productivity. It was assumed that outside aid, in the form of capital, expertise, and technology, could gradually make those economies generate a surplus. It was thought that with the right kind of "package," or in-puts, combined with proper management at the national level, these economies could be brought to the "take-off" stage and the gap in productivity between industrialized and Third World nations would narrow. This approach is often referred to as the technocratic approach.

The experience of India with development projects in the 1950s illustrates well the thinking and planning of experts in this initial period. Community development projects to improve rural life were begun all over India in the early 1950s. They were conceived as comprehensive self-help movements embracing various sectors of life: education, health, roads, agriculture, and cottage industries. The government was to play the role of catalyst: provide technical support, some material aid, and financial resources when truly necessary (Arora 1979). Yet those programs failed to produce the desired results.

According to Arora (ibid), experts have given three reasons for their failure: 1) local bureaucracies involved in administering the programs siphoned off most of the resources for their own benefit; 2) inequalities in the structures governing agricultural production prevented farmers from actively participating in the programs; 3) the programs were expanded far too rapidly for the government's resources. Descriptions of the planning of these programs suggest two overall reasons for failure that provide

lessons for other programs. First, the planning and management of these programs was very much from the top down. Experts did not understand or take seriously enough the importance of local participation nor the difficulties involved in bringing that about. Second, the projects generally ran afoul of the social, economic, and political structures that have maintained gross inequalities for decades. It is not possible to produce long-term improvements in the quality of life without some shifts in those structures.

In India, and in Asia in general, the decade of the 1960s saw a shift from community development programs to investment in programs aimed specifically at the agricultural sector. Much of the emphasis was placed on the use of high-yield variety (HYV) grains: rice, maize, wheat. It was hoped that the use of HYV grains would produce a "Green Revolution," a dramatic increase in food production, for scientists working primarily in Mexico and the Philippines had discovered new varieties of grains that in experimental situations, produced two or three times the amount of harvest yielded by the varieties then planted. Unfortunately, HYV grains required the addition of fertilizers which farmers could not always afford. They also proved less resistant to pests and disease. Millions of dollars were spent on agricultural "packages" centered on HYV grains in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and other parts of Asia. The Green Revolution failed to materialize, partly because the "package" was too expensive, the grains were ill-suited to some of the ecological environments, and because they required continual outside in-puts (money and technical know-how).

Although HYV grains were far less used in Africa, the emphasis in Africa at this time was also on the development of the agricultural sector. The problems of food shortages and the expanding population made it imperative to find ways of increasing agricultural productivity. An Institute for research into the use of HYV grains for Africa was established in Nigeria by the Ford Foundation similar to those in Mexico and the Philippines. The importance of the agricultural sector seems obvious for a continent in which the percentage of the labor force for various regions varies between 60 and 85%, and rates of urbanization are less than 25% for most countries. It was hoped that improved agricultural productivity would generate more income for farmers, and that the benefits of increased income would improve the overall quality of life for rural peoples.

Back in the 1950s and early 1960s economists and politicians hoped that the agricultural sector in Africa would provide a solid basis for expanding economies throughout Africa. That has not occurred. The increases in productivity that have occurred have hardly kept pace with the growth rate of the population. As a result, the goal of most countries is not to use agricultural production to fuel an expanding economy, but rather, to produce enough food to feed the population. Many countries once self sufficient in food, or which were once exporters of food, are now being forced to import food grains. While this situation cannot be blamed on failed development projects, the development efforts in the agricultural sector have not led to many improvements.

The failure of so many development projects throughout the world led to a rethinking of planning and implementation in the 1970s. Discussion has shifted from development or investment in specific sectors (agriculture, health, etc.) to integrated rural development projects. There is some recognition that changes in one sector of rural life engenders changes in other sectors, and that projects must allow for these effects at the planning stage. Yet integrated rural development means many different things to different people. The government of the Philippines, for example, defined IRD in terms of the coordination of government efforts in communities. Some agencies define IRD as the delivery of a package of social and economic services to communities (Sweet 1978). Other agencies define IRD according to different functions performed in rural areas: research, training, and delivery of services. USAID defines IRD as the "the combination of production, income-generating and social service activities necessary to improve rural conditions (Sweet 1978:8). Whether these definitions are valuable or not depends on how they are actually defined in practice, for as stated, they are too vague to indicate what kinds of activities they consider most important.

The recent rethinking of experts on rural development stems from lessons learned from past experience. For example, in the early 1970s USAID hired Development Enterprises, Inc. (DAI) to examine agricultural projects in order to identify the variables most important in determining success. DAI examined 36 projects in 13 countries of Africa and Latin America that were aimed at small farmers. Four effects were considered in the evaluation of success: 1) an increase in small farmers' income; 2) an

increase in their agricultural knowledge; 3) an increase in small farmers' self-help capability; 4) a high probability that the benefits of the project would be self-sustaining. DAI personnel found that project success was most affected by the involvement of the local population in the decision-making of the project, and by its commitment of local resources. Three variables were found to greatly influence local participation and resource commitment: the specificity of the information offered by agricultural extension workers, the existence of a two-way flow of information between project staff and participants, and the existence of local organizations functioning in the project (Morss et al 1975). In addition, two factors were found to have a negative effect on success: the size of subsidies given to farmers, and direct provision of social services. Furnishing large subsidies and social services tended to decrease local participation in the projects.

This study by DAI and similar ones have demonstrated that many development projects have failed for two reasons: the technology introduced has not been appropriate to the local situation, and local participation has been insufficient. Appropriate technology means two things: material and expertise that fits with local ecological conditions, and in-puts that build on what is already occurring. Addition of technical know-how must improve what farmers already do rather than introduce entirely new crops or marketing techniques. Improving on what already exists implies that experts understand the pattern of interactions in the domain addressed, as well as the local rationale for following that pattern. For example, a program in health care that begins

with a campaign to treat measles among children must first determine how measles is usually treated locally, and must offer an alternative acceptable to the local population.

Local participation has many aspects. This does not mean the degree of local response to a project. Rather, it means that local people must participate in all aspects of the project, from assessment of needs to planning appropriate interventions to the implementation of the project. Extensive discussions with leaders of communities is essential in the planning stage. Local people must participate in deciding what problem it address and what technological innovations can lead to improvement. Once the project is initiated, members of the community must participate in project management. They are in the best position to pinpoint problems developing, as well as judge the effects of a project on the life of the community. Outside experts must also rely on local leaders to evaluate the implicatons of project activities on the various domains of rural life.

The emphasis in development projects has shifted from centrally-planned interventions designed to improve the overall GNP of a country to projects designed to enhance the quality of life of rural areas. Such projects are smaller in scale, more clearly defined behaviorally, more dependent on the use of local resources, and seek to be self-sustaining in the long run. They are designed to build on the strenghts of local communities. As such, they are far more specifically focussed to local conditions.

IV. KEY ISSUES IN IRD PROJECTS

All development projects must come to terms with several broad issues that come up in all phases of projects. There are no clear or simple solutions to these issues, phrased below as questions. One of these questions is how much will a project depend on outside experts, or on local people, for the definition of needs, the direction of the project, the resources used, and the criteria for success. A second question is how does the project deal with the social, economic, and political structures in place that maintain the status quo. Yet a third question is how much, if any, and what kind of social services might the project furnish to the population participating in the project.

The answer to these questions is never simple, for there are evident trade-offs between the alternative solutions in each case. With regard to whether the locus of decision-making should be outside personnel or local personnel, there is a built-in contradiction in the very definition of ideal development projects. That is, how can a project bring in outside expertise, technology, and other resources, and still be faithful to local definitions of need, use local resources, and build on local structures? The poor track record of so many projects has convinced most experts that far more local participation in all phases than was once thought. It has also become clear that people cannot be expected to participate in projects that do not address a need which they themselves do not consider as very important. It is possible to plan for and obtain funding for projects in a capital city or outside the country of the community participating, and yet seriously consider local realities?

Many, if not most, development projects have succumbed to two temptations, both based on false assumptions. One is that subsistence farmers do not, or cannot, know what their true needs are, so those needs, as well as the solutions, must be defined and demonstrated for them. This assumption has been part of projects that seeks to improve situations that were not the most important development priorities to the communities targeted. A second is that in both planning and implementation, time can be bought with money. In Western societies time is routinely bought with money. Finishing a task or obtaining services can almost always be done more quickly by paying extra money for it. In planning development projects, it is generally assumed that spending more money on outside experts and making more money available locally will speed up the process of implementation. This leads inevitably to a neglect of local conceptions of what is needed and lessens the chances that the project fits with local realities. It simply takes a lot more time to study local conditions and learn local conceptions of what is most needed in the planning projects. Development experts must consider the time constraints of their own offices as well as the demands of the home office (as in USAID) in their involvement with specific projects.

One reason the dilemma of outside vs. local knowledge, reaction, and resources is so complicated is that in some cases, the two assumptions labeled above as false do have some truth in them. That is, there are situations where people do not know the causes for certain problems. They may not know, for instance, how certain infectious diseases are contracted, or the chain of events that produces a high frequency of

diarrhea or malaria. And there are situations where large amounts of outside resources are needed to resolve a problem. The construction of new roads and bridges, or building a water system, requires major capital investments that are beyond the resources of communities. The point is simply that most projects have erred in the direction of reliance on outside expertise, direction, and resources, and on spending money rather than time. This has had direct costs in local participation. If IRD projects hope to be self-sustaining, as they must be to be judged successful, then outside expertise and resources just be used most judiciously.

A second major question is how IRD projects will deal with the social, economic, and political structures that maintain the status quo. If one accepts the premise that under-development is a process rather than a state, and that development involves social changes that increase local control, then any project must come to terms with the structured inequalities that exist. It is extremely difficult to generalize about this question, for not only are there major differences within specific countries, but the issues are also different according to the domain of the project. A project aimed primarily at improving sanitation and water supplies is less likely to threaten any vested interests than one aimed at land tenure rights or the marketing of crops. About all one can say in general is that a project must be planned and implemented in a way that fully recognizes the structures that exist to maintain the situation, and in a way that some shift in that structure will result from the project.

Another way of considering this question is to recognize that the interests of the regional and central governments will need to be balanced against that of the local community. A country may seek development aid to improve its production of maize, coffee, or wheat, in order to help alleviate its balance of payments deficit. The government will need to provide incentives to farmers so they respond by increasing production. What happens when those farmers consider those incentives insufficient? The government will choose to either prove satisfaction to the farmers or lower its reproduction goals. What is the role of a development agency hired to implement a project of this kind?

What if, on the other hand, a team of development experts discovers that the perceived needs of a community may eventually pose a threat to the economic or political interests of the central government? Should they proceed or drop the project?

These questions are raised not to be answered as such, but rather to point out that such possibilities must be envisioned during the planning stages. A government determined to raise production levels of a food crop may well decide to impose obligatory cultivation of that crop. That can hardly be considered as development. A project perceived as a threat to the central government will most likely simply be terminated by that government. Experts working on IRD projects must be able to evaluate the repercussions of their project in various domains, in order to avoid such situations. They can best do so by accepting the interrelations of the various domains of rural life and including those interrelations in their anticipated results.

Yet a third general question is what kinds of social services to the local community a project might offer as part of a development project. Some projects offer expanded medical care or free transport for marketing crops in order to encourage participation in other aspects of a project. Charles Sweet, one of the founding members of Development Alternatives, Inc., has spent many years in evaluation of development projects for USAID all over the world. He has reached the conclusion that the offering of social services as incentives for participation is ultimately counter-productive (Sweet 1978). The acceptance of those services does not insure peoples' participation in other aspects of a project. In addition, it may increase an attitude of dependence on outside help in the community in general. The dangers of fostering dependence must be balanced against the legitimate demands of rural populations for more services, particularly in health care and education. One must also take into consideration the resources and capabilities of the central government to continue to provide such services for a long period of time. For example, the government of Tanzania now finds itself in a difficult position. In order to encourage farmers to resettle in ujamaa (cooperative) villages, it promised greatly increased levels of social services. It has since found itself unable to carry out those promises, for it lacks the necessary personnel, infrastructure, and funds.

V. ASPECTS OF INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Rural development projects that follow the guidelines discussed earlier can be thought of as integrated in two ways. First, a project that

addresses a specific need of a community will necessarily involve several sectors of everyday life in its solution. For example, if the problem identified concerns the frequency of an infectious or parasitic disease, the solution may require a change in work habits, bathing patterns, or eating styles. Specific problem situations do not conform to specific sectors. Second, such projects recognize that behavioral changes in one domain (or sector) will engender changes in other domains as well. Sending more children to school, for example, places a heavier burden on women to prepare food, care for children, and work in the fields.

Development projects generally are thought to have three phases: a planning phase, an implementation phase, and an evaluation phase. Frequently the outside experts involved in these phases are different. Too often the actual shape of projects is largely determined by the expertise of those in the planning phase, individuals that will not participate in implementation or evaluation. This leads to serious disjunctions in the project. To guard against this, and to assure that the project conforms to local needs, it is essential that members of the local community participate actively in all three phases.

The principle activities of the planning phase are as follows:

- 1) assessment of local needs,
- 2) assessment of possible interventions (changes),
- 3) assessment of local resources,
- 4) determination of outside resources required,
- 5) assessment of current patterns of interaction directly related to the problem addressed, and

6) description of desired behavioral changes envisioned.

The implementation phase include the following activities:

- 1) building a local organization involved directly in the project,
- 2) deciding on project policy and management,
- 3) monitoring the progress of the project,
- 4) overseeing training (if applicable), and
- 5) collecting data on project activities.

The evaluation of a project will include the following activities:

- 1) assessing the use of resources,
- 2) evaluating the viability of local organizations,
- 3) evaluating the probability of the continuation of project activities once the normal period of funding has ended, and
- 4) measuring the overall benefits to the community.

Outlining project activities of different phases as above, and seeking local participation in all three phases, will enhance the probability of success in two main ways: it makes it more likely that the means and goals of the project will be realistic, and it makes it easier to focus on the behavioral changes required. There have been enough success stories in development to demonstrate that rural peoples will engage their own labor and resources to improve their own situation if they consider that the project addresses an important need for themselves,

if they consider that the project addresses an important need for themselves, if they consider that the risks involved are worth taking, and if they have important roles to play in the entire process.

VI. THE CASE FOR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

In the past five or ten years development experts have discussed at length the need for planning Integrated Rural Development (IRD) projects. These experts recognize that changes in one aspect of rural life has repercussions in other domains. A program that greatly expands the possibilities for young children to attend schools may teach them to read, but it removes them from the households and fields. Yet, the idea is sound. Another term that has gained wide circulation is appropriate technology. Experts understand that for technological innovations to be accepted, they must somehow fit with local needs. While the need for IRD projects and appropriate technology appears evident, the crucial issue is how can these concepts be applied? how can they be used in the choice of projects and their implementation?

To answer these questions one might begin by considering the various groups that are involved in development projects. There is, first of all, the needs and interests of the national government. The national government chooses, or at least approves, all projects undertaken in the country. All projects must fit in some way with the development priorities of that government. The government generally provides some of

the administrative structure through which the project will operate. It also supervises the activities of local government agencies with regard to the project.

Second, local government officials participate in projects. They directly furnish some of the administrative support that a project requires. Any new community organizations that may be formed as part of a project must fit with the structure of the local government. In countries where the local populations considers local government officials as unfriendly or unresponsive to their needs, working through local government channels may complicate local participation in the project, at least initially. Development experts commonly bypass local officials when convenient, for varied reasons. In some cases local officials exploit the population, and project managers prefer not to associate with them. It may be because the central government has decided to impose a project in a community without consulting local personnel. Most often, however, expatriot personnel working with development projects prefer to bypass local officials, for it gives them a freer hand in planning and implementing their project. This has clear advantages in the short run, but in the long run, it jeopardizes the success of the project.

Third, groups and individuals of targeted communities are always part of projects. Their conceptions of their own needs should serve as a starting point for project planning, provided these conceptions fit with the priorities of the government. As mentioned elsewhere, one of the principal causes of project failures has been the lack of participation of

the local population in the planning and implementation of development projects. Their interests are generally specifically focused on problems that affect their quality of life.

Finally, development experts or technical advisors are involved in projects. These are generally expatriots with contracts for two to four years only. They have a vested interest in showing results on their projects. They are generally hired by an agency which has obtained a contract with the central government to administer a project for a specific period of time, usually less than five years.

While this identification of the groups involved in projects may seem to obvious to describe, it is important to identify them and to reflect on how they differ in their points of reference, their interests, their power, and their criteria of success. It is not uncommon to have projects developed that involve all of these groups in a way that the main interests of two or three of these groups become opposed. Let's consider, for example, a program in public health generated by the central government aimed at improving primary health care for rural communities. The medical personnel of most Third World countries was trained during a time when the emphasis was on capital-intensive programs and curative services. A program that emphasizes preventive health services as the key component of primary care may be viewed as a threat by medical personnel with different training. Even if it is not viewed as a direct threat, the personnel now working will not be properly trained in preventive care. They must be re-educated to change their own priorities before they are able to participate in a program of preventive health services.

Another way of examining the different interests of these groups involved with IRD projects is to consider the use of time planning and implementing specific projects. The use of time is inextricably linked with the degree to which a project is integrated and the degree to which a project uses technology appropriate to local needs and local interactions. In the most fundamental sense, appropriate technology may be defined as innovations that make small improvements on what already occurs. A project that accepts this definition of appropriate technology takes far more time in both planning and implementation than one that brings a technological package already formulated to a community. The same can be said for "integrated" projects. In its most fundamental sense, a project for integrated rural development must be planned in a way that it anticipates the repercussions of innovations in one sector on other aspects of life. Often the effects cannot be accurately predicted, so projects must have flexibility built into them from the beginning. This too takes far more time than most projects allot for completion.

One reason that the use of time becomes problematic is that the national government and the team of development experts and/or technical advisors operate with different time constraints and different criteria for success than do local officials and the target population. For the former groups, success of projects must be evaluated within the time allotted officially for the project, and must be quantifiable. Success may be measured by the number of villages that construct potable water supplies, that have access to new dispensaries, or that increase their production of a food crop. The question is, what happens locally when the

project officially ends? How are local behaviors changed after there are no more funds or technical expertise coming in from the outside? The answer to these questions depends primarily on how local resources have been engaged during the life of the project, and on whether or not the project has been able to create viable organizations to carry on without outside inputs. It so happens that the engagement of local resources and the creation of local organizations capable of continuing improvements takes more time than other types of activities. This is not only a question of allowing time for outside personnel to familiarize themselves with local conditions. It also involves building personal relations of trust among the participants and giving all those involved (community leaders, local government officials, technical advisors) experience in working together. The nature of most development contracts does not allow time for these relationships to evolve. Projects that are willing to develop slowly over a period of 5-10 years have a far greater chance of success, a greater chance of making a lasting impact, than those planned for only 4-5 years.

Elsewhere in the paper I discuss the great temptation to buy time with money and with additional technical expertise. These are the items which outside agencies or PVUs can furnish most readily. The evidence from projects of many kinds is overwhelming that these items have been consistently misused. How can this be corrected? How should the focus and concern of a small agency committed to administer IRD projects in Africa, say, be directed to maximize the chances that it will engage in activities that produce long-term benefits to local communities? Does that choice concern the country selected? The type of project? The nature

of local government operations? The accurate evaluation of local conditions? The choice of personnel on the project?

Considered most generally, projects that are relatively small and geared for a longer period of time have the most chance for success. More specifically, with regard to the questions raised above, an agency must develop advocacy and educational capabilities to use with both central government and local government officials. Often a government will adopt a philosophy of development that is consistent with the aims of a development firm, yet many of the officials that must involve themselves with the project will differ with that philosophy or not understand its import. The agency must be prepared to spend time and energy to bring those officials on board. While that may sound obvious, it is often neglected. The need for accurate assessment of local conditions (resources, the distribution of power, statements of local needs, etc.) is clear. Less clear, and often neglected, is the importance of the choice of personnel that will provide technical assistance of all kinds. Not only must the personnel possess excellent communication skills. They must also be willing to take seriously local statements of what is most needed and be able to work within local administrations. That requires a longer commitment in terms of time than many individuals are willing or able to make, yet that factor has a great impact on the potential for success. Recognition of these principles will greatly enhance the performance of any agency involved in development projects.

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