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COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND NATURAL RESOURCE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

THE URBAN FUNCTIONS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

58

by

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PREFACE

This annotated bibliography consists of all available project documents and a substantial number of related papers, articles and books associated with the Urban Functions in Rural Development (UFRD) Project. The first of six sections reviews materials relevant to the broader UFRD Project while the remainder review UFRD's field applications in the Philippines, Upper Volta, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Cameroon.

The following was compiled as part of an assessment of the UFRD Project conducted at Clark University for the Cooperative Agreement on Settlements and Resource Systems Analysis. Please contact Clark University for information on availability and distribution of other relevant documents produced as part of this assessment.

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Chetwynd, E. 1980. Regional planning projects to strengthen the contribution of urban centers to rural development. Proceedings of Seminar held at the Planning and Transport Research and Computation (PTRC) Annual Meeting, July. Warwick: PTRC, 37-52.

This paper, presented by Eric Chetwynd, Jr. of USAID's Office of Urban Development to a group of transportation planners in Warwick, England, is perhaps the best and most concise history available on the Urban Functions in Rural Development (UFRD) project. It traces the project's origins to the early 1970's when the Office of Urban Development first began to get involved with rural development. According to Chetwynd, the fundamental reason for developing the UFRD idea was to respond to Congress' "New Directions" mandate to USAID. As a result, the office shifted its attention away from the city itself to the city's broader spatial context. This shift, Chetwynd reports, was accompanied by some fundamental research on regional planning that culminated in a 1974 state-of-the-art paper which reviewed spatial-economy development models. To address issues raised in the reviews, the office sponsored another state-of-the-art study that became the basis of the UFRD project. Published in 1978, the study authored by D. Rondinelli and K. Ruddle was entitled Urban functions in rural development.

Next, Chetwynd defines some of the terms and concepts which are critical to the reader's understanding of the UFRD project. Among those defined are: regional development, hierarchy of centers, market towns and urban functions. Having defined these terms, he then discusses the UFRD Philippines, Upper Volta, and Bolivia field applications. His discussion of the Philippines includes descriptions of the Bicol River Basin Development Program (the larger integrated regional development project to which UFRD was attached), the project's organization, methodologies, findings, recommendations and other outputs. In addition, Chetwynd summarizes the lessons learned from the Philippines project: (1) the project was too data intensive and extensive; (2) the project should have identified specific projects; and (3) the project did not sufficiently involve local populations or take into account their needs and demands.

Chetwynd then describes the Upper Volta and Bolivia field applications of UFRD and demonstrates how each built on the Philippines experience. Upper Volta, he explains, has a far less complex system of central places than does the Philippines, and that this and other significant differences between the two makes for a very different set of findings in each case. In fact, Chetwynd points out, even the basic project designs were different, with the Voltaic field staff relying more heavily on relatively unsophisticated methods of spatial analysis.

The unique conditions which distinguished Bolivia from both Upper Volta and the Philippines are also discussed. Because the Bolivian project team had the benefit of two previous field applications, Chetwynd asserts, their approach to UFRD was the most refined. Two lessons from the Philippines experience have been used by the Bolivians. They are limiting the amount of data collected, and formulating an investment framework that identifies specific project interventions.

Finally, Chetwynd discusses the Rural Demand for Urban Service Systems (RDUSS) Project, which is an attempt to expand and improve the UFRD project by supplementing technical information with local participation and perception components.

Development Group for Alternative Policies. 1979. Public participation in regional development planning: A strategy for popular involvement. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

Prepared for the Office of Urban Development as part of its Rural Demand for Urban Service Systems Project, this report breaks down the planning cycle conceptually into eight stages: (1) collect and analyze data, (2) formulate goals, (3) formulate objectives, (4) identify options, (5) assess options, (6) design and implementation plan, (7) implementation, and (8) evaluation. The authors postulate that the two most appropriate stages in which to introduce public participation are when goals are formulated and project options are assessed. The report also identifies six categories of participatory approaches: (1) "one on one," (2) communication with community leaders, (3) interaction through community meetings, (4) interaction with representative community and multi-village organizations, (5) interaction with representative functional organizations, and (6) interaction with representative, regional-level organizations. The authors argue that the utility of any one approach should be assessed in terms of (1) the dependability of the information which would result from the use of a given approach; (2) the practicality of the approach in regard to cost and efficiency; (3) the approach's integrability with the regional planning process; and (4) the amount of local support to the plan which the particular approach may generate. The authors conclude that a combination of approaches is most likely necessary. Meaningful participation best results from an ongoing dialogue between the planning entity and local populations, rather than from the elicitation of one-way, one-time public inputs. To assure the effectiveness and utility of public participation to planners, public inputs must be made to conform in form and content to the different data needs of the various stages of the planning process.

Rondinelli, D. 1977. Integrated urban and rural development: The emerging spatial strategy of development policy. The Asian Economic and Social Review 11(1-2): 1-11.

This article discusses the problems of spatial development, the spatial context of development plans, the emerging role of spatial planning in development strategy, the role of spatial development in addressing social problems, the emergence of integrated urban-rural development strategies, and the administrative implications of spatial development policy. It is a "spin-off" article derived from research done by the author for a state-of-the-art review sponsored by USAID's Office of Urban Development.

Rondinelli illustrates the problems of spatial development by citing the development experiences of Nepal and Brazil. He argues that they epitomize two different spatial structures. Nepal is a landlocked, mountainous nation with poor resource potential. Rondinelli points out that as one of the poorest nations in the world, it has a stagnating subsistence economy. Brazil acts as a foil to Nepal. It "is a dynamic and rapidly growing society" (p. 2) that relies heavily on a diversified internal production system and on the industrial output from its major metropolises.

According to Rondinelli, the two nations face different problems and so have markedly different development plans. Since 1972, Brazil has attempted to spread the benefits of economic development from the metropolises to lagging regions through deconcentration of public investment. To these ends, Brazil is developing rural infrastructure, extending services to rural areas and investing heavily in regional growth poles and in rural development programs. "The problem in Nepal is not so much one of deconcentrating growth, as of creating a spatially integrated system that will generate and sustain social and economic progress" (p. 3). To this end, Nepal carefully considers the geographic location of all its projects.

Next, Rondinelli asserts that spatial planning "lies at the very core of development strategies" (p. 4). The evidence he uses to support this assertion consists of the following points: (1) infrastructure levels (social overhead capital) affect the productivity of the private sector; (2) concentration of economic activities at a location affects the development of surrounding locations; and (3) the nature and level of investment in an area determines the degree to which it becomes functionally specialized. According to Rondinelli, development takes place where levels of infrastructure are high, economic activities are concentrated, and where areas have a comparative advantage because they are functionally economic.

In the developing world, Rondinelli points out, development has occurred in a few primate cities and has created dual economies. One economy, the metropolitan one, receives most, if not all, the benefits of economic growth. However, it is simultaneously overtaxed and reaching the limits of its growth potential. On the other hand, the rural economy contains most of the population. Though it offers the greatest potential for future growth, it receives little investment and therefore remains in poverty. Because growth has failed to spread from the metropolitan economy to the rural economy, Rondinelli argues, development strategies have recently begun to stress growth with equity rather than simply economic growth.

Rondinelli then advances the notion of "integrated urban-rural development." Integrated urban-rural development, as Rondinelli defines it, is a strategy based on the fundamental assumption that urbanization is necessary and correct. Rather than view the problem in developing nations as one of over-urbanization, Rondinelli views it as a problem with the pattern of urbanization: "Integrated urban-rural development, therefore, stresses a pattern of spatial development that deconcentrates urbanization, encourages the creation of a system of cities and towns, and integrates rural and urban functions in a balanced and mutually reinforcing system of development centers" (p. 7). Rondinelli explains the efficiency of this approach in considerable detail.

In the article's penultimate section, the role that integrated urban-rural development plays in development assistance policies is discussed. Rondinelli makes the point that while the approach underlies the recent strategies of such aid organizations as USAID and the World Bank, methods for translating this approach into implementable plans, programs and projects have not been developed.

The three theoretical and operational obstacles which Rondinelli believes these agencies must overcome are: (1) their lack of experience in the area; (2) the unresolved issues which must be resolved in order to effectively design an integrated urban-rural development projects; and (3) the uncertainty as to whether developing nations have the capacity to implement such massive and all-encompassing projects.

Finally, Rondinelli lists four critical inputs which host governments must provide to UFRD projects: (1) administrative arrangements for resource mobilization and coordination; (2) continuing administrative support; (3) local commitment to and participation in program activities; and (4) delivery of organizational, functional and technical inputs to spatially dispersed project sites.

Rondinelli, D. 1979-80. Balanced urbanization, spatial integration, and economic development in Asia: Implications for policy and planning. Urbanism Past and Present (9): 13-29.

This article describes the patterns of spatial develoment in Asia, how investment aid development plans have perpetuated these patterns, the limitations that these patterns place on further economic growth and growth with equity, the need for a more balanced and decentralized urbanization policy, and what these new policies should look like. It is a "spin-off" from the research done by the author for a state-of-the-art study on urban functions in rural development sponsored by USAID's Office of Urban Development.

The characteristics of spatial development in Asia described in the article are: (1) the high positive correlation between the level of per capita gross national product and the level of urbanization; (2) the rapid pace at which urbanization is taking place; (3) the higher rates of growth which occur in the largest cities; (4) the dominance of primate cities in the spatial system; (5) the patterns of rural to urban migration which reinforce this dominance; and, (6) the poor articulation of the middle level of the urban hierarchy. Therefore, Rondinelli deduces that the pattern of spatial development in Asia is characterized by polarization and economic dualism.

Rondinelli then argues that investment patterns have done little to alter this spatial system for three reasons. First, investment has been and continues to be deliberately concentrated in a few select locations (such as Manila, Jakarta, and Bangkok). Second, "trickle down" and spread effects that were predicted by development theory have not taken place. Growth has not

spread from the cities, but rather has often proceeded at the expense of the surrounding areas. Third, it is difficult to overcome the effects of previous investment patterns. Cities which were originally developed for export or political control by colonial powers have had a century to gain the comparative advantages of economies of scale and proximity, lower transport costs and availability of labor and capital.

However, Rondinelli argues that urbanization is nevertheless an important ingredient of successful development strategies. What is necessary, Rondinelli contends, is not to slow urbanization but to decentralize it. He supports his hypothesis with a discussion of EAJ Johnson's theories. Johnson, Rondinelli argues, correctly deduced that growth has not "trickled down" through the urban hierarchy because there is no articulated network of settlements. Further, Rondinelli argues that Johnson demonstrated, through historical examples drawn from the developed nations, that an articulated hierarchy of settlements is necessary to facilitate the commercialization of agriculture and the widespread diffusion of light manufacturing, processing, and service industries. Rondinelli also cites those who argue for decentralized urbanization on the grounds that primate cities are overtaxed, have reached sizes where dis- economies of scale set in, and drain their hinterlands of capital, raw materials and skilled labor.

Finally, Rondinelli draws upon his own theories and those of the above scholars and advances seven features that he feels a decentralized urbanization strategy must include. These are: (1) maintenance and improvement of critical services and facilities in metropolitan centers; (2) control over growth in the primate city; (3) investment in regional metropolitan centers in order to stimulate their growth; (4) investment in existing and incipient market towns and small cities in order to strengthen them; (5) creation of strategic villages as agricultural service centers; (6) tying decentralized urbanization policy to integrated rural development; and, (7) investment in linkages among settlements in regional and national spatial systems in order to strengthen them.

Rondinelli, D. 1980. Regional disparities and investment allocation policies in the Philippines: Spatial dimensions of poverty in a developing country. Canadian Journal of Development Studies 1(2): 262-287.

Inequitable distribution of economic development benefits is a problem in the Third World. In attempting to address this issue, the author discusses the development strategies which have been applied to the situation in the past. Using an illustrative case study (the Philippines in general and the Bicol River Basin in particular), he explains why these approaches to solving the problem have failed.

Rondinelli believes that macro-development policies aimed at solving these problems have been inadequate. He discusses the five policies which he considers the most common. The most prevalent policy until recently, Rondinelli holds, was to concentrate public and private investment in a few large

metropolitan areas, believing that the effects of growth in these cities would "trickle down" to and spread throughout the rest of the space economy. The other four types of development policies are presented by Rondinelli as a reaction to these concentrated investment policies. Each is an attempt to promote growth with equity, and each, Rondinelli argues, is destined to fail. These four macro-policy approaches attempt to: (1) limit the growth of primate cities; (2) reallocate investment to lagging and depressed regions; (3) promote the development of regional growth poles; and, (4) emphasize agricultural and rural development. He finds the chief flaw in each policy is that they are conceived of a macro-level when in reality a detailed micro-level spatial analysis is required. The rest of the article supports this contention by using a "typical case study" methodology.

In his discussion of the Philippines, Rondinelli first looks at inter-regional disparities: urban-rural, between the primate city and the rest of the country and regional disparities in development and living standards. Rondinelli then illustrates how investment allocation policies have reinforced, if not created, these disparities by concentrating social overhead outlays in the more well-developed areas and cities within the country (Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon and Manila).

Next, Rondinelli argues that the Philippine macro-policy approach of reducing regional disparities through investment in regional growth centers is inappropriate because it ignores the micro-considerations of spatial development. It is only through micro-spatial analysis, like that performed in the Bicol River Basin that these considerations can be incorporated in development planning. Rondinelli summarizes the results of a study which was conducted in the Basin as a part of the USAID sponsored Urban Functions in Rural Development project.

The article ends with an exposition on why a strategy which combines "regional reallocation of national investment and selective location of physical infrastructure, social services, facilities and productive activities is needed" (p. 282), and what this strategy should involve. The strategy, as Rondinelli defines it, should have four components: (1) deconcentration of investment away from primate cities; (2) careful location and "decentralized concentration of investments to middle-sized or secondary cities; (3) location of infrastructure investments and productive activities in rural service centers, market towns and regional centers so as to articulate the spatial system; and, (4) expansion and improvement of linkages among rural settlements and between them and the higher order central places in the urban hierarchy. Each of these four components is developed and the conceptual reasoning behind them is explicated.

Rondinelli, D., J.F. Lombardo, Jr., and G.A. Yeh. 1977. Decentralized urbanization policy for migration and population growth planning in Asia. Asian Economic and Social Review Special Edition (reprint).

A new approach to the development of Asian nations considers its impacts on migration and population growth. The approach is derived from research conducted for the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project. By way of introduction, the article describes the demographic, economic and social problems of Asia. Among those discussed are: the concentration of urban populations in a few large cities, intense population pressures, uneven patterns of urbanization, and poverty.

The approach advanced advocates altering the current patterns of urbanization. The authors contend that concentrated investment patterns support the continued dominance of a few primate cities. They also offer statistical proof of the skewed city-size distribution in which the middle-levels of the distribution are poorly developed in relation to the primate cities that dominate the space economy. The authors note that current migration and investment patterns continue to support the growth of the primate cities.

Before advancing their model, the authors briefly discuss the traditional models of spatial development (equilibrium, growth pole, and self-reinforcing centers), and explain and critique each. The rest of the article is devoted to explaining the new model and demonstrating how it can be used as a planning tool.

Their model of "decentralized urbanization" is essentially based on the following assumptions: (1) primacy is an inefficient and unequal way of organizing a space economy; (2) large cities, however, have and will continue to play an important role in development; (3) developing nations are not urbanized enough; and (4) urbanization, in order to fulfill its development potential, must be balanced and integrated with rural development.

Rondinelli, Lombardo and Yeh argue that decentralized urbanization policies can transform the patterns of rural-urban migration by diverting the flow of rural migrants away from the over-taxed primate cities to the middle levels of the urban hierarchy (market towns and intermediate cities). They argue that argue that these settlements can act as countermagnets to the primate city, and can at the same time increase the productive capacity of rural areas.

The article then explains how a decentralized urbanization strategy (as opposed to highly concentrated or highly dispersed investment strategy) would be able to increase productivity and improve the quality of life in rural areas. This explanation draws heavily on the work of EAJ Johnson. Johnson argued that the history of the developed nations demonstrates that an integrated relationship between rural and urban areas is both a precondition and catalyst for economic development. Decentralized urbanization is an attempt to create this precondition in the developing world where it has not evolved naturally. The authors argue that this should be done through the deliberate promotion of village service centers, market towns and regional centers (the lower and middle levels of the urban hierarchy).

Finally, the authors reiterate the need for and possible impacts of a decentralized urbanization strategy. They conclude the the "prospect for Asian countries to promote economic growth with greater social equity, to reverse the gross imbalances in spatial development, to reduce overall population growth and to change the patterns of rural-urban migration will depend heavily on their ability to formulate and implement plans for decentralized urbanization" (p. 25).

Rondinelli, D., and K. Ruddle. 1976. Urban Functions in Rural Development: An analysis of integrated development policy. Washington, DC: USAID (French and Spanish summaries available).

This report is the result of a research study contracted out to Rondinelli and Ruddle by the Office of Urban Development. It is the guiding work behind the office's Urban Functions in Rural Development Project and has since been issued in book form. For a more lengthy description of the contents of the report see the entry for Rondinelli and Ruddle's Urbanization and rural development: A spatial strategy for equitable growth (New York: Praeger, 1978).

Rondinelli, D., and K. Ruddle. 1977. Integrating spatial development. Ekistics 43(257): 184-94.

Rondinelli and Ruddle's article summarizes the research findings of their study for USAID's Office of Urban Development on strengthening and integrating the role of urban functions in rural development. The article opens with a brief introduction explaining the importance of deliberate locational investment of services and other economic activities. It then describes the conceptual framework which should guide investment location decisions. The framework is largely borrowed from EAJ Johnson, who argued that the key to development is an effective, integrated spatial structure. The authors argue that such an integrated spatial structure is absent in developing nations, often characterized by primacy. They suggest that conditions of primacy are the remnants of a colonial heritage that have been reinforced by the investment policies of leaders during the post-colonial period. Ghana, Kenya, Malaysia and the Philippines are cited as examples of countries experiencing primacy.

The authors contend that integrating the settlement system can be facilitated by developing either linkages or urban places. A full range of spatial linkages are considered: physical, economic, population movement, technological, social, service delivery, political, administrative and organizational. They explain the role of each type of linkage and demonstrate its role in potential development through illustrative examples. For instance, they demonstrate that, "building transport linkages broadens the radius of trade and

increases productive capacity" (p. 187) through the use of empirical evidence drawn from East Africa, Columbia and Brazil.

Under the discussion of development centers (nodes), the authors consider village service centers, market towns, small cities, intermediate cities, regional centers and metropolitan areas, and describe the functions that each settlement performs. For instance, they contend that market towns should be viewed as the critical link between rural and urban functions because they perform financial/credit, agricultural marketing, agricultural processing, agricultural extension, and service distribution functions.

The article ends with a brief discussion of how a spatial integration strategy should be designed. It is argued that investments should be deconcentrated in such a way as to foster development at the middle level of the urban hierarchy and to maximize economic growth. It is also argued that integrated urban-rural development must take place within the context of a regional planning effort and should be guided by some basic principles of incremental change ("development as transformation").

Rondinelli, D.A., and K. Ruddle. 1978. Urbanization and rural development: A spatial policy for equitable growth. New York: Praeger.

Rondinelli and Ruddle begin their discussion of urbanization and rural development by presenting development problems in Third World settings. Several themes are emphasized in an attempt to summarize the different approaches to development that have been used over the last thirty years. Underlying these themes is the notion that the emphasis of development strategies for the next decade should include a firm basis in "growth with equity" policies. Rather than concentrating efforts on either the largest urban center or attempting to spread programs and funding over the entire nation equally, secondary cities should be integrated into the development system.

Theories underlying integrated develoment strategy are outlined. Additionally, specific cases of spatial development are examined in order to increase understanding of effective spatial framework implementation for integrated development and of the functions and services performed at various levels of the urban spatial hierarchy in developing nations. The main delineation of spatial frameworks for development arises between a decentralized versus a centralized approach for resource and capital investment. The authors make the point that economic growth and spatial development are mutually independent phenomena and, therefore, growth with equity becomes an intermediate compromise of development goals. The alternative to either decentralized or centralized development then becomes a matter of balancing growth with equity goals against existing spatial systems that interact within a nation. That hierarchy is established as a series of levels upon which to strengthen both economic and welfare characteristics. The next question to be addressed is how to incorporate the various levels into one comprehensive and workable system for development.

In Chapter 3, the authors begin to identify this system for development in terms of various types of settlement functions. They devise a hierarchy of the village, the market or district town, the middle-sized or intermediate city, and the metro center or primate city.

A discussion of how inputs and functions of lower order urban settlements fit into the regional and national development hierarchy is also preserved. The hierarchy of functions for different levels of development corresponds to the settlement patterns that already exist. In turn, the acceptance of inputs must also correspond to the hierarchy of settlements.

Finally, practical guidelines for planning within developing regions of Third World countries are offered. The authors present a conceptual framework for integrated spatial development planning. In it, major urban services and facilities needed at various levels of articulated human settlement hierarchies are identified. Linkages that result from or promote interaction among communities and that generate transformation towards constructive spatial planning are also described. These components form the basis of spatially integrated economy. In this hierarchy of urban places, villages act as service centers for the rural hinterland, small cities serve as market towns, and intermediate cities act as regional centers. Finally, the authors reiterate the need to build on the existing resources, improve qualitity of local participation, strengthen relative advantages, and introduce low cost methods for local improvement.

Rondinelli, D., and K. Ruddle. 1978. Coping with poverty in international assistance policy: An evaluation of spatially integrated investment strategies. World Development 6: 479-497.

This article summarizes the work done by Rondinelli and Ruddle for a USAID supported study in 1976. It describes and compares the integrated rural development policies currently pursued by the World Bank, the United Nations and USAID. Further, it identifies problems with and the operational requirements of various policy implementation approaches.

The objectives, assumptions, operating premises, and approaches to implementation for each of the three strategies are discussed, compared and analyzed. The authors demonstrate that the World Bank's Functional Coordination Strategy, the United Nations' Rural Modernization Strategy and USAID's Integrated Development Strategy are different in "content and scope," but share similar objectives. All three, the authors contend, also share similar fundamental weaknesses. None do a thorough job of considering how these policies can be implemented and what strategies should be used to operationalize them. The main problem is determining "the best combination of technical, social, economic and administrative functions for promoting spatially integrated development" (p. 488).

The article advances six broad requirements for an operational strategy: (1) development of operational procedures; (2) a greater understanding of human ecosystems in developing nations; (3) an increased analytical ability, including improved techniques of spatial analysis; (4) creation of procedures for local participation; (5) a more refined and flexible understanding of subsistence systems; and (6) an expanded administrative capacity to provide national policy, organizational, technical and programmatic inputs and local support components. Without these requirements being met, the authors conclude, the well-intentioned policies of the UN, USAID and World Bank will be ineffectual.

Webster, D. 1978. Urban Functions in Rural Development: An analysis of integrated spatial development policy, a book review. Journal of the American Institute of Planners 44(1): 93-94.

Webster's book review summarizes and assesses Dennis Rondinelli and Kenneth Ruddle's Urban functions in rural development: An analysis of integrated spatial development policy. Webster asserts that the study negates the "old, conventional wisdoms of GNP maximization, growth through capital accumulation, equity through trickle down effects, and decentralization through growth pole policies ... (and in its place advocates a new approach which) is based on growth with equity, centering on agriculture ... by emphasizing rural development, (and) by changing the functions of major urban centers to supportive roles ..." (p. 93). Webster argues that, while the study is essentially good reading, it raises many more questions than it answers. The most serious question is how this new approach can be implemented. Other unanswered questions discussed by Webster are: (1) How will the settlements which are most critical for development be determined and selected? (2) In the light of the politics behind investment decisions, is local demand a realistic choice as one of the criteria for settlement development selection? (3) Are there potential risks to target groups involved with improving the road network? Is it possible that hierarchical development of the road network can lead to further exploitation of the target groups? (4) How does this new approach affect regional planning theory and practice?

USAID. 1976. Urban Functions in Rural Development. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

Urban Functions in Rural Development serves as the project paper for both the UFRD Project and its first subproject in the Philippines. The background behind the UFRD Project is detailed and a description of it and its subproject are provided. The subproject is then analyzed from technical, financial, social and economic perspectives. Finally, arrangements for implementation of both the project and the subproject are discussed.

According to this paper, the project "is based upon the concept that urban centers play a critical and largely unexploited role in rural development." Recognizing the importance of examining this concept, the Office of Urban Development (TA/UD) initiated three research works. Two have been completed with the writing of a project paper entitled Regional development: A review of the state-of-the-art, and a staff working paper entitled "Planning assistance for local communities in a regional context." The third one was approaching completion and had already issued three working papers: "Urban Functions in Rural Development: An analysis of integrated development." Together these three works define the conceptual framework upon which the UFRD project is built.

The project's goal is "to strengthen urban analysis, activities and functions which are complementary to rural development," while its purpose is to "develop, package, and disseminate a planning process for strengthening the contribution (functions, activities and services) of urban centers to rural development; a process which is adaptable to differing national and local situations." To achieve this goal and accomplish the project's purpose, the project paper proposes a number of critical inputs to and outputs from the project, such as a small research study on the location and use of urban functions in rural development, three subprojects with analytic, evaluative and final reports for each, development of an informational package, and five workshops. Related outputs called for are three final reports, at least three evaluative reports, publication and dissemination of the informational package, and at least one dissemination workshop in each of AID's four regions and one in Washington.

According to the agreement, the goal of the pilot subproject in the Bicol River Basin (BRB) is to "reorient urban development in the Bicol Basin on the context of its rural agricultural character such that its urban centers directly complement and support the planned integrated rural development of the basin area." The purpose of the subproject is: "to develop a planning process, potentially valid for other countries, and to produce a plan for strengthening the contribution of urban centers (functions, activities, and services) to rural development in the Bicol River Basin." Critical inputs envisioned for the subproject are a local project management and study team provided for in the organizational structure of the Bicol River Basin Council, local contractors to conduct the study, local and American consultants to evaluate the subproject, and monitoring and integration by TA/UD. Envisioned outputs include "analytical and planning methodology and skills," analysis of existing spatial system and identification of gaps constraining rural development, "pragmatic plans and programs for a hierarchy of rural oriented facilities and hinterland centers...," and an evaluation of the project's applicability to other subprojects. Again, the assumptions which underlie the above are itemized.

Next, the project paper analyzes the subproject, which is reported to be part of a larger integrated regional development program managed by the BRBC in the impoverished BRB. The subproject is intended to complement the UFRD program by including an approach which will allow the spatial and urban dimensions of rural development to be considered. To conduct the analytical studies, which are described as the dominant feature of the subproject, counterparts

will be subcontracted and will receive outside technical assistance from consultants. Second, the project paper covers the financial aspects of the subproject. The BRB field application is expected to use $250,000 of the $950,000 total projected cost of the project. Third, the social implications of the subproject are discussed. Although the subproject itself is described as having little social impact outside of training local officials and planners, specific investment allocations are expected to do so. Finally, the economic aspects of the subproject are explored. The project paper explains that the subproject will have little or no social impact in and of itself; the economic impact of the subproject should be based on how its results are used for investment decisions rather than on the results themselves.

The final section of the project paper deals with implementation arrangements. Organization and evaluation procedures for the project and subproject are all detailed. Appended to the report are three annexes: the approved Project Identification Document, logical framework matrices, and the BRBC project proposal.

USAID. 1978. Rural Demand for Urban Service Systems. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

This project paper describes the background of the Rural Demand for Urban Service Systems Project (its relevance to AID activities, the importance of urban functions in rural development and DS/UD's project, and the importance urban-rural development projects) and the project's purpose, strategy, assumptions, outputs and inputs.

The project's goal "is to improve rural productivity and living conditions by planning and providing more effectively those urban-based services which stimulate rural development." Its purpose "is to develop improved methods of eliciting information on perceived needs and demands and to incorporate these into an improved planning process which leads to implementable plans for upgrading the provision of urban services for rural development." In order to achieve the goals, it is proposed that an integrated urban-rural planning process which incorporates both technical data and local perception information be institutionalized in six countries. Technical data should be provided through the technical planning framework and approach developed by the Office of Urban Development's UFRD Project. The information on the perceived needs and demands of the local population, the paper explains, should be provided through approaches and methods for eliciting this information which are developed in "Eliciting local needs in planning for urban-based services for rural development" (a report by the Development Group for Alternative Policies), "Sociocultural attitudes of villagers toward urban centers" by Grace Hemmings, and a short report prepared for the Office of Urban Development.

The office proposes that actual field tasks include: a brief appraisal of the region using secondary sources; a collection of more detailed information on the region's agricultural and development potential consisting of a survey

of services and functions using the methodologies refined in the UFRD Project; field visits, informal interviews and use of criteria identified in the DGAP report to identify approaches for collecting perceived needs information; field visits to test these approaches; identification of urban-based services which are both technically necessary and perceived as necessary by the local population; development of portfolio of projects; and solicitation of local support for implementation.

According to the project paper the RDUSS Project is designed to expand and improve the UFRD Project by incorporating the perceived demands and needs of the rural population into it. It is the "demand side" of the development equation which had heretofore been missing in the "supply side" strategy of UFRD. Therefore, the integration of urban areas with the surrounding hinterlands and the provision of adequate and accessible urban functions and services to rural populations are important objectives of the RDUSS Project as well as the UFRD Project. Also important to both are data collection and analytical techniques developed by Rondinelli and Ruddle in Urban functions in rural development: An analysis of integrated spatial development policy, and during the Phillipines, Bolivia and Upper Volta UFRD field operations. RDUSS operates under the additional assumption that local involvement is essential to the success of rural development. Further, the authors of the project paper argue that this involvement will only occur if people perceive a project as needed and beneficial.

In the project paper, the basic approaches to eliciting local perceptions are identified as: one-on-one information gathering; communication with community leaders; ad hoc community meetings; interaction with formalized, regularized community organizations; interaction with functional second-tier organizations; and interactions with representative regional level organizations. The criteria for assessing the value of the information provided by the above approaches are identified as: dependability, practicability, integratability, and utility.

Under the section of the project paper entitled "Project Analyses," technical, social, economic, and environmental analyses are provided. The technical analysis discusses criteria for selecting field application sites, and appropriate consultants for field applications, and the skills required of the project team. The social analysis stresses the importance of integrating "social soundness information" into the planning process and the value of the interation between planners (project team) and the target beneficiaries. Formal and informal methods which the project will employ are discussed in the economic analysis; formal methods including models and origin-destination studies, and informal methods including local perception information.

Finally, a financial plan and implementation plan are included in the project paper. The proposed budget includes field applications, the development of an informational package, five workshops worldwide, and extra consultants' fees. Two possible sites identified for the first field application are Guatemala and Niger.

The Philippines Project

Bicol River Basin Council. 1976. Project proposal for urban functions in rural development study. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The Bicol River Basin Council (BRBC) submitted a project proposal to the USAID Office of Urban Development in an attempt to secure funds from the office to carry out the first field application of its Urban Functions in Rural Development Project. After it was accepted by the office, it became a working document for the drafting of the UFRD Project paper, and was appended to the project paper in its final form.

According to the BRBC, the rationale for this proposal is the "need to reorient urban development in the Bicol River Basin in the context of its rural and agricultural character." After a more thorough exploration of this rationale, the proposal describes the physical and socioeconomic conditions within the Bicol River Basin. It then goes on to state that the fundamental problem with the previous trends in urban development in the Philippines and in the basin has been the tendancy toward heavy concentration of investment in one or two cities.

In order to ameliorate this problem the BRBC asserts that a "rural concept" of urban growth must be developed and nurtured, one means of which is through the UFRD Project. They therefore include a description of the UFRD Project and propose a tentative scope of work for its application in the Bicol region. The scope of work's four phases are: (1) assessment of rural systems, (2) assessment of urban systems, (3) analysis of urban-rural linkages and complementarities, and (4) plan formulation.

Finally, the proposal discusses tentative organizational, management and budgetary requirements for the project.

Horwood, E.M. 1978. A report to the Office of Urban Development on the evaluative site visit to the Bicol Urban Functions in Rural Development Project. Washington, DC: USAID.

Six months after the completion of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project, Edgar M. Horwood (professor of Civil Engineering and Urban Planning at the University of Washington-Seattle) and John W. Dickey (staff member of the Office of Urban Development) visited the Philippines and prepared this report. Horwood relies on five sources for his assessment: (1) interviews conducted with relevant individuals and institutions while visiting the project area, (2) Rondinelli and Ruddle's Urbanization and rural development, (3) Rondinelli's Bicol River Basin Urban Functions in Rural Development Project: Summary and evaluation, (4) comments written by John Dickey on the summary and evaluation report, and (5) a critique of Rondinelli's methodology written by unidentified anthropologists. Based on these sources, Horwood identifies several weaknesses in Rondinelli's basic methodology and approach. For instance,

Horwood feels the conceptual scheme lacks any models for implementation, and the conceptual framework ignores the importance of caste and class without considering the dynamics of change. The hypothesis that a modest adjustment in the market system will create a self-sustaining and expanding process which will strengthen the spatial system and result in the provision of basic goods is still untested; and the success of the project depends on a sincere commitment from the host government to achieving an equitable distribution of wealth and social services. Since such a commitment is rarely sincere, as empirical evidence suggests, the entire success of the project is cast seriously in doubt.

Horwood also criticizes the application of the UFRD Project in the Philippines. Problems identified with the field application include the on-site studies were poorly managed; the UFRD approach to planning was not institutionalized in the Bicol River Basin Development Program; the project team neglected to study the effect of recently constructed roads on patterns of centrality and marketing; and the project did not have its own investment plan or directly affect investment decisions made in the Basin in any measurable way.

Horwood concludes his assessment with six findings and recommendations: (1) the UFRD Project was "essentially a data compendium ... Perhaps less of the study resources should have gone into the data base and more on its outcome"; (2) the project should not be replicated until some outcomes are demonstrated; (3) nothing has yet been institutionalized in the Bicol River Basin Development Program; (4) the UFRD Project may yet benefit in the future from a newly formed ministry; (5) the thesis behind the UFRD concept should be considered suspect until tested; and (6) it may be worthwhile to continue funding in the Bicol to fully assess the utility of the UFRD Project.

Rondinelli, D. 1976. Urban Functions in Rural Development - Bicol River Basin Pilot Project, The Philippines - first quarterly report: Project design. Washington, DC: USAID.

The first quarterly report issued by the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project reports on the tasks which Dennis Rondinelli, the American consultant to the project, performed during his October trip. The purposes of his visit were to discuss the preliminary design and organization of the project, to determine data availability, and formulate a workplan.

With regard to the first purpose of his visit, Rondinelli reports that he and the project manager, Michael McNulty, clarified the project's objectives, proposed outputs, and organizational and institutional arrangements. The two purposes and outputs reemphasized are: "to develop a planning process--potentially valid for application elsewhere" and to develop "a plan for strengthening the contribution of urban centers to rural development in the Bicol." Rondinelli also stresses that these two outputs, the final plan and an institutionalized UFRD-style planning process, are equally important and should be

pursued with equal vigor. The "Final Plan," as Rondinelli describes it, will be a spatial analysis of the Bicol River Basin which will be oriented towards the decision-making requirements of the Bicol River Basin Council. The planning process, Rondinelli reports, will involve Philippine government institutions in two ways: "as participants in analysis and planning exercises ... and as 'clients' who will ultimately use the analyses and plans" (p 6). Other aspects of the project clarified are: that data collection should be limited; a complete statistical analysis of the Bicol River Basin cannot and will not be undertaken due to temporal and monetary constraints; and original studies on market center activities and market flows are important and will be sponsored.

Next, project organization is described, including a description of the project's staffing and institutional arrangements. The study director is Dr. Ramion Nasol, an agricultural economist. The deputy director and supervisor is Emmanuel I. Astillero, an urban environmental planner; the three senior staff members are Junio Ragragio, Jocelyn Tria and Romeo Huelgas. Seven Philippine consultants to the project are also identified. The role of the Bicol River Basin Coordination Committee and Subcommittee on Urban Development, the Interagency Technical Staff and the Center of Policy and Development Studies are all described, and how they will facilitate coordination and participation is discussed.

Finally, the report identifies other project activities in the Bicol River Basin. Rondinelli reports that approximately 50 percent of the data identified as useful in the Rondinelli/Ruddle report has been shown to be available for the Basin (the cost of compiling these data are included). The report ends with the draft of a workplan for the project.

Rondinelli, D. 1977. <u>Urban Functions in Rural Development - Bicol River Basin Pilot Project, The Philippines - second quarterly report: Data collection</u>. Washington, DC: USAID.

The second quarterly report issued by the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project is the outcome of a twelve-day consultants' visit to the Bicol River Basin from January 8-20, 1977 by David Sawicki, Dennis Rondinelli, and Gerard Rushton. Rondinelli reports that despite a two month delay in funding disbursements, Phase I of the project (data collection and analysis of rural resources and activities and the settlement system) was on schedule. The report includes a discussion of the data collection tasks, the spatial and linkage analyses which the consultants recommend for use in Phase I and Phase II, and the workshop on "Methodologies and Analytical Techniques" which was conducted on January 15 and 16.

Data collection was kept to a minimum, Rondinelli reports, because the final output of the project was intended to be a policy document and not an "academic research study." Data was in the process of being collected on livestock population, warehouse type and location, aggregate income,

agro-industries, financial institutions by municipality, crop production, total number and area of land in forest cover, soil characteristics, water resource inventory, distribution of religious groups, population size change, rail linkage and travel costs, post offices, water supply, transportation facilities and links, and health facilities.

Several locational and spatial analytical techniques were selected for use on Phase I data: (1) descriptive analysis of macrosocial and economic indicators using location quotients (to determine the relative concentration of activities in the region), coefficients of segregation and Gini concentration ratios (to determine equity of the distribution of selected services or economic benefits); (2) distance-accessibil- ity analysis (to analyze accessibility to urban functions and services); and (3) spatial structure functional complexity analysis. Each type of analysis is explained in detail in the report.

Rondinelli reports that the design of the linkage analysis is weak for a number of reasons, such as the concept of a linkage is "vague and abstract" and available data is "static" and not "dynamic." Many important linkages are difficult to quantify (social, political, cultural), and systematic identification of the full array of linkages is nearly impossible. Nevertheless, the indicators which will be used for Phase II are included in the discussion.

Rondinelli, D. 1977. Urban Functions in Rural Development Bicol River Basin Pilot Project, The Philippines - third quarterly report: Review of functional and spatial analysis. Washington, DC: USAID.

The third quarterly report issued by the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project reports on the tasks which Dennis Rondinelli and David Sawicki were called upon to perform during their May 21 - June 3 visit to the Philippines. The purposes of their visit were to review the efforts of the Government of the Philippines, to analyze Phase I (resources and activities, and urban-rural hierarchy analysis), to assist in reviewing and organizing linkage data, to assist in the preparation of a one-day technical workshop, and to assist in the preparation of an outline for the final report.

Phase I data collection and analysis are reviewed. The review of the data collection tasks includes a discussion of the rationale behind limiting the amount of new data collected. Three weaknesses in the collected data are identified: socioeconomic statistics were reported at the province or municipal level and could not be disaggregated to the barangy; time series data were not available for most demographic and socioeconomic indicators; and the statistical units by which data were collected were unstable. Nevertheless, Rondinelli reports, descriptive analysis was possible.

The review of the analytic tasks begins with a statement of the principles guiding the selection of analytical techniques. Among the guiding principles

identified are: analysis should be descriptive and not scientifically rigorous; chosen techniques should be appropriate to available data, "easy to apply, and not require sophisticated equipment or high level of technical skill and training" (p.7). A combination of these techniques should be used.

The methodology utilized in Phase I is further explained in the report. It has three components. The first is the preparation of a series of descriptive socioeconomic, demographic and physical profiles of areas within the Bicol River Basin. Second is an analysis of centrality, functional complexity and the hierarchy of settlements and includes Gutman scale analysis, the ranking of settlements by functional complexity, weighted centrality indices, and scalogram analysis. Finally, the execution of a threshold analysis utilizing Marshall's principles is discussed.

Transportation, physical, economic market, service delivery, and social linkage studies are near completion and that a study of administrative and political linkages was contracted to the College of Public Administration of the University of the Philippines. With respect to the technical workshop of June 1, 1977, Rondinelli and Sawicki report that attendance was good and interest in the project remained high. Finally, the authors report that they assisted the project team in drafting preliminary designs for the final report. The tentative outline is appended.

Rondinelli, D. 1977. Urban Functions in Rural Development - Bicol River Basin Pilot Project, The Philippines - fourth quarterly report: Review of preliminary analysis and plan of final report. Washington, DC: USAID.

Rondinelli's fourth quarterly report describes the tasks performed during his quarterly visit to the Philippines. The purposes of his visit were to monitor and review progress on Phase I (analysis of resources, activities and the settlement system) and Phase II (analysis of linkages) of the project; and to prepare a plan for the completion of the final report (Phase III).

With respect to the first purpose, Rondinelli reports that Phases I and II are complete and have progressed to the point where preliminary findings have been generated.

Phase I findings show that there is a highly skewed pattern of urban functions in which 40 percent of the settlements serve no urban functions at all. The highest tier of the four-tiered urban hierarchy identified by the project team consists of Nega and Legaspi which serve all major functions, including commercial marketing and regional administration. The hierarchy's second tier consists of 11 settlements which serve as local service centers; the third tier consists of 43 settlements which serve as small rural service centers. Finally, the lowest level is comprised of more than 1300 settlements in the study area which perform no urban functions.

Phase II findings shows that 70 percent of all roads in the Bicol River Basin are of poor quality; the general lack of farm-to-market, market-to- market, and market-to-city roads inhibits transportation and consequent development in the region. Formal government linkages are highly centralized while government service provision is highly localized; and social interaction among settlements in the Basin is very weak. Market linkages are also weak, and limit effective commercial interaction.

With respect to the second purpose of Rondinelli's visit, (making plans for the preparation of the final report), Rondinelli reports that Emmanuel Astillero and Julio Ragrario were selected to author the report.

Rondinelli, D. 1977. Urban Functions in Rural Development - Bicol River Basin Pilot Project, The Philippines - fifth quarterly report: Preparation of spatial policy analysis and plan. Washington, DC: USAID.

This is the fifth quarterly report issued by the Urban Functions in Rural Development project. It reports on the tasks performed by Dennis Rondinelli while he was in the Philippines from November 7 to 21, 1977. He was to review progress toward the completion of the project, to monitor and evaluate final tasks and activities, and to provide technical assistance to the project staff where necessary.

The project was nearly completed at this time. Rondinelli reports that Phase I (data collection activities on settlements, resources and activities and analysis) and Phase II (linkage analysis) were complete. He notes that the data compendium which was compiled for Phase I would be useful for future planning in the Bicol River Basin. He states that Gutman scale analysis was dropped from Phase II because the computer services necessary to perform it were unavailable. Rondinelli also reports that a subcontracted cultural/ historical study to provide useful insights into the evolution of the settlement system in the project area was completed.

Phase III, however, was not yet underway. Rondinelli therefore incorporates a workplan for the drafting of the final report into this report. He also lists a series of follow-up activities to be pursued after Phase III is completed. These activities include: the institutionalization of the planning process within the Bicol River Basin Development Council, dissemination of project results and translation of the macro-spatial analysis into specific projects, and locational criteria for targeting investment.

Rondinelli, D. 1978. Bicol River Basin Urban Functions in Rural Development Project: Summary and evaluation. Washington, DC: USAID.

Rondinelli's report provides an overall evaluation of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project and serves as the project's executive summary. Part 1 of the report explains the project's conceptual framework, background, and why the Bicol River Basin was selected as the project's first field application. Part 2 summarizes the findings of the project's study of the Basin and its settlement and functions distribution. Part 3 evaluates methodologies employed in the project and the project's organization, while Part 4 lists recommendations for follow-up activities.

Part 1 begins with a description of UFRD goals and objectives. The project's goal was to develop a plan that would strengthen urban contributions to rural development in the Bicol River Basin. Project objectives were to: (1) analyze the spatial system to determine the extent of its possible contributions to rural development, (2) determine the degree of spatial articulation in the region, (3) describe the existing distribution of services and facilities, (4) establish locational criteria for future investments in services and facilities, and (5) test appropriate methods of spatial analysis. The discussion of the conceptual framework in this section is a summary of the 1976 Rondinelli and Ruddle study on UFRD. The three phases of the workplan (assessment of rural and urban spatial systems, identification and analysis of rural-urban linkages, and plan formulation) are also described in Part 1.

A socioeconomic and demographic description of the project area opens Part 2. The extent of poverty and lack of services, facilities and infrastructure in the area is impressed upon the reader. This encyclopediac description includes a discussion of the area's resource potential, climate, political organization, and settlement system. Rondinelli then provides socioeconomic profiles of the fifty-four municipalities in the project area. Through the use of several analytic techniques, described in detail in Part 3, the municipalities are broken down into developing, less-developed and underdeveloped. As for the distribution of functions, Rondinelli points out that "services and facilities necessary for serving basic human needs and operating economic development for the rural poor are not only inadequate... but are also highly concentrated in a few small central places, which are not easily accessible to people living outside of their immediate boundaries" (p.17). He then describes the techniques used to define an urban hierarchy, such as a survey of 64 functions in 1400 settlements, and the Gutman scalogram, and describes the four-level hierarchy itself. Under the discussion of linkages Rondinelli details the transport, physical infrastructure, government, service, social interaction, and market linkage studies conducted by the project. Finally, Rondinelli lists five recommendations which grew out of the spatial analysis: (1) the Bicol River Basin should not be thought of as a cohesive subregional economy; (2) the Basin's "Integrated Area Development" boundaries should be redrawn to reflect economic rather than hydrologic considerations; (3) improved access to transportation and roads should be a top priority; (4) future investments in services, facilities and infrastructure must be located strategically so as to develop markets and market towns within the region; and (5) the results of the urban functions study should be used to establish locational criteria for

investment in functions in rural service centers, market towns, and rgional centers. Part 2 is supported by many tables and maps.

Part 3 describes the project's organization, conceptual framework and analytical methods and techniques under the assumption that a review of these aspects of the project is necessary "in order to determine the applicability of procedures and methodology in future integrated spatial analysis projects ..." (p.31).

The roles and responsibilities of individuals and institutions are described in the project organization section. The five principles used in the selection of project methodologies are itemized in the conceptual framework section and are: (1) to create an on-going planning process as well as to produce a spatial development plan, (2) to design a spatial analysis that it is policy-oriented and adjunctive in nature, (3) to use applied research methods and analytical techniques which are easily performed and understood, (4) to limit data collection and use as much existing data as possible; and (5) to use a combination of analytical methodologies and rely on staff knowledge. Finally, Rondinelli discusses, in considerable depth, the analytical methods and techniques employed in the Bicol. Among those discussed are the preparation of socioeconomic, demographic and physical profiles of the municipalities, using descriptive statistics, location quotients, quartile analysis and coefficients of segregation; and the analysis of centrality, functional complexity and the hierarchy of settlements using Gutman scale analysis, range of settlements by functional complexity, weighted centrality indices and scalogram analysis. Threshold analysis using a modified Marshall technique, and the analyses of linkages (partial and descriptive, using a series of selected indicators for seven categories of linkages) are also considered.

Finally, Part 4 lists ten products generated by the study and five recommendations for follow-up tasks. Among the ten extra products generated by the project were a body of literature and spin-off papers on UFRD; increased sensitivity of planners and officials in the Philippines to spatial aspects of planning; a data compendium on the Bicol River Basin; small sample surveys and original research studies on the region; and a series of analytical and comprehensive maps on the region. Rondinelli's five recommendations for future activities are: (1) to institutionalize the planning process in the BRBDP, (2) to disseminate results of the project within the Philippines, (3) to translate macro-spatial analysis into project identification and location criteria, (4) to disseminate results of the project through USAID, and (5) to support further research on the UFRD idea.

Rondinelli, D.A. 1979. The Bicol River Basin Development Program: Prototype of an equitable growth project? National Development 20(1): 47-56 (Available in Spanish).

This article is about the Philippines Bicol River Basin Development Program (BRBDP) and one of its components, the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project. The author introduces the article with an explanation of

integrated rural development strategy being developed by the BRBDP, a strategy that seeks to increase agricultural productivity, provide employment and improve the living standards of rural populations.

The Bicol River Basin is then described, and bottlenecks to the development of the region explored, followed by a description of the goals, organization and nature of the BRBDP. "The BRBDP," Rondinelli writes, "was established by executive order in 1973 and strengthened by presidential decree in 1976, to promote development of agriculture, natural resources, infrastructure, social services and private sector investment through an integrated rural development program; to provide comprehensive but decentralized planning and projects; and to combine national with local resources in attaining regional development goals" (p.50). Rondinelli explains that the BRBDP is under the jurisdiction of the Philippine National Council on Integrated Area Development and devolves responsibility for the project to an inter-agency coordinating committee (the Bicol River Basin Coordinating Committee) which oversees the development activities in the BRB's six Integrated Development Areas. The coordinating committee is advised by a council composed of representatives of interest groups within the Basin.

Projects and development activities which have resulted from the BRBDP are then discussed. The major projects currently underway or expected to begin soon are three major water resource development projects, secondary and feeder road construction, and a $40 million farm-to-market road construction project. As the region attracts more attention, however, Rondinelli reports that the World Bank, USAID, the Asian Development Bank and the Governments of Japan and Germany will increase and expand their development activities in the Basin.

Finally, Rondinelli discusses the UFRD component of the BRBDP, reporting that existing services in the BRB are inadequate, highly concentrated in cities, and are inaccessible to the rural population; such services are found only in a few cities; and only two towns (less than 10 percent of the Basin's population) contain almost all the Basin's services and functions. Over 70 percent of the population, in fact, is not in immediate proximity to any functions. The Basin is also poorly integrated socially, economically and physically; and market linkages are particularly weak. These findings, Rondinelli claims, indicate that the Bicol River Basin must shift dramatically away from its past and current course of development if it is to become "a prototype of equitable growth." The BRBDP "should shift the focus of its planning to promote economic growth with social equity in the future" (p. 56). To redirect the BRBDP's development policy, Rondinelli recommends that: (1) the BRBDP should abandon the faulty assumption that the Basin is already a cohesive economy and try to economically and spatially integrate the five or more economic subareas identified by the UFRD spatial analysis; (2) the Integrated Development Area boundaries should be redrawn along economically and spatially meaningful lines and not along the lines of hydrological regimes as they presently are; (3) the BRBDP "must (should) give immediate attention to providing more access to transportation to a large number of rural areas" (p.56); and (4) UFRD results should be utilized to develop locational criteria for investments in public services and facilities, private productive activities, and infrastructure.

Rondinelli, D. 1979. Applied policy analysis for integrated regional development planning in the Philippines. Third World Planning Review 1(2): 150-177.

The Urban Functions in Rural Development Project is further described by Rondinelli in this article. It opens with a brief description of the needs the project was designed to meet and a cursory examination of its conceptual foundations. Three analytical tasks performed by the Bicol River Basin UFRD Project are identified and defined: analysis of rural resources and activities, central places, and regional spatial links. Rondinelli describes the project's four-phased workplan: (1) to collect data and prepare a statistical profile of municipalities, settlements and urban centers within the region; (2) to delineate a settlement hierarchy through a series of analytical methods performed on survey data generated on the distribution of services, facilities and productive activities; (3) to analyze linkages; and (4) to evaluate the adequacy of the above spatial distributions for development purposes, and in order to formulate a spatial policy for future planning in the Basin.

Following discussion of the project tasks and workplan, the paper explores the five operating principles which guided the selection of the analytical methods and techniques used during the project: (1) the planning process which is created should be ongoing and lead to a formulation of a spatial development plan; (2) the design of the spatial analyses should be policy-oriented and adjunctive in nature; (3) the applied research methods which are used should be easily performed and understood; (4) data collection should be limited to essentials; and (5) a combination of analytical methods should be used. Rondinelli explains the analytical methods and techniques which were actually selected for the base-line data, settlement system and linkage analyses.

Socioeconomic, demographic and physical profiles were prepared for the municipalities in the Basin. From this base-line study of approximately seventy to seventy-five indicators, three development categories were defined, based on access to transportation, level of socioeconomic development, demographic characteristics, and level of infrastructure services and facilities: developing, less developed and undeveloped.

Analyses of the centrality, functional complexity and hierarchy of settlements were also performed using Gutman scaling, functional complexity analysis, weighted centrality indices and scalogram analysis. The conclusions drawn from these analyses are summarized and include: of 1,419 settlements, 50 percent have none of the 64 functions inventories and about 300 settlements contain 90 percent of the total number of functions in the region.

The linkage analysis, Rondinelli writes, was only partial and descriptive. He asserts that some significant findings emerged nonetheless. The most fundamental of these findings is that the adverse effects of the highly skewed distribution of services and facilities are aggravated by the extremely weak economic, physical, service and social linkages among the settlements in the Basin. A brief summary of the findings for each of the six kinds of linkages defined for the project is also provided. Transportation and physical linkages

are woefully inadequate (more than 70 percent of the roads that do exist in the Basin are of poor quality), and the costs of travelling them are often prohibitive. Markets are only accessible to populations within 10 to 15 kilometers of the markets and have practically no external trade linkages. Social linkages are poorly articulated, administrative linkages are highly centralized, and services are not accessible to any but the few who live in the immediate vicinity of where they are located.

Finally, Rondinelli lists several conclusions drawn from the UFRD project. The project staff was able to identify the set of appropriate services and facilities needed at three levels of the urban hierarchy to meet basic human needs, articulate the settlement system and stimulate regional economic development. They were therefore able to recommend a "minimum package" of investments for each level of the urban hierarchy necessary to promote functional specialization, meet unfulfilled economic and social welfare needs, and to integrate spatial economic and social systems. The staff also determined that the construction of all-weather roads and farm-to-market roads is a precondition for effective service extension, promotion of non-farm production (including agro-processing facilities) in rural villages, and increasing access of the rural populations to town-based services. Finally, they concluded that emerging market towns at strategic points in the economic landscape should be developed and their growth stimulated through investments in services, infrastructure and facilities.

Other valuable project outputs include the field testing of spatial analytic techniques, the development of a body of literature on urban functions in rural development, and the compilation of a statistical compendium on the Bicol River Basin.

Rushton, G. 1977. Urban Functions in Rural Development - Bicol River Basin Pilot Project: The Philippines. Washington, DC: USAID.

During January, 1977, Gerard Rushton attended the first workshop on linkage analysis held by the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in the Phillipines. Upon his return to the states, Rushton submitted this report to the Office of Urban Development. Rushton addresses the subject of linkage analysis by exploring the conceptual, technical and substantive problems associated with the proposed linkage analysis and by making a series of specific recommendations for improving the approaches used in both the project and its workshops.

The major conceptual problem which Rushton identifies is that there is no clear "understanding of the relationship between the active planning function and the linkage data" (p 3). The major technical problem identified is that the linkage analysis does not include spatial flow modelling. The major substantive problem which Rushton identifies is that the project team is "asking merely what are good indicators of connections between places and between rural

areas and urban places, (when) the question should be the more focused one of what linkages exist for those factors which are most supportive of agricultural and rural development" (p 5). Based on these problems, Rushton recommends that a minimum of time and money be spent on collecting data on linkages.

Rushton also makes several recommendations on how to improve the approaches used in the project and workshops. He argues that the project should be approached with a firm set of standards defining the nature of improved access to urban functions. He recommends that such standards be developed as part of a concerted effort to develop an analytical framework which links Phase II to Phase III. Further, he recommends that the approach to future workshops be more problem-oriented.

Finally, Rushton appends an eight page outline of the techniques of locational analysis which were adopted for use at the workshop.

USAID. 1975. Project agreement between USAID and the Philippines National Economic Development Authority. Washington, DC: USAID.

The project grant agreement signed between USAID and the Government of the Philippines provides a good deal of information about the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in the Bicol River Basin. It describes the project's background, the project itself, and the logistics of its implementation.

Under the heading of "Background," the agreement stresses the importance of the linkages between rural development and urban centers, particularly the critical role of urban functions and services in rural development. According to the agreement, the conceptual framework proposed for the UFRD project was derived from three papers sponsored by the Office of Urban Development: A review of the state-of-the-art (August 1974), "Planning assistance for local communities in a regional context" (May 1975), and "Integrated urban-rural development: Location and use of Urban Functions in Rural Development" (to be completed July 1976).

The project's goal is to reorient urban development in the Bicol River Basin in the context of its rural agricultural character, such that its urban centers directly complement and support the planned integrated rural development of the Basin area.

In order to achieve this goal the agreement establishes several field tasks for the project, that are broken down into three phases to begin September 1, 1976. The three project phases are: (1) an analysis of the rural development structure (resources and activities) in the Bicol River Basin and six assessments of the Bicol's urban system (the settlement hierarchy and its linkages); (2) identification of significant urban-rural linkages and complementarities, and analysis of gaps between existing urban functions and linkages and those necessary to foster integrated rural development; and (3) formulation of a plan to overcome the gaps.

The Upper Volta Project

Chetwynd, E. 1978. Urban Functions in Rural Development in Upper Volta: Report of a field visit. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From July 21 to July 28, 1978 Eric Chetwynd visited Upper Volta as the first in a series of short-term advisors sent to the country to begin work on the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in the absence of an American contractor whose arrival was postponed "through an inexplicable series of delays in contracting" (p 6). Because the Government of Upper Volta had been expecting the contractor for some time, Chetwynd was sent to take some immediate action.

Upon his return Chetwynd submitted this report, which discusses project progress, objectives, governing conditions, and preliminary research activities. The objectives which Chetwynd and the Voltan government reaffirmed for the project during his visit were to:

"1. Strengthen the contributions to rural development by the urban centers in Koudougou and Fada ORDS.

"2. Identify and design specific priority projects in each ORD to achieve this end.

"3. Integrate the results of the studies into the ORD planning process (that is, the final package from each ORD should be acceptable as components of the ORD five-year development plans)" (p 4).

Chetwynd emphasizes objective #2 as most important to Voltan planners and officials. He therefore urges that measures be taken early on to ensure that a list of priority projects is an output of the project.

Chetwynd also lists five conditions governing the activities of the project that were distilled from the lessons learned through the pilot UFRD Project: "(1) data collection should be kept to essentials and no data collection should be approved until its utility to the project is established; (2) existing data should be fully exploited before new data are developed; (3) complex data analysis should be rejected in favor of descriptive approaches and approaches that are easily computed through hand manipulation; (4) larger computers will be used only where programs, programmers, analysts and easily computerized data are readily available; (5) contractors and sub-contractors will be required to integrate their work carefully and to collaborate with the ORDs and the Ministry of Rural Development. Contract work will be monitored closely to insure that it holds to initial objectives" (p 5).

The actual activities which Chetwynd identifies for the preliminary phase of the project are: (1) collection of readily available works concerning economic, demographic, and social conditions in the two ORDs; (2) a description of the two ORD's economic, social and physical characteristics and a comparison of them with Upper Volta as a whole; (3) analysis of the 1975 census to determine settlement populations; and (4) the survey of Upper Volta's government officials in each settlement to determine the functions performed in and by each settlement.

Chetwynd, E., and B.B. Hawley. 1977. Urban Functions in Rural Development in Upper Volta. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID (Available in French).

From March 27 through April 11, 1977 a pre-project design and site selection team comprised of Eric Chetwynd of the Office of Urban Development and Benjamin Hawley of Group Seven Associates visited Upper Volta. The trip involved reviewing many reports and documents, discussing the proposed Urban Functions in Rural Development Project with a number of individuals and institutions, and field trips to Kaya, Koudougou and Yako. This report is the outcome of that visit.

Site selection process is the most important topic covered. The authors list four criteria which were used for selecting a site: "a) substantial areas of high and low population density; b) a relatively well-defined system of urban centers; c) a reasonable degree of rural development potential and; d) considerable programmatic involvement on the part of the USAID Mission in Upper Volta" (p 7). Two Rural Development Organizations (ORDs) were recommended as potential sites for the proposed project: Koudougou, because it conformed to the first three criteria; and Fada, because it conformed to the fourth criteria.

UFRD background, project objectives, outputs, methodology, and organization are also discussed. Two outputs stressed are a planning framework for strengthening the contribution of urban centers to rural development and a list of identified projects to actually strengthen that contribution. In addition, the institutional arrangements for the project were discussed. Of the three possible ministries, the Ministry of Planning, Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Rural Development, the latter was selected because it was the only one which was sufficiently decentralized at the ORD level, and because it already had some programmatic interest in providing urban-based services.

Finally, the report notes the activities of Michigan State University and Partners in Productivity in the Fada region.

Chetwynd, E., and E.C. Perry. 1979. Mid-term evaluation of Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

In October of 1979, Eric Chetwynd of the Office of Urban Development and Edward Perry, a consultant, visited the UFRD Project in Upper Volta. Upon their return to Washington they submitted a mid-term evaluation report. It includes a history of the project, an evaluation of the progress toward attaining project objectives, a list of problems constraining progress, recommendations on how to relax such constraints, and an itemization of lessons learned as a result of the project.

According to the report it took from November 1977, when a contract was signed, until March 1979 for the contractor (Thomas Mead) to actually arrive in the field. Further, the report notes that between September 1978, when the project started, and March 1979, no United States technical assistance was provided, and the project "floundered technically and Voltaic and Mission frustrations again mounted" (p 3).

The objectives against which project progress is measured were:

"1. To carry out urban functions studies of the center in Fada and Koudougou ORDs;

2. To develop a plan for strengthening the contributions of urban centers to rural development;

3. To include in this development plan a list of future project priorities. These projects may include the upgrading or strengthening of existing facilities and services;

4. To increase the capacity of the Ministry of Rural Development, the Agricultural Planning Cell and the Koudougou and Fada ORDs..." (p 4).

With regard to the first objective, substantive progress is reported. Among the highlights discussed are the thorough study of seventeen centers which involved lengthy on-site visits and solicitation of local participation. With regard to the fourth objective, they report that the process of educating the Voltaic staff and institutionalizing the UFRD program, though difficult to measure, seemed to be proceeding. The Rural Development Organizations (ORDs), however, had to be more fully involved in the project. Progress toward the the second and third objectives, however, was reported to be meager because no criteria for final site and project selection had been developed.

The workplan suggested by Perry and Chetwynd includes the completion of detailed studies, initiation of market studies, preparation of maps, selection of project recommendations, the formulation of a long-range plan, and the continuation of informal training of Voltaic staff. In order to proceed along this path, though, Chetwynd and Perry stressed that serious administrative problems which had plagued the project in the past would have to be ameliorated.

The report recommends that seminars be held at the end of the study, planning, and project identification phase of the project to enhance the capacity of Voltaic institutions. Final evaluation should be carried out by DS/UD, the Ministry of Rural Development and the Mission, and all follow-up activities should be carefully planned. Chetwynd and Perry also identified six lessons: (1) it is essential to have a full-time counterpart project director; (2) it is essential to have American technical assistance in projects where concepts are new; (3) more communication between the mission and the Office of Urban Development is required; (4) qualitative and not complex quantitative analytical techniques are most appropriate in a situation where the data base is weak; (5) a formal system of accounting should be established at the beginning of the project; and (6) the project director should have no major responsibilities besides those to the project.

Fass, S.M. 1980. Report of the project management review of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta, February 22, 1980 - March 1, 1980. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From February 22 to March 1, 1980 Simon Fass, a private consultant from Practical Concepts Incorporated (PCI), and Eric Chetwynd of the Office of Urban Development (DS/UD) visited the UFRD Project in Upper Volta. The purpose of their visit was to perform a final evaluation of the project. Upon their arrival, however, they discovered that the final report had not yet been finished and that the objectives defined for the project had not yet been met. They therefore reoriented the purpose of their visit from final evaluation to project management review. The week spent in Upper Volta was dedicated to providing technical assistance to the project, and ended in a recommendation to extend the project completion date to May 14, 1980. This is the report submitted by Simon Fass upon his return to the United States.

An evaluation of progress towards the attainment of the four project objectives opens the report. Fass commends the team on their progress towards the first objective (to carry out urban functions studies on the centers in the project region) and reports that the inventory of centers through visits to each center was very successful. He notes that they succeeded in getting accurate data, in assessing the actual conditions of the service facilities in each center, and in soliciting local needs and opinions. However, he chastises the team for omissions in their data set on each center (that is, the location of agricultural processing and credit facilities) and in the data set of the market studies contracted to a Voltaic firm (data on marketing of agricultural inputs). Part of the problem, Fass contends, was due to the misinterpretation of the urban functions concept as developed by DS/UD and the failure of the mid-term evaluation team to correct this problem; the team being pre-occupied with "putting out fires" and administrative problems.

According to Fass, progress toward attaining the second and third objectives, which were to developing a plan to strengthen the contribution of urban centers to rural development and prioritize investment recommendations, could not be measured because no such plan had been drafted. Fass therefore recommends that the final report be a planning document (an outline of which is provided in an annex to the report) and not a paper describing the project methodology, as was the case with the UFRD pilot project final report.

With regard to the fourth objective, increasing the capacities of Voltaic planning institutions, Fass reports that the project was far from successful. He asserts that the project team failed to effectively involve the Fada and Koudougou ORD directors, the Ministry of Rural Planning and the mission, all of which seemed to be aware of the project's existence but, aside from a few select individuals, did not have a clear understanding of "the technical content and purpose of the project" (p. 7). Fass remained optimistic, however, and writes that because the team will work closely with ORDs and the ministry in drafting the final technical report, and because Mr. Loc Eckersley of the mission has shown great interest in the project, this objective may still be attained.

Because the possibility of attaining the fourth objective was not yet excluded, Fass recommended extending the project deadline in order to "maximize the impact of the project on ministry operations" (p. 8).

Finally, Fass discusses several lessons which he felt could be learned from the Upper Volta experience. The most important of these is that in order to master the UFRD concept and methodologies and to adapt them to specific cases, it is necessary to provide a great deal of technical guidance and to carefully consider changes in the methodologies before they are made. Fass contends that both technical guidance and careful consideration were lacking in the UFRD Upper Volta project. The result, according to Fass, was a "drifting" away from the UFRD approach rather than a "fruitful adaptation" of it.

Another lesson from the Upper Volta experience is that the UFRD approach, in and of itself, is ineffectual and can only realize its potential if it is incorporated into an existing integrated rural development project. Because the Upper Volta project was largely isolated from other planning efforts, Fass believes the project's findings will never be implemented.

A third lesson pointed out by Fass is that future UFRD subprojects should not passively accept "regional" boundaries. Rather, they should use UFRD's unique analytical abilities to question regional boundaries and recommend recasting them, if necessary, for planning purposes.

The fourth of the five lessons discussed is that if the selection of specific implementable projects is the goal of UFRD, then "intimate interaction" and "close coordination" with all relevant planning and funding institutions must be stressed. These organizational linkages were not developed by the project team and the project suffered because of it.

Finally, Fass feels that precautionary measures should be taken so that false and frustrating expectations on the part of local officials, planners and farmers are not fostered when surveys are conducted on the functions performed by their villages.

Fass, S.M. 1980. Final evaluation report of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta: May 14-31, 1980. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From May 14 to May 31, 1980, Simon Fass, a private consultant of Practical Concepts Inc. (PCI), visited the UFRD Project in Upper Volta in order to assist the Office of Urban Development (DS/UD) in evaluating "the effectiveness of the field application based on the stated objectives and purpose of the project, the terms of the Project Agreement (ProAG) and the evaluation terms of reference contained in the ProAg." The objective of this report, according to the author, was "to emphasize lessons learned, to judge the appropriateness of the methodologies applied to the project and to make recommendations for adopting the Upper Volta experience to other sites."

The report evaluates how well the Voltaic project's four explicit objectives were fulfilled: to carry out urban functions studies of the centers in the Fada and Koudougou Rural Development Organizations (ORDs), to develop a plan to strengthen the contributions of urban centers to rural development, to include in this development plan a list of future project priorities based on project findings, and to increase the capacities of the Ministry of Rural Development, the Agriculture Planning Cell and the Koudougou and Fada ORDs. The urban functions studies, he reports, consisted of selecting a representative sample of 108 settlements from the 1300 identified in the two ORDs; and inventorying functions in these settlements to array a scalogram of functions on settlements and to define an urban hierarchical typology. Forty-two centers with a concentration of functions were selected for further study, plus the study of 60 important markets under contract to a Voltaic firm; and the production of a monograph on each of the 42 centers. Fass asserts that the data base had both its strengths and weaknesses. Its greatest strength was that data were collected on-site and included such critical information as the local demand for services and functions. Its chief weakness was that it lacked data on many functions directly related to agricultural production. Fass concludes that because the studies were not consistent with the tasks defined in the ProAg and because the ProAg was not changed to reflect this inconsistency, the first objective was only partially achieved.

Fass also concludes that the list of future project priorities (the third objective) was ony partially acceptable. A list was produced which consisted of a series of micro-community level service provision projects and a series of substantial projects implementable in the medium-term in the major centers. This list, however, was not based on sophisticated methods of spatial analysis as the ProAg intended, because such methods were never employed. Rather, Fass notes, the list was based on the findings of the more simple urban functions studies conducted.

The project was even less successful in fulfilling the fourth objective, increasing the planning capacity of the Ministry of Rural Develpment and the mission. Fass argues that because the spatial analytical methods and tasks originally envisaged by the ProAg were not performed, there was little which the ministry and mission could learn. Further, he notes that very little contact was made with the ministry and ORDs, lessening project impact on them. Fass concludes that the objective of developing a plan for strengthening the contribution of urban centers to rural development (the second objective) was not met since a complete planning document was not produced.

Fass identifies four problems which constrained meeting the four objectives: "(1) the delay in getting the project started; (2) the charateristics of technical assistance provided over the life of the project; (3) the technical monitoring of the project's progress; and (4) administrative/financial issues" (p. 11). Fass reports that the delay in getting the project started resulted in the project's premature termination. He also concludes that the technical assistance provided to the project was inadequate, misguided, and "too little, too late." Because the technical monitoring of the project failed to correct these problems, Fass concludes that the responsibility for these failures rests almost entirely on USAID's shoulders.

Fass then describes the constructive lessons stemming from the implementation of the UFRD Project:

1) Allocations in the budget for technical assistance should reflect the difficulties in securing an individual who is both well-versed in economic geography (or spatial planning) and has had several years of field experience on agricultural projects, and should provide for two contractors if necessary.

2) UFRD should only be introduced in countries which already have the capacity for basic regional and sectoral planning activities because the methods employed by UFRD are meant to supplement such capabilities rather than to create them.

3) Clear lines of communication between DS/UD and host missions should be established and used expeditiously to identify issues of concern as they develop. Administrative and supervisory responsibilities assigned to DS/UD and to the mission should reflect budgetary and manpower constraints.

4) Survey techniques should be sensitive to the risk of fostering strong expectations in respondants when actual assistance is not forthcoming.

5) Counterpart staff should be contractually required to devote a specific proportion of their time to the project.

6) Project progress should be carefully and constantly monitored.

7) Final evaluation criteria and procedures should be explicitly stated in the ProAg (and rewritten in the ProAg if they are changed), and should be constantly and rigorously applied while monitoring project progress.

At the end of the report, Fass makes a "special comment." He points out that though his report is a final evaluation, it is theoretically premature because only half the work which was to be done by the project was actually completed.

Seven annexes are appended to the report. The first entitled "The evaluation process" offers an account of the meetings Fass had while in Upper Volta. The second, entitled "Completion of project tasks identified for the project," offers a systematic account of progress made on the ten tasks identified for the project in the ProAg. Annex 3 is entitled "The Final Project Report of 1980" and offers a summary and evaluation of the final report written by the Voltaic staff. "The contractor's final report of March 31, 1980: The substance of technical assistance provided to the project from March 1979 to March 1980," Annex 4, summarizes Mead's final report and evaluates the technical assistance he provided to the project. Reports, letters and memos which monitored Mead's activities are reviewed. The fifth annex is entitled "The evaluation of the project" and offers a descriptive and fluid account of the efforts made to evaluate the project. Several reports generated by Mead and DS/UD are reviewed in the annex for this purpose. Annex 6 is entitled "Execution of responsibilities of collaborating parties," and Annex 7 is a letter summarizing this report.

Fass, S.M. 1980. Final evaluation report of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta: Technical note, May 14-31, 1980. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

This paper was submitted by Simon Fass after he evaluated the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta for the Office of Urban Development. Since a discussion of the theory of UFRD was outside the scope of his evaluation, Fass submitted this paper as a technical note to his formal evaluation report. Though short, the evaluation raises some issues concerning the utility and applicability of UFRD theory.

Fass argues that the greatest stumbling block to the effective application of the UFRD concept "is still somewhat elusive in the sense that it is difficult to define the point at which it is no longer synonymous with other conventionally used concepts of rural input distributions (e.g., what is the difference between an 'urban' town and a 'rural' town?)" (p. 5). Rural planners "would necessarily be confused with a project in which heretofore agriculture or rural inputs suddenly show up as 'urban functions'" (p. 4). Even more alarming is that by creating this confusion, the already well-understood economic principles governing the location and distribution of such inputs are overlooked.

Another critical weakness of the UFRD concept, Fass contends, is that projects should be identified from a series of map overlays that illustrate the spatial organization of economic and social functions. According to Fass, "the key factor in determining whether the distribution of a particular sectoral good or service is equitable or not is the price or other costs the rural population has to pay to get it. The spatial location on a map is usually not a very good indicator of what the cost or price might be, and even if it were, there are other means of reducing the cost besides shifting the point on a map where the service is provided" (p. 3).

Fass recommends that these issues be raised at an early stage in future UFRD projects so that they can be effectively treated. In addition, he asserts that in the future the true nature and capabilities of UFRD, which he defines as "urban functions analysis in regional and rural development planning," should be recognized.

Group Seven Associates. 1977. The Rondinelli - Ruddle plan with special reference to the eastern ORD, Fada N'Gourma, Upper Volta; Feasibility issues to be met in the project design of a study of urban functions in Upper Volta Rural Development; Project design: Study of Urban Functions in Rural Development (UFRD)/Upper Volta -- Draft logical framework, Final report: Urban Functions in Rural Development/Upper Volta: Revised draft logical framework matrix and some comments on study design and evaluation plans; and Critique of USAID Mission's preliminary design for a study of urban functions in rural development/Upper Volta. Five reports prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

During March of 1977, Group Seven Associates Inc. was contracted by the Office of Urban Development to develop a project design for an Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta. In the very brief first report, Benjamin Hawley expresses his reservations regarding the adequacy of the UFRD thesis advanced by Dennis Rondinelli and Kenneth Ruddle in their 1976 state-of-the-art study. Additionally, Hawley identifies several inputs as critical to the success of the proposed project. Of them, he emphasizes three: (1) direct involvement and participation of local populations, (2) reliable data, and (3) careful coordination among project activities.

The second report is more lengthy and was submitted after Hawley visited Upper Volta with Eric Chetwynd of the Office of Urban Development. The report raises several feasibility issues and outlines some problems that a UFRD project in Upper Volta was likely to encounter. Feasibility issues raised in the report include:

1) As long as the methodology remains unproven, the Government of Upper Volta and USAID Mission officials will remain skeptical of its validity and applicability.

2) The Voltan government is under considerable pressure to run its own programs, including foreign-assisted programs.

3) The burden of proof for the methodology is on TA/UD, although what constitutes "proof" remains undefined.

4) TA/UD is a research institution; USAID/Upper Volta and the Voltan government are implementation istitutions.

5) Recruiting, hiring, and moving a fully qualified American study director to Upper Volta by September or October, 1977, will be difficult. Alternative staffing patterns should be considered. Having only one study director with no colleague or assistant familiar with the methodology will also make the study's success dangerously vulnerable.

6) The study's training component is dependent on the director's ability and motivation to teach and to break through the cultural barrier to reach the Voltaic staff. Research and teaching are two separate components of the study, and should be considered as such.

7) The participating Voltans' implementation of similar studies in the future is dependent on:

a. the skill and efficacy of the director's teaching and personal communication with the Voltaic staff;

b. Mutual support during future research activities stemming from Voltans from the same office or hierarchical level;

c. the Government of Upper Volta's perception of the study results. This perception may be a function of the actual funding for identified projects. The Voltan government may assume that if funding agencies are interested in the projects, then the process of identification has been successful. This is not necessarily a causal relationship, though the government may see it as such.

8) Administrative problems of study execution will probably be complicated enough to warrant hiring an administrative backstop.

9) It is difficult to predict the skill level of the Voltans assigned to the study, but the nature of their participation and their expectations of the study and the study director may vary accordingly. The structure of the study and the director's manner of dealing with the Voltaic staff must be flexible to accommodate the level of Voltans participating.

10) A mid-study evaluation might be useful to make any needed corrections, and to generate increased interest and participation from the Voltan government and the mission, if the early results can in fact indicate the value of the methodology as a planning tool.

11) A staffing pattern to be considered involves: two American professionals, about six professional Voltaics, about ten semi-professional Voltaic data collectors and assistants, an American administrative backstop, and some consultants (an orientation facilitator and an end-of-study project designer).

12) The year-long study execution schedule will be subject to climatic conditions: roads are impassable in the height of the rainy season and the heat unbearable in the hot season.

13) It is advantageous to limit the number of agencies or ministries with which the study is affiliated. At this time, those best suited seem to be the Ministries of Rural Development and Planning, the Direction d'Urbanisme and the Voltaic Scientific Research Center.

14) To maximize government and mission support for the study, TA/UD must "enhance the perceived utility of the results of the study."

The third and fourth Group Seven Associates reports are drafts for the design of the proposed UFRD Project. They were used to develop a project description for the project grant agreement between USAID and the government of

Upper Volta. They list project inputs, outputs, purposes, goals, means of verification and underlying assumptions.

The fifth and final report is a reprint of a critique of the project design originally proposed which Soumana Traore (the Director General of the Societe Africaine d'Etudes et de Development) presented to Hawley and Chetwynd in July of 1977.

Mead, T.A. 1979. Urban Functions in Rural Development in Upper Volta: Quarterly report, March 12 to June 11, 1979. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

This is the first quarterly report of the UFRD Project in Upper Volta. It is a rather informal report that covers a wide variety of subjects from the American contractor's (Tom Mead) personal impressions of Upper Volta to hard facts concerning project progress.

The report opens with an account of Mead's activities during his first three months on the project. According to the report, work on the project after September 1978 had virtually come to a halt. It was not until Mead's arrival in March that work on the project resumed. Mead spent most of his first three months familiarizing himself with the project and reassessing its budgets. First, he completed, expanded and up-dated the August survey of canton chiefs and prepared a new scalogram. Then, using the information generated by the survey, he developed a hierarchical typology of centers a and began to identify centers across the hierarchy for further study. His four-tiered hierarchical scheme and the centers which he identified for further study are then discussed and described.

Throughout the report, Mead makes several general comments concerning the project study area. First, he states that attempting to define an urban hierarchy in the Voltaic context is rather futile because there is a dearth of nucleated settlements. Second, he comments that the worst problem in the project region, as perceived by the rural poor, is the lack of potable water. He contends, thirdly, that the greatest impediment to development in the region is lack of credit for the purchase of animals and equipment. Fourth, he argues that the costs of maintaining and operating services and facilities are far more significant than the costs of constructing them. Finally, he therefore recommends that no new facilities should be constructed unless their operation and maintenance can be guaranteed by local authorities.

Mead ultimately asserts that the goals of UFRD should be reoriented to address Voltaic realities. Rather than identifying projects to strengthen the rural economy the goal of UFRD should be to improve and expand existing public service facilities.

Mead, T.A. 1979. Urban Functions in Rural Development Upper Volta: Quarterly report, June 12 to September 11, 1979. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The second quarterly report of the UFRD Project in Upper Volta reports on the project's progress from June through September 1979. The main activity conducted during this period was the selection of twenty centers in the Koudougou ORD and twenty-one centers in the Fada ORD for intensive study, along with the completion of seventeen of these studies. The criteria used to select these centers were a minimum of number of functions (fifteen in Koudougou and ten in Fada), a relatively large size and population, and/or a special characteristic, such as a resource endowment or a pre-existing administrative center. The studies of these centers consisted of visiting each center for several days, interviewing local officials, civil servants and farmers, and visually surveying existing services and facilities.

According to the report, the studies' purpose was to placate the Government of Upper Volta, which was anxious for the UFRD Project to begin to identify specific investment interventions. Since Thomas Mead, the American contractor for the project, had decided that the UFRD Project would seek to expand and improve existing public facilities, it was necessary to first survey these facilities in detail. The report describes Mead's reasoning for making this decision. It notes that because Upper Volta has so few urban places, it would be impractical for the UFRD Project to identify new projects as was originally intended. In the Voltaic context, an effort to upgrade urban based services (or "government functions" as the report calls them) would be more appropriate.

Mead, T.A. 1979. Urban Functions in Rural Development Upper Volta: Quarterly report, September 12 to December 11, 1979. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta covering the period from September to December 1979 is described in the third quarterly rerport. It describes the administrative problems that plagued the project and the completion of monographs on the forty-one centers previously selected for intensive study are discussed, as well as activities planned for the next and final quarter. Most of the center monographs were complete and those which were not would be completed by February. The completed monographs demonstrate the inadequacy of rural services and functions in Upper Volta.

Activities planned to finish the project included the completion of a final report, the completion of market studies for selected centers, and the production of more detailed maps. In addition, the report notes that several activities were planned to respond to a recommendation made in the mid-term project evaluation to involve Voltaic institutions more fully. Among these activities are: (1) project team participation in a seminar in the sub-

prefecture of Leo organized by the Association for Economic and Social Development, and a regional development seminar organized by the Fada N'Gourma Rural Development Organization (ORD); and (2) project team discussions and consultations with ORD directors, prefect and canton chiefs, and sub-prefects and government officials before preparing the final version of the final report.

Mead, T.A. 1080. Institutional development in Upper Volta. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID (Available in French).

Mead's paper proposes use for funds remaining from the UFRD Project, explores the problems of maintaining and operating economic and social service facilities in the rural areas of Upper Volta, and proposes methods for ameliorating these problems. Throughout, Mead presents a strong case for restricting the construction of new facilities until present ones are upgraded and adequate resources are provided for continued operation and maintenance.

According to Mead, the minimum services immediately necessary and those that the rural poor demand are: "wells which yield all through the year or dams retaining enough water to supply men and animals in the dry season; in the larger villages, capable of serving smaller ones within a reasonable distance, primary schools catering to a full six years of elementary education, and dispensaries and maternity clinics; and access by all-weather roads, not great arterial highways, but negotiable tracks with the bridges, culverts, embankments and causeways that will keep them open during the rains" (p. 2).

Unfortunately, Mead observes, even these minimal services are absent in most of Upper Volta. Even more tragic, however, is that many of the facilities necessary for service provision are present in Upper Volta but are not being used and are in disrepair. This problem stems from the fact that the annual budget of Upper Volta is generally insufficient; low priority is given to budget appropriations for facility maintenance and operation; and there is an inherent difficulty in administering widely dispersed facilities through highly centralized government.

Mead devotes most of his attention to the last of these three problems. He presents a lengthy exposition of the potential role that decentralized administration and local taxation can play in providing and maintaining services, and draws on cases from Ghana where spontaneous local initiative worked effectively. Mead admits that these successes probably could not be replicated in Upper Volta, but contends that they established an important historical precedent for local self-government in rural areas. Such self-government, Mead states, is "eminently possible, and eminently desirable" (p. 21) in Upper Volta.

Mead then develops a strategy for a project which would demonstrate the feasibility and attractiveness of devolved administrative responsibility and local taxation. He states first that the canton is the spatial unit most

optimal for a demonstration. For reasons of size, population, social and political acceptability, and political precedent, the canton is the only logical choice. The choice between which cantons to select for pilot projects, Mead argues, should meet three criteria: the cantons should be large enough in size, have decent roads, and possess a leadership which has proven itself to be respected and persuasive.

Finally, Mead raises three questions which he anticipates will be first asked by cantons considering experimenting with local taxation and administration, and offers prudent answers to them:

1. Question: Who will have physical custody over the money, when and how will it be kept, and who will decide how to spend it?
   Answer: Appointed or elected officials will have these responsibilities, but there will be an open review of how the money is spent.

2. Question: What help may a canton expect to receive from the central government and international aid agencies?
   Answer: If local maintenance and operation of facilities is guaranteed, the cantons can expect the central government to provide staff for them and can expect the canton resthouse to be re-established. No federal tax breaks can be expected.

3. Question: Will initially modest local taxes be increased to unacceptable and unpopular levels?
   Answer: Tax increases are inevitable. However, they should and will be decided on by the community itself.

Mead suggests that the $125,000 left over from the UFRD project be used to initiate local taxation projects. He recommends that $10,000 to $20,000 be given to cantons for upgrading or building new facilities as an incentive for them to collect taxes to pay for maintainance and operation.

Perry, E.C. 1978. Urban Functions in Rural Development in Upper Volta: Report of a field visit. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From August 7 to September 5, 1978 Edward Perry visited Upper Volta as a short-term consultant. With Aidan Southall, who arrived on August 9 and left on August 28, he went to initiate work on the UFRD Project. Because the American contractor for the project had not yet arrived, Perry and Southall were asked to provide short-term technical assistance to the USAID Mission and the Voltaic project team.

This report chronicles Perry's activities while in Upper Volta and details project progress. Activities initiated during his consultancy included: (1) a survey of centers and services in Koudougou, (2) a functional complexity analysis on the inventoried centers, (3) descriptive statistics within the two ORDs

and across ORDs for the country as a whole on demographic, economic, social and physical characteristics to determine overall levels of social and economic well-being and to determine agricultural productivity and potential, (4) population data for settlements located in Koudougou and Fada, and (5) an interim work plan.

Several activities were suggested for the period between Perry's departure and the scheduled October arrival of the American contractor, including to complete the aforementioned activities, collect available maps and identify maps that would need to be generated for the project, and to collect and itemize documents concerning the general economic, social and demographic conditions in the two ORDs. A list of both public and private organizations whose cooperation would be needed in the implementation phase of the project was also to be compiled.

Appended to this report is a paper describing the preliminary survey of centers and services in the Koudougou ORD. The hierarchical typology described by the study was derived by arraying functions and centers visually in a scalogram, weighting the centrality of each function and assigning each center a "location coefficient." Using Marshall's "between group" and "within group" difference rule, eighteen hierarchical levels were established. Seven pages of tables containing the specific findings of the study are included.

Perry, E.C. 1979. Urban Functions in Rural Development in Upper Volta: Report of a field visit by Edward C. Perry. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From March 12 to March 24, 1979 Edward Perry visited the UFRD Project in Upper Volta to introduce Tom Mead, the American contractor, to the project and to explain the project's status. This report, which Perry issued on his return to the states, is an account of his visit.

Perry reports that Mead's introduction to the project went "smoothly" and the Upper Voltans on staff had positive feelings toward the project. While discussing the Fada ORD, Perry emphasizes the absolute necessity of coordinating UFRD activities with the plethora of other development activities in the region.

According to Perry, the following progress had been made on the project: (1) the functional complexity analysis of settlements was almost complete and a scalogram and report detailing the analytical methods employed and the results of the analysis were produced; (2) data on demographic, economic, social and physical characteristics for the two study ORDs was compiled and a report for each was written; (3) collection for available population data was initiated; and (4) settlement maps were drafted. In addition to reporting progress on the project he also reports on the agreed preliminary workplan. The workplan was to involve: (1) completion of the functional complexity analysis by surveying the chefs de cantons; (2) mapping centers according to their hierarchical

level; (3) intensive study of twenty centers in each of the two ORDs by analyzing of data at the secteur and sous-secteur levels; (4) preliminary selection of five or six centers in each of the two ORDs as possible project sites; (5) determination of the potential types and costs of identified projects; (6) a first draft of the regional development plans for Fada and Koudougou; (7) discussion of the first draft with relevant Voltaic institutions and individuals; and (8) submission of a final report by March 31, 1980.

Southall, A. 1978. Urban Functions in Rural Development in Upper Volta: Report on a field visit. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From August 8 through August 26, 1978 Aidan Southall visited Upper Volta in order to provide short-term technical assistance to the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project. A small portion of this report is devoted to describing the survey instruments which he helped to develop. The remainder of the report expresses the author's opinions about the feasibility of and problems associated with the application of the UFRD concept in Upper Volta. He argues that there is a tension between the goals and methods of UFRD and the nature of the Voltaic socio-political environment. The basic tension to which Southall eludes is that Upper Volta is governed by a highly centrist tradition while UFRD, paradoxically, represents a "grass roots," "bottom-up" approach.

Southall identifies a number of specific problems relating to the application of UFRD to Upper Volta. First, it is difficult to define an appropriate urban hierarchy in a nation whose settlements evolved not as a result of natural economic forces, but as a result of forced colonization. It is also difficult to develop an articulated log-normal distribution of urban sizes when it must be developed in the context of a highly centralized government; and to deconcentrate services in such a context. To expect that a deconcentrated investment scheme such as the one proposed by UFRD will lead to any real spread of growth is unrealistic, when there is a deeply embedded tendency toward polarization of the center from the periphery -- an elitist attitude held by the same officials and scholars whose job it is to reverse such tendencies. Finally, it is very difficult to solicit local participation in a country with an authoritative political process which has discouraged grass roots involvement.

In addition to raising these issues, Southall makes three recommendations. First, he introduces the notion of a "service access index" and recommends that it be used to supplement the methods for measuring centrality used by the UFRD project in its pilot-application. Second, he recommends abandoning the three-tiered hierarchy of regional center, market town and rural service center developed in the UFRD pilot project in favor of one more appropriate to the extremely low urbanization levels in Upper Volta. Southall also recommends that the efforts of the UFRD Project team be coordinated with the efforts by Michigan State University to develop a five-year development plan for the project region.

Appended to this report is a sample of the survey which Southall developed for use in Upper Volta.

Upper Volta, Government of. 1980. Final report: Urban Functions in Rural Development. Ouagadougou: Ministry of Rural Development. (Available in French).

Simon Fass summarizes this report in his Final evaluation report of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta: May 14 - May 31, 1980. (Washington, DC: USAID, 1980). The following is his description of the report:

> The main report is 64 pages long and is attached to an 80-page annex containing selected monographs of 22 out of 44 urban centers, scalograms, questionnaires and maps of market areas. The organization of the main body of the text loosely follows suggestions put forward by the DS/UD Mission of February 1980.
>
> Part 1 of the report, "The Place of the Project in the National Development Strategy" (pp. 1-11), begins with a history of the project. It identifies the objectives of studying urban functions, preparing relevant plans and projects and using these as vehicles for training personnel in regional development planning. This is followed by discussion of the tardiness of getting the project started (18 months late), the change in personnel, including the appointment of Dr. Pare four months prior to the end of the project, and the difficulty in understanding the meaning of the title "Urban Functions in Rural Development." A reasonable explanation of this last is nevertheless provided. The project is then integrated into the objectives of the national development plan (sectoral and spatial), and a brief overview of the methodologies involved are presented.
>
> Part 2, "Data on the Distribution of Urban Functions" (pp. 12-32) provides a socioeconomic overview of both ORD's, a typology of centers in both areas and an analysis of the results of the scalogram analysis.
>
> Part 3, "Results of the Analysis of 44 Centres and the Markets Study" (pp. 33-64), begins with an explanation of why the centers were selected for detailed examination and follows with a litany of the inadequacies of educational, health and other public facilities to be found in them. This is followed by a proposal for a small works program. A discussion of the markets study, with emphasis on the most important ones, is then presented. Projects are then identified for both ORD's. In the east these are the provision of a movie theatre, a departmental library, electricity and water supply

systems in Fada; construction of nut oil extraction units in Fada and Bogande; and improvements of the Fada-Benin road. In the center-west ORD the projects are the electrification and supply of water to the towns of Reo and Yako and the construction of a bank at Ouessa. For all these ideas the need for further feasibility analysis are mentioned.

The text ends with a conclusion to the effect that the "Urban Functions" effort has opened doors to new ways of understanding many aspects of development. It is noted that although the project could have done much more had it not been for a late start and other problems, it was nonetheless a very useful beginning" (pp.36-37).

USAID. 1977. Project agreement between the Government of the Republic of Upper Volta and the Government of the United States of America for Urban Functions in Rural Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The project grant agreement between Upper Volta and USAID for the field application of the Office of Urban Development's UFRD Project in Upper Volta represents a binding legal document, with all provisions constituting contractual obligations. The section of the agreement which contains the most information on the project itself is Annex I.

Annex I's project description includes a discussion of larger UFRD goals and objectives and defines "urban functions." According to this definition, "urban functions" are urban centers themselves; the communications systems, roads, trails and available modes of transport which define a farmer's level of access to them; and the services and activities based in urban centers which cater to the needs of rural populations (including marketing/storage and refrigeration facilities, agricultural processing activities, agricultural credit, merchandizing of agricultural inputs, sources of technical information and advice, social services and entertainment).

Next, the composition of the project team and the qualifications and responsibilities of each member of it are specified, followed by a description of implementing institutions' responsibilities. The Ministry of Rural Development is to be primarily responsible for the project through its Agriculture Planning Cell and is to appoint the project director and two research associates from its ranks. Directors from the Ministry of ORD are to provide institutional support for the project and develop coordinating mechanisms to insure that the project is linked to other sectoral agencies in the ORD. USAID is to contract the deputy director and co-sponsor and co-finance the project.

Tasks to be performed by the project team as a minimum to fulfill the contractual agreement are then described. They are to inventory services and functions in each center; classify the centers in each ORD according to locally meaningful functional definitions; and identify urban-rural and urban-urban

linkages, including physical, economic, service delivery, political and social linkages. The team is also expected to delimit areas of influence for each center; assess agricultural activity and potential; analyze urban-rural linkages; and identify urban service weaknesses and gaps. Finally, the project requires that they identify potential projects and programs and do rough screening for economic feasibility; prioritize the list of recommended policy interventions; and develop an evaluation system for monitoring and implementing the project. In addition to these analytical tasks, the agreement calls for the following to be performed during the preparation of a detailed workplan: 1) to identify existing data sources and studies; 2) to specify minimal data needs to complete analysis; 3) to identify required new studies; 4) to identify methodologies and technical training required for their application; 5) to plan a full scope of work, and 6) to review and approval by the collaborating parties in the agreement. Finally, a series of workshops and services are stipulated for the projects, but their number and timing are not specified.

USAID. 1980. Urban Functions in Rural Development: Upper Volta Report. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

This report was summarized by Simon Fass in his Final evaluation report of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Upper Volta May 14 - May 31, 1980 Washington, DC: USAID.

The following is Fass's description of the report:

> The report is preceded by a Foreword which sets the philosophical stage for what follows. In brief, it suggests that development is a slow process and is based entirely on the initiatives and dynamics of local populations. Foreign or outside assistance should lend a hand to spontaneous changes and not look for quick solutions to observed problems. Sensitivity to this "bottom up" approach is far superior to the use of calculators or other mechanistic means typical of contemporary assistance efforts. The implicit argument here, and which becomes explicit in later parts of the report, is that the UFRD approach, at least as expressed in the ProAg, is much too mechanical and "scientific" for the realities of Upper Volta; or of Africa in general.
>
> "History of the Project" (pp. 1-6) reviews the various tasks undertaken through the life of the project. It mentions that such administrative problems as did occur were relatively minor (notwithstanding the strong reaction of the USAID mission to one of the problems) and did not impair the progress of the work once it got started. It is also argued that technical difficulties were not important because project staff decided at an early stage that "the regular methodologies and processes of urban development planning... are not really appropriate in ...Upper Volta" (p. 5). Similarly, the

title of "urban functions" was misleading, and the contractor suggests that the proper title should have been "local government functions in rural development."

"The Regions" (pp. 7-19) describes the 2 ORDs where the project carried out its work. It discusses the administrative organization of both areas, the public personnel assigned to them, the roads, the public services, the existence of dynamic communities, agricultural and rural activities, etc. The conclusion at this point is that the people are poor, there is a correspondingly weak tax base, and hence such public services as are provided are invariably poorly equipped, maintained and supplied. The implicit theme here, made explicit in subsequent chapters, is that there might be little point in thinking of providing new public facilities and services when a country can hardly support the operation of existing ones. By inference, the effort should aim at upgrading what is and not worry about what is not yet on the ground.

"The Villages and Cantons" (pp. 20-30) describes the physical, hierarchical and social organization of settlements in the two ORDs. It notes that villages are really dispersed family compounds which in no way resemble preconceived notions of what an occidental village ought to look like. Depending on the season, the population of villages can range from say 2,000 to 8,000 people; and so population hierarchies tend to be misleading. Out of this examination it is suggested that the village or town is not a useful unit of space or population for purposes of a UFRD project; but rather the cantons which exist in manageable numbers, which have traditional lineages, which are viable administrative units, and within which populations spontaneously feel at home and recognize each other. The suggestion is that for purposes of planning and analysis in a place like Upper Volta the bottom end of a settlement hierarchy should not be the village but rather the broader area containing many affiliated villages; and that centers for such areas, in this case cantons, should not be so much based on physical availability of "functions" as on perceived importance in terms of socio-cultural and administrative factors.

"Regional Centers and Sub-Centers" (pp. 31-40) introduces the important towns of each ORD and indicates that only Koudougou and Fada merit the designation of "regional center;" with the former being a much closer approximation of the concept than the latter. Several other large towns are mentioned, but the bulk of places are generally considered to be villages of the kinds described in the previous chapter. Various hierarchical nomenclatures for the settlements are suggested, but in the end they are implied to be not all that illuminating or useful since all places except Koudougou and Fada were in need of improved water supply, better access roads, equipped medical and educational services, effective extension services, credit, marketing facilities, postal services, market sheds, crop processing units; i.e., everything. There is, however, a hesitation of making specific suggestions because, as mentioned above, Upper Volta really cannot afford them right now.

"The State of Rural Services" (pp. 41-78) reviews the results of the village questionnaires carried out by the project. The topics center on water supply, roads, administrative facilities, schools, dispensaries, maternity clinics, postal services and public employees like extension agents, prefects, etc. The observations include the need for better housing for public servants, especially those at the "grass roots" level, improved public services and the need for distractions other than alcohol.

"Markets" (pp. 79-105) discusses the results of the markets study undertaken by SAED in January-February 1980. The purpose and methodology is explained, together with a note describing the reasons collaboration could not be obtained with the MSU team operating in the Fada ORD (the latter's requirements were much more complex). The important markets in terms of size and area coverage are identified, together with unique features at several of the markets looked at. The conclusion is that trade is manifested through complex flows in each region, but the surveys did not produce sufficient information to structure the flows. It is argued that, in any case, the practical use of spelling out those patterns is in doubt. There is no call for establishment of new markets, though physical facilities at existing markets are in need of repair. On the margin, it is suggested that certain road improvements might act to stimulate and expand certain markets in the Fada ORD. A major recommendation is the institution of market fees to generate local revenues which could finance community facilities and services.

"Problems of Maintenance and Operation" (pp. 106-122) defines the problem of maintaining public facilities as a question of the absence of men and money to do it. It proceeds to discuss the qualifications and availability of artisans to carry out such works, and the availability of local funds to pay them and acquire materials. After stressing the over-centralization of national budget revenues, the discussion shifts to the question of local derivation of taxes and the reconstitution of a head tax abandoned some years earlier. The question, however, is made more specific in the sense that what is at issue is not "self help" in the construction of new facilities, but rather such methods in the maintenance and operation of the facilities once they are built. The recommendation is that community-based maintenance programs should be promoted.

"Other Programs: Foreign and International Aid" (pp. 123-132) is a review, and to some extent a critique, of some ongoing and projected internationally-sponsored programs in each ORD. A positive view of Partnership for Productivity (PFP) efforts is made for the Fada ORD, and the desire for collaboration in a small works program is expressed. At the same time, dissatisfaction is expressed with the (erroneous) idea that if a small works program were to have been undertaken, it would have been the responsibility of PFP only. The argument voiced is that planners (i.e., the UFRD staff) need the opportunity to practice rural development as well as study it. In

the end it is mentioned that copies of the final report of the project would be circulated to all donor agencies with a view to obtaining support for small works which would have as its basic purpose the creation of viable local institutions to maintain public facilities and services.

"Findings and Recommendations" (pp. 133-143) summarizes what has gone before. It stresses the general need for water supplies, roads, primary schools, health facilities, extension and credit services; and the proper maintenance and operation of them. It cautions against new facilities, however, and stresses improvement of the existing. For expanded service it is suggested that mobility be promoted from existing facilities through provision of motor scooters, gasoline and improved road maintenance for existing personnel. In addition the creation of local governments in places where central authority is absent is stressed; and in particular the creation of local fiscal resources through reconstitution of a head tax, market fees, etc.

To be more specific, the small rural works program is recommended to: bridge the gap between studies and major investment projects, fulfill respondent expectations generated by the project, train Voltaic team members in implementation, and test methods of inspiring local public participation. A list of possible works is presented. It is then suggested that locations for such works be those areas where there is already a dynamic sense of local responsibility and willingness to undertake maintenance obligations; and a list of places if provided.

USAID. 1981. Urban Functions in Rural Development: Final report of a field demonstration in Fada N'Gourma and Koudougou Regions of Upper Volta 1978-1980. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The final report generated by the UFRD Project in Upper Volta is one of three to be written for the project. This report was prepared by Simon Fass, a private consultant, in conjunction with Emil Pare, the Upper Volta project director. The report's purpose is to synthesize, summarize and integrate the previous reports; to analyze the questionnaire data generated by market surveys done for the project; and to analyze the regional scalograms prepared for the project.

The report's organization follows approximately the sequence of activities undertaken by the UFRD Project team. Chapter One presents a brief overview of certain characteristics of Upper Volta pertinent to the project, such as the state of the economy, the nature of agricultural activity, and population size and distribution. The description provides some sense of the extremely limited

economic resources of the public and private sectors of the nation, and also some indication of the meaning of the term "urban" in an Upper Volta context.

Chapter Two is an overview of selected characteristics in the eastern region, one of the two regions where the UFRD Project was put into practice. This overview contains a discussion of the ecology and agricultural activities, and the distribution of the population across several hundred villages in the region. Within this regional perspective, the chapter then delves into technical activities pursued by the project; the examination of the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the functions of the region. The functions dealt with include transportation, water supply, education, health services, administration, agricultural service, small-scale enterprise and markets. Several of these are then integrated to present a picture of the hierarchical distribution of functions across a set of central villages, or central places, within the region. Toward the end of this last discussion it is noted that local initiative in self-help activities, particularly activities which provide or sustain the operation of central village functions, should be regarded as "functions." Indeed, given the poor state of repair and operational effectiveness of most of the functions described previously, and the practical impossibility of vastly improved public fiscal resources to improve them, the importance of promoting more effective local initiatives becomes quite apparent.

In Chapter Three attention shifts to the center-west region, closely following the pattern laid out in the previous chapter. Discussion of the center-west region is, however, considerably briefer than that of the eastern region, as the characteristics of functions in both regions are by and large the same, and the descriptions of operations and effectiveness in the east apply as readily in the center-west. More emphasis is also on the east as it is the prime focus of USAID attention in Upper Volta and it seemed appropriate to carry the same emphasis in the report. It should be noted, however, that the UFRD Project places equal emphasis on both regions.

A summary of the project's findings and some conclusions about the state of "urban functions" in both regions are found in Chapter Four. It suggests two courses of possible action to strengthen and improve the services provided by the functions. One apparently simple solution is to provide funds to repair and upgrade everything. This would achieve several short-term benefits, but it is argued that over the long term such an approach could only culminate in service deterioration and a return to the present state. An alternative course of action, aimed at more long-lasting effects, assumes that what is needed is maximization of local resource use, human and material, in the maintenance, supply and operation of local level services. It is argued that if local communities that benefit from services, usually the populations within a canton rather than a single village, can be induced to take on an increased share of the management and finance of the services, then considerable progress can be made in the longer term toward strengthening the regional system of service functions. The argument is predicated on examples of effective local government institutions in Upper Volta's past, in neighboring countries, and in developed countries.

Chapter Five presents several recommendations for methods of bringing about enhanced local government capabilities. The term "governance" is emphasized, because it appears premature and somewhat presumptuous to suggest formal local "government" institutions at such an early stage. Though the government has made decentralization of responsibility an explicit element of its development policy, it is not certain at present whether this extends as far as the concept of local or cantonal government. Nevertheless, the general principle is the same insofar as improving the underpinnings of urban functions and the effectiveness of the services they provide. The chapter suggests why, where and how to initiate activities in this general direction.

In a concluding postscript, Chapter Six identifies two USAID-supported projects with components quite similar to certain aspects of the recommendations put forward by the UFRD Project. The linkages between all three projects are briefly identified, as are the efforts undertaken to coordinate them. Each has been built on the experience of the other in a progressive manner.

The Bolivia Project

Evans, H. 1982. Urban Functions in Rural Development: The case of the Potosi Region in Bolivia. Part I: Concepts, methods and applications. Office of Multisectoral Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

Part I of the first part of the final report for the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project conducted in Bolivia between 1980 and 1982 provides a useful summary of itself:

> This report is the first of two which provide an account of the accomplishments of the project to date. This volume summarizes the results of the studies that were made, and describes the plans, policies and projects that have emerged or are in the process of emerging. It pays particular attention to the methodological framework behind the UFRD approach to integrated regional development, illustrating the evolution from analysis to spatial strategy and project identification. It also explains several of the methods of analysis that were employed during the course of the study, including an innovative model of accessibililty. A companion volume offers a preliminary assessment of the UFRD methodology in terms of its impact on the regional planning process in the Department of Potosi.
>
> The contents of this report follow broadly the framework of the UFRD methodology just presented. A preliminary chapter discusses the data required for an analysis of the spatial dimensions of a region's economy, and the main sources of existing information in Bolivia. It then describes three field surveys which were carried out to collect additional information. One covered over a hundred towns and villages to compile an inventory of services, facilities and other functions to be found in each place. Another included the twenty principal periodic markets of the region to determine their area of influence. The third involved visits to some two hundred households to gather data on travel patterns to different urban functions for the study on accessibility.
>
> Chapter II takes a look at the basic resources of the region in terms of its physical, demographic nd economic characteristics, in order to provide a quick initial overview and baseline profile against which to compare subsequent changes in the regional economy over the course of time.
>
> The next three chapters examine the principal features of the urban-rural system: settlements, the linkages between them and levels of accessibility. Chapter III reviews the growth and ddeecline of urban centers in the region, and defines the hierarchy of central places according to their functional complexity. Chapter IV traces the physical, economic and service linkages between towns and their surrounding rural areas in order to find out the degree to which the region is spatially articulated. Chapter V describes an accessibility model which was used to delineate service areas of the main urban centers by measuring the level of access of the population in different zones of the region to a range of urban-based functions.

By synthesizing the conclusions of the previous analysis, Chapter VI arrives at an interpretation of the existing spatial structure of the region, using concepts loosely borrowed from central place theory. The region is first defined in terms of functionally economic areas, and this leads to the identification of peripheral areas that are weakly integrated into the main urban-rural system, or have poor access to urban service centers.

The main thrust behind the concept of integrated regional development as embodied in the UFRD approach has been outlined above. Chapter VII describes the details of the strategy as it has been modified and elaborated for the Department of Potosi in light of the preceding analysis. This consists of two key components: The articulation of the spatial system; and the integrated development of components areas of the region based on their productive potential. Chapter VIII discusses the methods evolved in Potosi for designing packages of projects for each component area of the region, and the approach is illustrated with an example from the north of the Department. Based on the main economic activities of the area as a starting point, packages include a range of inputs to boost production and raise productivity, and these are complemented with other actions to improve the physical integration of the area, and to raise the level of access of the rural population to soc al services and other facilities.

The report concludes with a summary of what has been achieved so far, what needs to be consolidated, and the progress that is being made towards the next stage of implementing plans based on UFRD concepts of integrated regional development.

Evans, H. 1982. Urban Functions in Rural Development: The case of the Potosi Region in Bolivia. Part II: Preliminary evaluation. Office of Multisectoral Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The second part of the final report for the UFRD Project conducted in Bolivia from 1980 to 1982 focuses on the question: does the UFRD approach lead to better planning? To set the discussion in its proper context, Chapter I provides a description of the planning system in Bolivia and an account of the manner in which regional plans are prepared.

In the second chapter, the impact of the UFRD approach on regional development planning in Potosi is traced. A model of the planning process is described, which includes four principle elements: data collection, analysis for defining constraints to development, plan-making, which covers strategy, project identification, and investment budgets; and implementation, monitoring, and ex post evaluation. The different sequences in which these elements are joined together in practice are then discussed, and the UFRD sequence as distinct from others is explained. Using this model, the UFRD aproach's impact on

each of these elements is described. Changes that occurred are illustrated by referring to planning documents, management practice, and procedures for internal consultation and inter-agency collaboration.

In light of this experience, Chapter Three reviews the evolution of the UFRD methodology for planning integrated regional development, and proposes further improvements. The chapter concludes with several recommendations for further strengthening the methodology, particularly those of critical importance for integrated planning: implementation and inter-agency collaboration.

Following the methodology review, Chapter Four addresses issues involved in replicating the UFRD approach elsewhere. It defines appropriate region types for adopting such an approach to integrated development planning, and discusses institutional considerations to be borne in mind before pursuing the idea further. Next, it looks at the scope of work involved, and whether this should include the entire region, and the whole methodology. Then follows an approximate indication of the resources of people and time needed to apply each step of the methodology. The chapter ends by sketching out complementary inputs required in the form of technical assistance, funds, and institutional support.

The report concludes with a summary of the main lessons learned in Potosi, and reiterates the principle recommendations for action on the part of USAID. These refer to steps to be taken in Potosi to consolidate progress made so far, measures for further improving the planning methodology, and requirements for replicating the UFRD approach to integrated development in other regions.

Evans, H., and J. Dickey. 1980. A technique to help evaluate function/linkage packages. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

During September 1980 Hugh Evans (the long-term consultant to the Bolivian field application of the UFRD Project) and John Dickey (an outside consultant) worked together to develop a technique to assess changes in access brought about through locating a function closer to a target population or through reducing transport times to a function. According to the authors, utility of such a method would be its capacity to assist planners in making decisions as to what kinds of functions and linkages to invest in and where to locate them. This paper describes Dickey and Evans' technique.

The technique is designed to utilize the data generated by a UFRD project. The survey generates data on the yearly number and travel times of visits made by people to various urban functions, and are then manipulated to determine an accessibility index for each function and zone in a region. The index is high when: "(a) functional establishments are a short distance from the particular zone, (b) travel time over the transport network to the functions is low, (c) the zone has a large population, (d) the function is relatively important, (and) (e) the zone is comparatively undeveloped (in terms of income, health,

education, etc.)" (p. 2). Once these accessibility indices are computed, the impact of a new function or linkage can be modeled.

To compute these accessibility indices based on the five factors, Dickey and Evans developed an eight-step formula, that contains certain basic and common simplifying assumptions, such as collapsing a zone to a centroid and using that centroid as the substitute for the larger zone. Nominally, the eight steps are to identify zones and zone centroid, identify transport links, compute inter-zonal travel times, develop indices of "functional travel convenience," weigh by importance of function, develop population weights, create development distribution weights, and calculate accessibility indices.

In order to use these indices to evaluate the impact of a project on the spatial system and on levels of accessibility, the authors add three steps: create and test government project packages, test sensitivities, and develop preliminary conclusions of the value of alternate project packages. An illustrative example is provided, and the eleven steps are worked through it.

Finally, the authors itemize thirteen modifications which they would add to the basic technique if time, money and the capability permit. They would: (1) use travel time decay functions, (2) calculate travel time limits, (3) divide decay functions into categories, (4) divide decay functions by mode of travel, (5) consider travel in the wet and dry seasons, (6) include travel prices, (7) include time and price of the function, (8) let citizens and politicians assign weights of importance to functions, (9) treat population in a zone as a proportion of the region's, (10) add external zones, (11) forecast altered population and linkage functions, (12) add new functional types, and (13) relate package accessibility indices to cost.

Garcia, E. 1980. Work report (September 3 - December 31, 1979): Project for the support of rural development planning system. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

On February 10, 1980 this work report was issued for the Bolivian Rural Development Planning (RDP) Project by Enrique Garcia, the leader of a team of seven long-term consultants assigned to the project. The work report covers RDP Project activities from September 3 through December 31, 1979. Only a small portion of the report is devoted to chronicling the progress of the Urban Functions in Rural Development component of the larger RDP Project.

Hugh Evans, the long-term consultant assigned to the UFRD Project, arrived in La Paz on October 6. Garcia reports that Evans attended a meeting of the larger RDP Project team during the week of October 15 to 21 and participated in the development of a comprehensive workplan for RDP. According to Garcia the workplan was submitted to the Ministry of Plan Coordination (MPC) and USAID on October 30, but because of political problems in Bolivia the plan was not approved until December. The workplan, therefore, covers the period from January 1980 to November 1982.

The objectives established for the UFRD component of RDP in the comprehensive workplan are to: (1) relate results obtained from the UFRD study in Potosi to sectoral development planning by means of the UFRD approach, (2) improve departmental planning by integrating it methodologically with the UFRD approach, (3) develop the concept of spatial planning embodied in UFRD, (4) conduct five workshops between 1980 and 1982, and (5) incorporate study results into the Five Year Departmental Plan of Potosi.

Activities scheduled for Evans in the workplan include: (1) organizing and supervising the first two UFRD workshops in Potosi, (2) gathering information, conducting field surveys, and codefying and analyzing resulting data, and (3) following the specific tasks developed in UFRD's individual workplan.

Finally, Garcia reports on the work Evans had done so far for the project. He notes that Evans had developed and proposed a workplan for the UFRD component and had made preparations for the first UFRD seminar.

Garcia, E. 1980. Second work report: January 1 - April 26, 1980. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The second work report to be issued by the Bolivian Rural Development Planning (RDP) Project covers the period from January 1 through April 26, 1980, although only a small portion of the report follows the progress of the larger RDP Project's UFRD component.

UFRD Project activities reported on include the first UFRD workshop. Eric Chetwynd, Dennis Rondinelli, Hugh Evans, members of the RDP Project team, representatives of the Ministry of Plan Coordination, and forty technicians from the Potosi Departmental Development Corporation (CORDEPO) and other local organizations attended the workshop. The workshop's purpose was to introduce all relevant institutions and individuals to the UFRD approach. Evans, the long term UFRD consultant, lectured in a course in Sucre in order to introduce the UFRD approach to representatives of the Department Development Corporations who were unable to attend the Potosi workshop. Finally, Ray Bromley visited Potosi and helped design a market survey for implementation during May and June. The UFRD Project team also inventoried several urban functions in urban centers with populations of two hundred or more.

The report also includes a workplan for the RDP Project. A more narrowly focused version of the one included with the first work report, it only goes through 1980. The goal of the UFRD component of RDP, according to the workplan, is to "improve intra-regional spatial planning in Potosi." The workplan also lists data to be obtained on urban functions, an analysis of urban functions, and two workshops to be held in January and in September.

Finally, the activities for the next quarter of RDP are identified. The tasks identified for the UFRD component are the completion of the first part of the UFRD analysis by mid-May, and the implementation of a field survey.

Garcia, E. 1980. Third progress report (Period: April 26 - July 27, 1980). Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

Covering the period from April 26 through July 27, 1980, the work report is the last received by the Office of Urban Development in Washington from the Bolivian Rural Development Planning Project. Only a small portion of the report is devoted to the progress of the Urban Functions in Rural Development component of the RDP Project.

UFRD Project activities reported on include: completing an interpretive analysis of baseline data and its use in the formulation of the Department of Potosi's Five Year Plan; completing most of the market surveys being implemented in partial fulfillment of the linkage analysis requirements; and, successfully integrating UFRD methodology with the Potosi Five Year Departmental Plan for the evaluation of rural development projects.

In the next quarter, UFRD activities were to implement fifteen or more market surveys, develop and implement a transportation survey during August and September, produce and evaluate function/settlement scalograms, complete all field survey work by September, and hold consultant visits by John Dickey and Dennis Rondinelli to develop the transportation survey.

McKee, T., and J. Riordan. 1981. Review of Bolivia's rural development planning grant. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From November 5 through November 19, 1981, Thomas McKee of the Latin America Bureau and James Riordan, a consultant, visited Bolivia to review the Rural Development Planning (RDP) Project and produced this report upon their return to the United States. It is divided into five sections. The first section is an introduction; the second section reviews and evaluates the technical assistance provided under the RDP Project. The third section describes and evaluates the regional planning system in Bolivia, while the fourth contains a list of recommendations on how to reorient the project for the future. Finally, the last section suggests a possible framework for expanding the project's capabilities.

Of the five methodologies that fall under the RDP Project rubric (refining data collection through use of existing sources, improving program selection strategies, improving sectoral analytical capabilities, introducing the urban

functions in rural development methodology, and developing post-project evaluation procedures), McKee and Riordan report that so far the UFRD component is the most successful. Their decision is based on the fact that at the time of their visit the results of the UFRD study had already been successfully integrated with the Departmental Development Corporation's ongoing planning process and into its Five Year Development Plan. McKee and Riordan recommend, therefore, that additional technical assistance be provided to the UFRD component of the RDP project to help enable the Development Corporation in Potosi to identify specific project packages for the region based on the UFRD methodology.

McNulty, M., and M.E. Conroy. 1977. An evaluation report on potential sites in Bolivia and Paraguay for the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

Dr. Michael McNulty, an urban/regional planner, and Michael Conroy of the University of Texas visited Bolivia and Paraguay in March, 1977 to assess the feasibility of initiating an Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in Latin America. Their report opens with a brief description of UFRD and its first field application in the Philippines. Most of the report, however, is devoted to evaluating alternate sites in Bolivia and Paraguay.

The four criteria that site selection should fulfill are: "(1) some degree of spatial complexity, including central places of varying size and functional specialization; (2) some degree of agricultural development such that the possibility of complementary rural-urban interaction is present; (3) some degree of locally or regionally oriented planning, interest, and planning capacity...; (4) a clear expression of interest on the part of the national government of the host country" (p. 3).

After applying the above criteria and considering the general settlement characteristics of the two countries and the nature of their government planning structures, the team recommends Bolivia over Paraguay as the better Latin America site for UFRD. A brief encyclopediac description of Bolivia supported by maps and tables is then provided, followed by settlement and migration patterns, and the history of spatial planning in Bolivia. The settlement pattern is dispersed and largely agrarian in character but has strong vestiges of a colonial mining economy. The mining centers are still the urban places which provide the most functions. According to the report, migrants in the nation flow exclusively into three of the nine departments containing primate cities or mining activities -- La Paz, Santa Cruz and Ourou. With regard to spatial planning, the report notes that Bolivia was one of the first nations in Latin America to develop a plan for regional development and that the Departmental Corporations, under the Ministry of Planning and Coordination, have a relatively high degree of autonomy.

Finally, four sites within Bolivia are evaluated and their advantages and disadvantages are weighed. Of the four sites considered -- Chuquisaca,

Cochamba, Santa Cruz and Tarya -- Chuquisaca and Cochamba are identified as the two most attractive sites from the UFRD perspective.

Rhoda, R. 1978. Scope of work for the urban-rural spatial planner (resident in Potosi). Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

In November of 1978, Richard Rhoda of the Office of Urban Development (DS/UD) visited Bolivia to develop a scope of work for an urban-rural spatial planner who was to be one component of a technical assistance package provided to Bolivia through the Rural Development Planning Project. This component constituted the UFRD contribution to that project.

The report opens with a general description of the position. The planner's chief objective, according to Rhoda, is to establish a permanent capacity in CORPEDO to: "(1) collect and analyze planning data, and (2) undertake urban functions in rural development (UFRD) analysis, planning and project identification."

Rhoda then details the specific responsibilities of the UFRD planner as: (1) help CORPEDO develop a planning data system; (2) help CORDEPO establish a "rational planning project"; (3) establish a capacity for UFRD data collection, analysis and project identification. This should include the development of an inventory of functions, the classification of urban centers into a hierarchy employing UFRD-tested methods, the identification and analysis of areas of influence, and the assessment of rural economic activities and development potential. The identification of the needs for new urban functions and their locations, the specification of a broad strategy for providing those functions, and the development of a process for identifying and prioritizing specific projects should also be established; (4) advise CODESA in Sucre on the UFRD approach; (5) evaluate the UFRD planning approach and make quarterly reports; and (6) develop study materials and conduct seminars.

Finally, the professional and personal charcteristics required of the planner are discussed.

Rondinelli, D. 1980. Trip report: Bolivia Rural Development Planning Project. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From January 2 to January 11, 1980 Dennis Rondinelli visited the UFRD Project in Bolivia to provide technical assistance to the Practical Concepts Inc. (PCI) contractor who had recently arrived in Potosi. The possibility of

providing technical asistance to the National Institute for Public Administration (ISAP) is explored in the report he submitted to the Office of Urban Development.

Rondinelli reports that most of his time was occupied with helping Hugh Evans, the PCI contractor, develop a detailed workplan and prepare for and conduct a training workshop for the benefit of the Departmental Development Corporation in Potosi (CORDEPO). Rondinelli also reports that he decided not to provide technical assistance to ISAP. Originally, it was hoped that the UFRD Project would influence ISAP's curriculum. However, Rondinelli found that ISAP was in the process of changing its administration and that working through ISAP would be inappropriate until the situation stabilized.

The workplan decided upon by Rondinelli and Evans consisted of ten tasks: baseline analysis, spatial system analysis, linkage analysis, analytical mapping, analysis of unintegrated or poorly served rural areas, identification of spatial and functional gaps, formulation of an investment framework, project identification, creation of an evaluation system, and creation of a continuing planning process. For a more detailed description of these tasks, see page 3 and pages 6 and 7 of the report.

Finally, Rondinelli offers some personal observations and comments concerning the UFRD Project. Among them are the following: (1) conditions in Potosi (data availability, organizational support from CORDEPO, show of enthusiasm) are favorable to successful UFRD adaption; (2) high priority has been given to the spatial implications of sectoral development plans. The Bolivians are anxious to include spatial dimensions in their Five Year Plan; (3) outside consultants will probably be needed to conduct market center and transport studies; (4) Evans will need at least three full-time research assistants to augment his project team of four part-time CORDEPO staff members; and (5) because the Bolivians have not operated within a regional planning framework before, the UFRD Project team will have to single-handedly develop such a framework and persuade CORDEPO to adopt it.

Appended to the report are a Spanish summary of the ten analytical tasks prescribed for the project and a schedule for the first workshop.

Rondinelli, D., and H. Evans. 1982. Integrated regional development planning: Linking urban centers and rural areas in Bolivia. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

One method of applying "integrated regional development planning," the UFRD Project in Potosi, is reviewed. According to the authors, integrated regional development (IRD) planning is a new approach to regional planning, which is aimed "at integrating urban centers and rural hinterlands, building the capacity of towns and cities to stimulate rural economies, and increasing the access of rural populations to town-based services" (p. 3). Much of the paper is devoted to explaining the IRD concept and the problems it faces.

The paper opens with a statement of the problems to which the IRD concept is applied. To summarize, the authors argue that the dual economy reflected in and reinforced by polarized settlement systems is an inefficient and inequitable way of organizing the space economy of a nation. Planning, through the adoption of growth pole and trickle-down approaches to development, have perpetuated, if not worsened, inefficient and unequal spatial distribution. To illustrate what a dual economy is and just how pervasive conditions of primacy tend to be in the Third World, Rondinelli and Evans describe the spatial system and patterns of economic development at the macro-level in South America and Bolivia.

The concept of integrated regional development rejects the faulty notion that growth will somehow expand naturally and effectively from growth centers. It makes the important point that economic growth and innovations cannot diffuse down to lower-order urban centers if there are no lower-order centers for them to diffuse down to. Rondinelli and Evans explain that the concept of IRD makes a strong case for creating a nationwide system of fully integrated urban places. The IRD concept is based on sound historical studies which show that "a key to internal economic growth has been the close relationship between urban centers and the countryside, and the emergence of market towns and small and intermediate-size cities that stimulate the commercialization of agriculture, facilitate the efficient production and exchange of goods throughout the national economy, provide access for rural people to central places... and that offer off-farm employment opportunities" (p. 2).

The bulk of the paper describes the UFRD approach to IRD planning and its application in Bolivia. The UFRD approach was developed for the Office of Urban Development in USAID, which recognized the inadequacy of the growth pole approach and sponsored a study which they hoped would explicate the IRD concept and develop a framework for operationalizing it. The study, which was prepared in 1976, succeeded on both counts. The general framework proposed involved "analyzing regions to determine the existing degree of articulation and integration of settlements and the strength of linkages between urban and rural areas" (p. 10). The authors stress that this framework was more flexible than rigid, and adaptable to individual circumstances.

The UFRD Project, the authors explain, was conceived as an experiment to test IRD planning methods in three locations, the Philippines, Upper Volta and Bolivia, which are then briefly described. Before reporting on the Bolivia field application, Rondinelli and Evans discuss five general principles derived from the field applications in the Philippines and Upper Volta and which guided the Bolivian project: (1) the UFRD Project should seek to establish a continuing planning process and not just a single plan; (2) design of the spatial analysis should be problem- and policy-oriented; (3) methods and techniques employed by the project should be simple and easily understandable; (4) generation of primary data should be kept to essentials; and (5) the project should use a <u>combination</u> of analytical methods. In addition, the authors define certain key terms: urban functions, articulated spatial systems, functionally specialized communities, and integration.

Finally, the paper reports on the Bolivia field application. This section of the paper is organized around the ten-step methodology employed in Potosi.

Each step is explained, and the findings which it generated are discussed. The ten steps are: (1) baseline resource analysis -- inter-regional and intra-regional, (2) identification of settlements -- the growth of settlements and the urban hierarchy, (3) analysis of linkages, (4) accessibility study, (5) analytical mapping, (6) interpretation of the existing spatial structure, (7) formulation of a strategy of integrated regional development, (8) identification of projects and formulation of an investment plan, (9) implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and (10) the creation of a continuing planning process.

In their closing remarks, the authors hint at the true purpose for and utility of the UFRD approach, writing: "the methodology seeks to provide, quickly and easily, the macro-regional information needed to make micro-investment policies and decisions" (p. 40).

Rondinelli's 1980 paper, "Concepts and methods of integrating rural development planning" is further developed in this report.

USAID. 1978. Bolivia project paper: Rural development planning. Washington, DC: USAID.

This is the project paper for the Rural Development Planning (RDP) Project under which the Bolivian field application of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project was subsumed. The paper goes into considerable detail in describing the project's background, goals, purposes, design, and relevance. Technical, financial, social, economic, and institutional perspectives are also analyzed, and implementation plans are discussed.

According to the paper, the project's goal "is to improve the standard of living of the rural poor through the improvement of the Bolivian planning system" and "to improve the technical consistency and coordination of the planning systems in the Departments of Pando, Beue, Tarya, Chiqiusaca and Potosi, and the Ministry of Planning and Coordination (MPC) in order to increase the effectiveness of the planning and execution of their rural development in accordance with national objectives and priorities contained in the Five Year Plan."

The paper explains that the project will consist of technical assistance and training primarily to these five departments, and secondarily to the MPC. Technical assistance is to be comprised of twenty-one work years of long term technicians (three work years each of three regional planners, two operations management specialists, one agricultural sector planner, and one specialist in integrated rural-urban development) and three work years of short term consultants. A rough scope of work for each technician is included in the paper. For the integrated rural-urban development specialist (the UFRD component of the project) the rough scope includes the following analytical tasks: (1) to classify centers in each department by functional definitions, (2) to identify services and facilities provided by urban centers, (3) to identify inter- and intra-departmental links between urban centers, (4) to determine the area of

influence of each urban center, (5) to assess agricultural activity, potential and problems, (6) to perform analysis of rural-urban linkages and critical urban functions using data from 1 through 4 as the baseline, (7) to identify weaknesses and gaps based on 1 through 6. Projects will be developed to address these deficiencies, and then be put into the context of overall departmental development plans, (8) to develop an evaluation system for project monitoring, and (9) to hold workshops on integrated rural-urban development.

The paper also explains the reasons for choosing Potosi as the department requiring the spatial planner. It notes that Potosi, of the five departments participating in the project, has the greatest population concentration and the greatest number of urban centers. Though the existing development corporation (CORDEPO) did not yet have the capability to collect or analyze sophisticated spatial data, the paper argues that it could develop this capability with the help of an American contractor.

In terms of the opportunity for UFRD to have a meaningful impact on the planning process, the paper identifies four features of the Bolivian planning system to improve this opportunity: "planning decisions are centralized so that program coordination can be facilitated; the process recognizes the need for regional inputs from the departmental corporations; the project-oriented nature of the process assures that the plan can be implemented and does not stand just as a document of aspirations; and finally, the GOB (Government of Bolivia) is strongly committed to effective national planning as evidenced by the effort and emphasis given to the Five Year and annual plans" (p. 15).

Another opportunity for UFRD to affect the Bolivian planning process lies in the emphasis placed in the RDP Project on training and institution-building. This feature of the project fits well with the UFRD approach, which also stresses the critical importance of institution-building. Pursuant to this "key ingredient" of the RDP Project, the project paper reports that the spatial planner resident in Potosi will meet at least once a week with the local staff, provide constant on-the-job training, develop course and study materials, and arrange and conduct five workshops on integrated rural-urban development.

USAID. 1978. Grant project agreement between the Government of Bolivia and the Government of the United States of America: Rural development planning. Washington, DC: USAID.

This is the project grant agreement for the Rural Development Planning (RDP) Project under which the Bolivia field application of the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project was subsumed. Annex I of the agreement contains most information relevant to the project. Information contained in the annex constitutes the project's contractual obligations.

According to Annex I, "the objective of the Project is to make systematic conceptual and technical improvements in plan preparation and project preparation and their implementation at the departmental and national levls, emphasizing the former level and activities which directly affect the rural sector ...

The project focuses on the Ministry of Planning and Coordination (MPC) and the Departmental Development Corporations (DDCs) in the 5 departments of Pando, Beni, Tarya, Potosi, and Chuquisaca, in order to increase the scope and effectiveness of regional develoment plans and rural development programs, including the integration of rural-urban develoment, in these areas."

In order to accomplish this objective, the contract provides technical assistance to the five DDCs. The technical assistance package is to consist of seven long term technicians for a total of twenty-one work years and three work years worth of short term assistance. The team of long term advisors consists of three regional planners, two operations management specialists, one agriculture sector planner, and one specialist in integrated rural-urban development. Each technician's general responsibilities is described. For instance, the agreement states that: "The specialist in integrated rural-urban development will be assigned to Potosi, and will work on innovative analytical and operational approaches to integrated rural-urban development planning throughout the Project area" (p. 8).

According to the agreement: "the training element constitutes an important ingredient of the Project ..." (p. 10). In a teaching role, each technician is expected to hold weekly meetings with local staff, provide continuous on-the-job training, prepare study materials and hold seminars. Additionally, the rural-urban development specialist is responsible for conducting five UFRD workshops on regional planning in the context of rural-urban linkages.

The agreement also describes the responsibilities of the institutions involved with the project. The Ministry of Planning and Coordination (MPC) is described as the primary implementing agency responsible for overall coordination, overseeing the development of materials and guidelines for development plans, developing an overall implementation plan annually, evaluating the project each year, and developing its internal planning and training capabilities. The DDC directors are described as responsible for coordinating the efforts of the technical assistance teams and working with them on a day-to-day basis, while DDC presidents are responsible for approving workplans and providing policy guidance. The National Institute of Public Administration is responsible for the project's training aspects, both in the short term through collaboration with the technical assistance team, and in the long term an American-trained staff member.

Finally, project financial obligations of the Government of Bolivia and USAID are enumerated.

The Guatemala Project

Carey, K.L., and S.E. Carey. 1981. An opportunity for development: Local participation in highland Guatemala. Prepared for USAID and the Government of Guatemala. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University (Available in Spanish).

The Careys' report is the final product of the local participation component (Activity One) of the Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project in Guatemala. Five objectives defined for this activity in the IADS Project grant agreement are to: "(1) elicit in a sensitive manner the expressions of the population regarding their preferences, needs and priorities; (2) test the relative effectiveness and efficiency of alternative methods of soliciting local participation; (3) compare the expressions of local perceptions and planning proposals based on technical criteria; (4) synthesize community preferences and technical planning recommendations into a common set of feasible and desirable investments ranked by priority; (and) (5) educate the community so that their expressions of felt needs are constrained to the general realm of feasibility."

According to the report, the activity originally focused on testing and evaluating "different methods of incorporating local participation in the development process." This focus was redefined because of Guatemala's socio-political situation, and the lack of a counterpart for several months. Because no projects were identified by IADS, it was impossible to involve the local population in any meaningful or constructive way. The focus therefore shifted from experiment to study and relied upon two regional surveys and in-depth case studies.

Significantly, rural people perceive potable water, health care, roads, schools and electrical service as required major infrastructure and service improvements. These views are shared by farmers and community leaders alike, and represent views which are already "constrained to the general realm of feasibility" (see objective 5). The other significant finding relates to participation patterns in Guatemala. The Careys conclude that there is a high level of voluntary local involvement, usually through community organizations, during the design and execution phases of projects that are perceived as useful by the rural people.

Iowa State University. 1978. Integrated area development studies for Guatemala. Research proposal submitted to USAID Mission in Guatemala. Ames, Iowa: ISU

The proposal's technical section explains how the project team intends to execute the Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project pending contract by USAID. It explains proposed research designs for the project's infrastructure and services inventory, rural-urban hierarchy study, natural resource base inventory and study, travel patterns survey and accessibility study, local participation component, and planning methodology component. Included is a discussion of the anticipated problems, such as commitment on the part of

sponsoring agencies, cooperation of the local population, and the consistency of data collection techniques.

The management proposal discusses the project team's qualifications and facility and faculty capabilities at Iowa State University. Three appendices are attached to the research proposal: vitae of project team members, a description of Iowa State University's Land Use Analysis Lab, and a description of other Iowa State University facilities.

Iowa State University. 1983. A rural development planning program for Guatemala. Ames, Iowa: ISU.

According to the final report of the Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project conducted in Guatemala:

> This report summarizes the activities carried out as a part of the Integrated Area Development Study (IADS). The purpose of this section is to present the format of this report. This final report, with the technical report "Data Processing Procedures," constitutes documentation of the study.
>
> Chapter 2, The Data Base, describes the development of the integrated data base which was the data source for all planning analyses performed as a part of the study. The source of the data, how it was collected, the types of statistical and spatial analyses performed, and a brief description of the computer software used are all included. (A separate technical report, "IADS Technical Report: Data Processing Procedures," includes all of the computer programs used during the spatial and statistical analytical phases of one project.) Examples of computer-assisted analyses performed are also included in Chapter 2.
>
> Chapter 3, Hierarchical O a ization of Settlements in Guatemala, describes some of the basic precepts of central place theory. This is followed by a description of the process that led to the decelopment of a central place hierarchy for the study area based on data from the study. This chapter concludes with an examination of the hierarchy and retail connectivity.
>
> Chapter 4, Local Participation, describes the local participation component included in the project, how local desires were ascertained, and how these desires were used as input to the planning process developed for the project.
>
> Chapter 5, Regional Planning Method for Setting Public Investment Priorities, discusses the regional planning method devised. The basic ingredients used in the method are described, along with the source of the data. The concept of development gaps to measure the

relative levels of five basic types of infrastructure available within municipios and the estimation of the potential increase in agricultural production by municipio are both described. How these are analyzed together to produce a single composite measure of the "regional development suitability index" is then discussed. This chapter also includes a discussion of how local desires were used as input to the planning method.

McKee, T., and J. Riordan. 1982. Untitled. An evaluation of the integrated area development studies in Guatemala. Prepared for the USAID Mission in Guatemala. Washington, DC: USAID.

From January 7-14, 1982 Thomas McKee and James Riordan of the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC/DR) were in Guatemala to evaluate the Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project and issued this report on their return. In the main, their evaluation is optimistic. They do make a distinction, however, between three successfully executed studies and the development of an unsuccessful systematic planning methodology. The report is organized around the logical framework that governed the project grant agreement's project design.

McKee and Riordan report that the program goal of increasing small farmer incomes and improving the well-being of rural populations has not been met. However, they argue that the program goal may be realized indirectly through providing new infrastructure and services, which will result from projects identified by the IADS Project team. They also note that no institutional mechanism had been established for tying the program goal and planning more closely, but that IADS could provide the "key ingredients" to make integration of planning and programming possible.

In evaluating progress toward achieving the project goal (facilitating the development and adoption of a systematic planning methodology by Guatemalan agencies), the authors use four "objectively verifiable" indicators, three technical and one institutional. The technical indicators suggest that the goals of the project have been, or at least will be, met. The institutional indicator, however, suggests that they have not and may never be met. In support of this conclusion, the authors present a considerable amount of evidence, including: few government institutions, outside of INFOM and MinAg, appear to be interested in IADS; planning remains rigidly centralized despite the decentralized needs of IADS; and the CNPE has little control over the execution of its identified projects.

With respect to specific project outputs and activities, McKee and Riordan report that Study One (rural/urban hierarchy) and Study Two (natural resource potential) went well. Study Three (accessibility to services and functions) went well but had some significant problems. Activity One (the local participation component) did not go well, and Activity Two was not going well but could be salvaged, given greater funding.

The authors also identify the lessons to be learned from the project: statements of objectives in future integrated area development projects should be limited; a different organizational approach should be used; and the problem of access to local computer facilities should be resolved early on. Finally, McKee and Riordan make recommendations on how to proceed with the IADS project. They suggest that the project be reevaluated at the end of 1982; decentralized planning be fostered; further analytic assistance also be provided, and the completion of Activity Two be funded.

USAID. 1978. Project paper: Guatemalan integrated area development studies. Prepared for USAID/Guatemala. Washington, DC: USAID.

USAID's project paper describes the setting and rationale of the Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project, the project's goals, purpose, outputs and inputs, and the project methodologies.

The project's programmatic goal is to improve the quality of life and increase the incomes of Guatemalans in rural areas. To determine the degree to which rural areas are constrained by the lack of infrastructure and service coverage, and to overcome these constraints through investment schemes is the project's purpose. In order to realize these goals the project paper proposes that a systematic methodology be developed that determines investment suitability according to economic potential of the natural resource base, investment site; need for specific types of public infrastructure and services; and spatial relationships of the site to surrounding localities. A priority investment plan should be the end result of this methodology.

In order to develop the methodology, certain data and studies are recognized as essential inputs. The project paper calls for two studies to be executed and for the results of the studies to be integrated into a planning methodology development activity. The first study is a definition of the rural/urban hierarchy, an inventory of existing services and infrastructure and an analysis of linkages between centers and their hinterlands, and between centers and centers. The outputs proposed for this study are: 1) a spatially defined inventory of rural infrastructure and services; 2) a series of maps and overlays which present the above inventory; 3) coded inventory data to be computerized and made easily accessible to the informational needs of planners; 4) a manual which describes the maps, overlays and computer programs; and 5) a final report.

Tasks necessary to produce these outputs are: 1) to prepare a "state-of-the-art" paper in Spanish and English to be used as the basic document for workshops which familiarize government planners with spatial analysis techniques, 2) to collect secondary data, 3) to generate survey data from 157 municipalities on infrastructure, services, and trade linkages, 4) to organize, map, computerize and analyze collected data, and 5) to draft the final report.

The other proposed study is an inventory of the natural resource base and the determination of its economic potential for each location in the study area. Outputs suggested for the study and tasks necessary to produce them are also detailed. It is then proposed that the information provided by these two studies be readied for use in the proposed systematic methodology. The form to be taken by the methodology is not outlined in the project paper, under the assumption that it will be a project outgrowth. However, the questions which the methodology should address are identified, and illustrative examples of methods which can be employed to answer these questions are provided.

In order to improve the project's chances for "a positive impact on the planning process," the authors of the paper suggest that a steering committee composed of representatives from various agencies be created and incorporated into all phases of the project.

The paper also discusses events that led to the project proposal. The project is designed to respond to the pervasive poverty in the 206 municipalities designated by USAID as target areas. Problems identified as responsible for this poverty are the limited land base available to the majority of farm families, under-utilization of available labor, lack of appropriate technologies needed to raise levels of productivity, and inadequate access to basic infrastructure and services. IADS is designed to handle the last of these problems. In an intensive review of Guatemala's service and infrastructure investment methodologies commissioned by the USAID Mission and conducted by Allen Austin and George Muncrief, it was decided that Guatemala had no systematic or deliberate methods or criteria by which to chose between such investments. As a result, little of the data necessary to make choices between higher and lower order center were collected, such that the lower order centers were largely overlooked. These problems are expected to be ameliorated through the IADS Project.

In addition to discussing the project background and the project itself, the paper also includes a discussion of central place theory and its applicability to rural development in Guatemala. It is argued that central place theory is, in fact, eminently applicable, and a study conducted by Carol A. Smith describing the spatial economy of the Guatemala Highlands is offered as proof of this assertion.

Finally, the project's financial, personnel and institutional requirements are discussed in depth. Also, the responsible Guatemalan government agencies are listed, and the extent and nature of their involvement is outlined.

The paper has five appendices a project design summary, a map of USAID target areas, an environmental impact statement, maps illustrating Study One and Study Two results, and an illustration of the application of the data and methodology.

USAID. 1978. General agreement between DS/UD and USAID/Guatemala on collaborative project implementation. Memorandum between the Office of Urban Development and the Guatemala Mission, July 31. Washington, DC: USAID.

In late June of 1978, John Dickey and Michael Conroy of the Office of Urban Development (DS/UD) visited the USAID/Guatemala Mission in order to assess potential for cooperation between the two institutions on an area development project planned by the mission. As a result of their efforts, a collaborative general agreement between DS/UD and USAID/Guatemala was drafted.

The purpose of this agreement is to link "two closely-related and complementary projects with respect to determining the needs and priorities for economic and social infrastructure and services of the type required to improve the well-being of the rural poor majority in Guatemala." The two projects to be combined are DS/UD's Rural Demand for Urban Service Systems (RDUSS) Project and the mission's Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project. The agreement includes a brief summary of both projects, and discusses potential inter-agency cooperation. It lists eight specific steps proposed by the mission for expanding its IADS Project to include RDUSS. In return, DS/UD agreed to provide financial and managerial resources to the IADS project. The exact kind and amount of these provisions are detailed in the agreement.

USAID. 1978. Project grant agreement between the Government of Guatemala represented by the General Secretaries of the National Planning Council (SGNPC) and the United States of America through USAID. Washington, DC: USAID.

The project grant agreement signed between USAID and the Government of Guatemala provides a wealth of information about the Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project. It both describes the project and details the logistics of its execution. As a contract, it establishes the project's legal obligations and is therefore the project's working document.

Annex I of the agreement contains most of the relevant information about project goals and design. IADS's program goal is to improve the quality of life and to increase the incomes of Guatemalan citizens in rural areas, while the project goal is to "evaluate and execute a systematic planning methodology based upon infrastructure, services and natural resource data collected at the level of the municipality for determining the needs and priorities for investment in economic and social infrastructure and services of the type required to improve the well being and increase the incomes of rural Guatemala."

The annex specifies as project outputs the following: 1) three studies "which will provide data at the municipal level on present infrastructure and services, natural resources and effective access to infrastructure and services; 2) experiments in local participation; 3) specification of a planning

methodology (and); 4) an information center consisting of the materials compiled during the project." Study One is an inventory of existing infrastructure within the 206 muncipalities and an analysis of goods and service linkages between the settlements in the municipalities. Products specified for this study are a descriptive report and supporting maps. Study Two evaluates the natural resource base and determines the economic potential of each site in the study area. A detailed report and supporting maps are the products specified for this study. Study Three considers the accessibility of the rural areas to urban-based functions and services and of farmers to agricultural inputs and markets. The paper calls for the study to be based on a statistical sample of the 206 municipalities and to analyze information of travel times and travel behavior based on a detailed report and supporting maps.

The results of the project are to be used to determine and identify: 1) economic potential according to the natural resource at each possible site for investment; 2) needs and specific types of public infrastructure and services at each site and; 3) suitability of locating a public investment at a particular site given the spatial relationship of that site to surrounding localities.

The agreement also details the project's administrative arrangements and discusses its funding requirements. Also, the agreement specifies that the project evaluations (quarterly reports, a final report, and reports every one to two years after the project's completion) should assess "the extent to which national institutions are utilizing the data generated and the methodology developed in planning infrastructure and service investment programs and projects.

It should be noted here that copies of the IADS quarterly activity reports are available from USAID.

USAID. 1978. Draft technical assistance scope of work. Prepared for the Guatemala Integrated Area Development Studies Project, Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

This is the scope of work for the technical assistance to be provided by USAID for the Integrated Area Development Studies (IADS) Project. It details the tasks for each of the consultants, who include two long term regional planning advisors, a local participation advisor, a systems analyst, a land classification advisor, an agronomist, an economic geographer, an economic survey specialist, a computer advisor, and a transportation specialist.

The Cameroon Project

Dulin, G., and T. Moon. 1982. Untitled. Report on the productive sector conducted for the Urban Functions in Rural Development in North Cameroon Project. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

From February to March of 1982, G. Dulin, Jr. and Timothy Moon of the PDC consulting firm visited the North Cameroon UFRD Project in order to assist the project team in identifying possible interventions in the productive sector. This report explores three factors that contribute to a healthy, growing productive sector:

1. Institutional support for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs)

Institutions which provide management and/or technical assistance to SME's are identified and described. Among those discussed are the National Center for Assistance for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (CAPME), the principle institution which promotes SMEs and coordinates its activities with FOGAPE private banks and the Cameroon Development Bank; and the Fund for Aid and Credit Guarantees for Small and Medium Enterprises (FOGAPE), which offers technical assistance to FOGAPE loan recipients. The Cameroon Cotton Development Company (SODECOTTON) is also very important to area SMEs. It is principally involved with cotton production, processing and marketing, as well as providing extensive extension service and helping to create village cooperatives for organized marketing. In-field agricultural services are provided by the Center for the Experimentation and Study of Farm Equipment (CENEEMA), whose primary function is to meet the productive sector's appropriate technology needs. Also active in institutional support is the Maroua Technical Center (CTM), a school that offers a three-year technical training program.

In order to bolster SME promotional institutions in the most efficient and cost-effective way, Dulin and Moon recommend that attention be focused exclusively on CAPME. In particular, they recommend that two business extension specialists be hired to work out of Mokolo and Guider. This, they argue, will augment the capabilities of the Garoua office. Around this idea, Dulin and Moon develop a project proposal that requests funding for two full time extension specialists who will be called upon to: (1) design and develop manuals that describe the operations and service of CAPME assistance; (2) distribute these manuals to at least the twenty-nine village centers identified in the UFRD core area, and to work with interested SMEs in submitting requests for assistance; and (3) coordinate the activities of organizations working to promote artisans and SMEs in the core zone.

2. Potential for agro-industrial development

In order to assess agro-industrial development potential in the UFRD project zone, Dulin and Moon review projects and programs currently underway in the region, identify factors constraining agro-industrial development potential, and suggest measures to lift those constraints. The large number of publicly and privately funded projects in the area lead Dulin and Moon to conclude that there is a great potential for agro-industrial development. However, they

identify two constraints on potential development: (1) "the absence of a clearinghouse for past and present projects, and (2) of a reliable mechanism for undertaking pre-feasibility studies of potential investment opportunities" (p. 5).

Because all the organizations in the area are incapable of responding to these problems, Dulin and Moon recommend that an "Office of Identification and Promotion of Agro-Industrial Projects in the Northern Province," under the Northern Provincial Delegation of MINEP, be created. The eleven tasks proposed for the new organization include: to act as a central clearinghouse for all information pertaining to agro-industry; to establish a library of all completed feasibility and pre-feasibility studies; to establish close contact and coordination with relevant private and public organizations; to solicit investor interest in projects through publicity and dissemination of a brochure; and to study the feasibility of export activities to be directed through the new Garoua Airport.

3. Financial support for small enterprises (SEs)

In their report on financial support for SEs, the authors briefly describe the parastatal organizations which provide guaranteed credit, and include the extent and nature of their credit activities and links with international organizations. Organizations who support SEs include the Cameroon Development Bank (BCD), FOGAPE, and the National Rural Development Fund (FONADER) and their Special Fund for Rural Activities (FSAR). Fundamental problems identified with these credit institutions are insufficient personnel to reach the project zone effectively, inappropriately high credit and guarantee levels, low credit recovery, and inattention to the Northern Province in general.

Dulin and Moon argue that it would be difficult and inefficient to try to solve these problems by investing in or expanding any of the existing organizations. Either they have had serious loan repayment problems (FSAR and FONADER), or are in the habit of funding larger projects than are appropriate to the UFRD project zone (BCD and FOGAPE). Dulin and Moon therefore recommend the creation of a new institution with the sole requirement that its size remain small. An issue that must be resolved before a new institution is created, they argue, is who should oversee it. To arrive at this decision, they recommend that a "round-table" discussion on the financial requirements of SEs in the core zone and on the proper institutional authority be organized by MINEP with the above institutions, with representation from CAPME.

Farbman, M. 1979. Untitled. Cameron TDY Report. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

This report documents Michael Farbman's trip made to North Cameroon from March to April 1979. Farbman reports that the trip was the culmination of a fifteen-month long dialogue between USAID/Yaounde and the Office of Urban Development (DS/UD) on urban-related subjects. He reports that he and Melissa

Burns of PACDO, a private consulting firm, visited the north of Cameroon for five days and spent seven days in Yaounde and one in Douala discussing with officials the possibility of setting in motion a field operation of DS/UD's Rural Demand for Urban Services System (RDUSS) Project. During their two-week stay, Farbman says, it became quite clear that RDUSS was a very attractive project to the Cameroon officials. Of the urban issues concerning the mission, the development of secondary cities was felt to be most urgent. For this reason, Farbman reports, the team focused on RDUSS.

In this report Farbman also describes various development activities in the Mandara mountain region -- the region targeted for develoment by USAID and the most likely site for an RDUSS project. For a more lengthy description of the trip and its results see USAID's Urban Functions in Rural Development in North Cameroon: Terms of reference (1979).

Fass, S. 1982. Cameroon-Urban Functions in Rural Development Project Report and tentative outline of final Report. Memorandum to Rudi Klauss, Director of Technical Cooperation Project, January 8.

Simon Fass, a private consultant to the Office of Urban Development, visited North Cameroon from December to January 1982 to provide technical assistance to the UFRD Project team. While reviewing and commenting on the sectoral papers prepared for Phase II of the project (agriculture, transport, communication, electricity, health and the productive sector), Fass discovered that the paper on the productive sector was inadequate. When his attempts at salvaging the report via scissors and glue failed, he spent additional time making arrangements to secure two American contractors to redo the study.

Fass also reports that while in Cameroon he developed a table of contents for the project's final report, planned and scheduled the second seminar, handled contractual matters and met with Cameroon officials. Finally, he notes that the Cameroon counterparts seemed confused as to who was the actual project director.

Miner, W.B. 1981. TDY in Cameroon, January 20-27, 1981. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

William Miner's trip to the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project in North Cameroon was to document the project's progress and to help draft a six-month workplan. This report chronicles the project's history, discusses specific project progress, describes the six-month workplan and makes several observations on the project.

According to Miner, the project did not become operational until September 1980 (almost a year late) due to difficulties in recruiting a field team. The field team that was eventually assembled consisted of Ed Perry (project leader, urban/regional planner), John Horton (economist) and Kamoula Bayie (Cameroon sociologist). Miner also reports that the original administrative arrangements made for the project had been changed. Institutional and technical support for the project was no longer provided by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning (MINEP), but rather was provided by the Division de l'Amenagement du Territoire (DAT) of the newly created Ministry of Urbanism and Housing (MINUH). On the USAID side, Miner reports that Gary Bittner, after a series of mission staff changes, was appointed the USAID project manager. These changes in mission staff, Miner alleges, were also responsible for the delay in the arrival of the American team in Cameroon from September 1980 to November 1980, and for changes made in the original program and geographic dimensions of the project. The base of operations, for instance, was changed from Maroua to Garoua, the capital of the northern region.

After this brief project history, Miner offers a series of personal observations from his trip, which provide some valuable insights. For instance, he notes that the UFRD Project is particularly well-suited to the needs of the DAT because the DAT focuses its activities exclusively on secondary cities, linkages between the urban and rural sectors, and on altering rural to urban migration patterns.

Project progress, Miner reports, was made in the areas of documentation, developing and testing a questionnaire "for use in surveying a selected number of villages" in order to learn about the location and use of existing infrastructure and services; and in interpersonal exchange of information and technical assistance. Village profiles that included primary data, an inventory of services, and secondary data on the region as a whole were also gathered, using a questionnaire which asked about the existence and location of services and facilities, migration patterns, social infrastructure, agricultural services and problems, livestock, commerce, roads and transportation, and perceived needs; and a group interview of selected village professionals.

Miner also proposes a detailed workplan for the next six months which includes: collecting all existing data and studies relevant to the project including village population figures from the census, agricultural production figures by crop and area, topography and land use, transport facilities, per capita consumption and production data, soil conditions, precipitation, and crop input requirement and establishing contacts with institutions and activities in the area relevant to the project. Inventorying centers and services with the aid of a questionnaire and a verbal interview; and generating data on movement patterns of people for different functions are also recommended. The workplan also requests the project to compile a socioeconomic profile of the project area and the more important villages within it; to identify a hierarchy of centers and their areas of influence. The project would also assess the present state of agriculture and problems, using secondary source materials; identify possible programs for increased agricultural production; survey small-scale agro-industry; and draft and overview social practices, especially those related to agriculture, to determine perceived needs and demands of the rural

population. Throughout Phase I, Miner reports, close coordination with every possible and relevant institution will be heavily stressed.

Finally, Miner notes that the Cameroon Mission suggested that four to six months of the eighteen-month study be spent on prefeasibility studies of "individual projects, but the project team felt that this would be impossible." Miner relates that the project team is more interested with institutionalizing the UFRD planning process within the Cameroon.

O'Regan, F. 1980. Cameroon planning design: Integration of social and technical aspects of planning. Memorandum to Ed Perry, Office of Urban Development, USAID, August.

On August 15, 1980 Fred O'Regan sent a letter to Ed Perry (project director, Cameroon Urban Functions in Rural Development Project) advising him on how to integrate the social information generated by the UFRD project with the technical information it also generates. O'Regan, who co-authored a study entitled "Eliciting local needs in planning for urban-based services for rural demand" sponsored by the Office of Urban Development, intended to help Perry with the difficult task of adding the social "participation" dimension to the technical UFRD planning approach.

O'Regan states that in order to increase the chances that identified projects will meet with local support, the UFRD planner must elicit the perceived development needs of the local population, gain an understanding of the productive capacities of the intended beneficiaries, and assure that the projects selected are consistent with the needs and capacities of the rural poor.

O'Regan then describes why the approach for incorporating social information developed for use in UFRD must be modified in the North Cameroon context. He argues that because the Cameroon project is "being undertaken without a solid institutional base and with no guaranteed implementational prospects or role (p. 2)," the situation is unique and not consistent with his approach. However, he also explains that because the approach's primary purpose is to produce an investment strategy that "is sensitive to local cultural, political and economic realities," it is still appropriate to the Cameroon project, since one of its objectives is to develop such a strategy.

The bulk of the letter is devoted to suggesting a detailed workplan on how to incorporate social information with technical information. First, he suggests that an extensive search of secondary sources be performed to: (1) develop a series of ethnographic/development maps; (2) describe the distinct economic practices of different ethnic groups; and (3) discern the commonalities in productive practices among different ethnic groups. Survey techniques that might be utilized in initial field research during this phase are explored.

Second, O'Regan suggests that a series of in-depth, on-site interviews be conducted. The output of this task, O'Regan suggests, should be a final report addressing the social component and showing evidence that social constraints on the technical perogatives of the planning process were given serious consideration and influenced final implementation recommendations.

PADCO. 1979. Urban Functions in Rural Development in North Cameroon: Terms of reference. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID (Available in French).

This report documents a trip made by Michael Farbman of USAID's Office of Urban Development (DS/UD) and Melissa Burns of PADCO to the USAID Mission in Cameroon (USAID/Y), the purpose of which was to discuss possible cooperation between DS/UD and USAID/Y on a project. The report examines the prevailing trends in North Cameroon regarding development policy, urbanization and development, and the potential role that secondary cities and markets can play in development and aid programs underway. A rationale for developing a project designed to strengthen urban functions is then presented.

The report notes that little attention has been given to urban centers in North Cameroon apart from its two largest cities, Douala and Yaounde. Because of this, the authors claim, indigenous planners have grown intolerant of narrow centralized investment policies and the Government of Cameroon and USAID/Y have begun to emphasize integrated rural development programs. The Cameroon Mission thus sought the aid of DS/UD in developing a project that would help develop secondary cities and towns while stressing their supporting role in rural development.

The report also examines the current relationship between urbanization and development in Cameroon. Rural to urban migration is considered the most severe of urban problems, as it imposes severe strains on existing cities and impedes the potential for rural growth. The authors emphasize that migration is caused more by a push from rural areas than by a pull to urban areas. Therefore, rural-urban migration flows are an indictment of development policies, rather than a vindication of narrow investment in a few urban centers.

Effective development in rural areas, the next section of the report argues, is largely contingent upon strengthening the contribution of secondary cities and market towns. The authors conclude that it is a serious mistake to overlook the critical role of spatial planning in the rural development process. A review of aid programs in North Cameroon follows. Because USAID targeted the Mandara Mountains for development activities in its 1979 Cameroon country development strategy statement, discussion of aid programs is limited to those in this region.

The authors then argue that those projects seeking to increase the productivity of agriculture and livestock will result in an increase in the demand and need for rural goods and services and may reduce labor/output ratios. This

presents a two-fold problem: how to provide the necessary goods and services and how to provide off-farm employment in order to absorb increasing numbers of laborers who cannot effectively be employed in agriculture. By providing goods and services in urban centers, and by improving infrastructure, necessary off-farm employment opportunities will spontaneously be provided.

The report concludes with the terms of reference for a project that would address the aforementioned concerns in the form of a three-phased workplan. Phase I would evaluate the rural and urban systems in some region, Phase II would identify and analyze rural-urban linkages and Phase III would identify gaps and formulate an investment plan.

PADCO. 1979. Technical memorandum: Notes on the terms of reference for a study of urban functions in rural development in North Cameroon. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

The workplan appended to the Urban Functions in Rural Development in North Cameroon: Terms of reference report is expanded in this memorandum.

Phase I of the proposed workplan is an assessment of rural and urban systems combining a preliminary inventory of secondary data and information, an analysis of the data to determine the hierarchy of central places, the drafting of descriptive profiles, and a workshop on the results. Phase II is the identification and analysis of rural-urban linkages culminating in another workshop. Finally, Phase III identifies gaps and formulates an investment plan, including an assessment of: (1) gaps in urban functions and services; (2) linkages needed to articulate the spatial system; and (3) compatibility of identified projects with the needs of the rural poor and the development objectives of Cameroon planners.

USAID. 1979. Project grant agreement between the United Republic of Cameroon and the United States of America for Urban Functions in Rural Development in North Cameroon. Washington, DC: USAID.

A wealth of information about the Urban Functions in Rural Development Project is provided in the project grant agreement between Cameroon and the United States. It both describes the project and details the logistics of its execution. As a contract, it establishes the legal obligations entailed in the project.

Annex I of the agreement contains most of the relevant information about project goals and design. The project's goal is to develop an institutional framework in order to increase the access of the rural poor to existing urban services and facilities, while the project's purpose is to strengthen the

rural-oriented strategy employed in the Mandara Mountains by integrating urban development components. Project objectives are: (1) "to analyze the spatial system"; (2) "to determine the degree to which the spatial system is sufficiently articulated" to allow growth with equity; (3) "to identify potential project areas and establish general locational criteria for future investments in services, facilities and infrastructure"; and (4) "to develop and test appropriate methods of spatial analysis" as a contribution to a continuing planning process in North Cameroon.

The project is divided into three phases: assessment of rural and urban systems, identification and analysis of rural-urban linkages, and identification of gaps and the formulation of an investment plan. The agreement also requires: (1) a report describing the techniques to be used in Phase I for determining the needs and demands of the rural poor and an explanation of how this participatory role in the planning process might be institutionalized; (2) a bibliography itemizing existing data sources and data to be generated by the project; (3) reports summarizing the proceedings and findings of the first, second and third workshops; (4) a preliminary report from Phase II to be used in the second workshop; (5) a report during Phase III describing gaps and identifying urban project areas; (6) a report prepared toward the end of Phase III assessing the feasibility of integrating project outputs with development plans; (7) a report assessing the re-applicability of the project to other regions in Cameroon; (8) a final project report; and (9) periodic quarterly reports. In addition, two evaluations conducted by the Cameroon Mission are scheduled for the project.

The agreement also states that the project team (a spatial planner, an economist and a sociologist/anthropologist) will be based in Maroua and will conduct the project in the departments of Margui-Wandala, Dimare and contiguous Benone (as far south as Garoua). The project is to be coordinated by the Department of Planning, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning.

USAID. 1981. <u>UFRD outline of Phase I report and Phase II plan of work.</u> Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

During August 1981, Mike Farbman of the Office of Urban Development and Simon Fass, a private consultant, visited the UFRD Project in North Cameroon to develop a detailed Phase II workplan. The workplan is comprised of a section on the technical tasks to be performed, a statement of the additional technical assistance and administrative support required, and a description of the Phase II Workshop/Seminar to be held. Eight technical tasks are identified and explained:

1. Evaluation of scope, direction and impact of migration.
2. Examination of agricultural and livestock development potential.
3. Examination of the productive sector and its supporting services.
4. Analysis of road, communication, and electricity system needs for the promotion of rural development.

5. Analysis of access to health services.
6. Analysis of access to education services.
7. Analysis of water supply improvement possibilities.
8. Integration of sectional studies.

According to the workplan, the purpose of Phase II is to "further define specific locations and specific program and project interventions. Toward this end the basic activities to be undertaken in Phase II will consist, in a fully integrated manner, of a set of specific spatial analyses, selected sectoral examinations and special studies."

USAID. 1981. North Cameroon urban functions in rural development: Interim report (931-1228). Prepared for the Office of Urban Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

Issued by the UFRD Project conducted in North Cameroon, the interim report discusses the activities and findings of Phase I (assessment of rural and urban systems) and details of Phase II (analysis of urban-rural linkages) workplan.

A brief introduction discusses the project's objectives and organization. According to the report, the fundamental objective of both the Government of Cameroon and the UFRD Project is to stem the flow of migrants to the few large cities and to support agriculture and rural development through the development of secondary cities, including market towns and service centers. The discussion of the project's organization is divided into five parts: project region, team composition, counterparts, project phases, and basic methodology. A spatial planner, an economist, a sociologist, and a geographer comprise the project team; the two ministerial counterparts are the Ministry of Plan and Economic Affairs (MINEP) and the Ministry of Urbanism and Housing (MINUA). Activities undertaken during Phase I are identified as: (1) implementation of a preliminary survey; (2) identification of central places and hinterlands; (3) review of secondary sources to develop a sociological overview; (4) review of existing documentation; and (5) contact with institutions and individuals involved in development activities. The basic methodology "consists, in the first phase, of gathering primary and secondary data, including the felt needs expressed by the local population, to identify prospective sites across the hierarchy of cities for project intervention)...Phase II will consist of sectoral analyses as well as further spatial analyses by sector (p. 5)."

Following the introduction, the report details the project area's socioeconomic and physical characteristics. The description of the project area draws upon the data and information gathered during Phase I. Primary data was generated for a selective sample of seventy-two villages using a questionnaire and group interviews as survey instruments. The survey inventoried functions and generated data on permanent and seasonal migration, agricultural production, commercialization and flows, small scale industry, roads, water supply, education facilities, health facilities, credit, agricultural extension services and physical inputs, and an enumeration of most important problems.

Together with the information collected from secondary sources, the project team was able to compile an intricate profile of the region's physical characteristics, agriculture, livestock, industries, credit, transport, health, veterinary facilities, telecommunication, education, water supply, administrative services, demographics, energy, financial institutions, and extension services.

The physical profile includes a description of the region's relief, climate, soils, vegetation, fauna, surface water, geological structures and hydrology, while the human geography considers socioeconomic conditions and activities. This socioeconomic profile includes a description of migration, settlement patterns, ethnic groups, agriculture and livestock, the productive sector, trade and services, communication infrastructure, administrative organization, social infrastructure, and energy sources.

Spatial organization of the region is defined by a hierarchical classification of urban centers in the project area. To devise their classificatory scheme, the project team used concepts and techniques developed in previous UFRD projects. Generally based on Rondinelli and Ruddle's work, the classification is four-tiered and is entitled the City/Town/Village (CTV) hierarchy. At the highest level they place Garoua as a regional city, at the second level they place four towns as secondary towns, followed by five towns as service centers, and twenty-nine villages as village centers at the lowest level. Characteristic functions at each level are described, and implications of the four-tiered hierarchy for the identification of specific project interventions during the second phase of the UFRD Project are discussed.

The report ends with a detailed workplan of the second phase of the project that identifies and describes eight technical needs: (1) to evaluate scope, direction and impact of migration; (2) to examine agricultural and livestock development potential; (3) to examine the productive sector and its supporting services; (4) to analyze road communication, and electricity system needs for the promotion of rural development; (5) to analyze access to health services; (6) to analyze access to education services; (7) to analyze water supply improvement possibilities; and (8) to integrate sectoral studies. The purpose of Phase II, the report states, is to "further define specific locations and specific program and project interventions."

USAID. 1982. <u>North Cameroon Urban Functions in Rural Development Project: Project evaluation</u>. Prepared for the Cameroon Mission. Yaounde: USAID.

Conducted by the USAID Mission to the Cameroon in Yaounde, this evaluation report summarizes the background to the UFRD Project conducted there and summarizes UFRD concepts and methods.

The Evaluation Team Project typifies a project beset with implementation problems. The technical assistance team was inexperienced and sometimes unqualified for the task, USAID Project backstopping was mutable and

inconsistent, administrative difficulties plagued the project, and often technical direction was often confused or lacking. There was a dearth of positive communication between the technical assistance team, USAID, and the counterparts in the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning, such that misunderstandings and confusion arose. Occasionally, the role of the counterparts lacked definition and, as a consequence, the counterparts played a passive, reactive role, rather than a guiding one. In addition, implementation was complicated because the project was a research project utilizing a methodology still in the experimental stage.

Results of the Phase I seminar were disappointing, and as a consequence, the team worked closely with the TDY labor economist to better focus the project and to produce a written account of Phase I activities. The Phase II seminar was more successful, and the constructive criticisms provided the team during the seminar will serve as the basis for revisions to the project final report and for Phase III activities completed by the team leader.

In spite of the many problems encountered by the project, the Evaluation Team found that the project, according to the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning, produced its expected outputs. These include a viable UFRD methodology that can be applied to other regions of Cameroon and a plan for the development of the project area containing a list of future investments in services, facilities, and infrastructure. There has been some criticism that the list of investment represents a "shopping list" of projects rather than an integrated, cross sectoral plan, but according to the counterparts, it is useable as is.