

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT APPROACH
TO
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT
IN
UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

BY

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

I have read with great interest Dr. Neal's paper "The Community Development Approach to Economic Development and Democratic Government in Underdeveloped Countries". I feel best qualified to comment on the operational aspects of community development discussed in the paper as applied to my own country.

The period immediately following in the wake of World War II in the Philippines was one of storm and strife. Our rural people were infected with the same yearning for a better design for living as the lowly and oppressed of other underdeveloped countries. So pronounced was their dissatisfaction with the old way of life that a section of the population reached the stage where they were ready to succumb to the emotional appeal of a foreign political and economic system that promised them a shortcut to a better way of life.

It took an enlightened administration under the dynamic leadership of President Ramon Magsaysay to initiate a rural program predicated on the need for a constructive outlet for the peoples' vitality through democratic processes. At first, each government agency with the responsibility of rural service was urged to extend its services directly down to the barrio people. The ensuing duplication of effort and lack of coordination brought about a period of soul searching with a view toward finding a method or process which would coordinate the whole national attempt to stimulate rural progress; which would be economically feasible; which would mobilize local resources, and; which would give the barrio people their rightful place in the sun.

We believe that we have found that process in the community development program. It fits our criteria in all respects. The community development program is working in the Philippines. I have observed its beneficial operation in India and Pakistan. Much has been done; much more remains to be done. Specifically, we need to get deeper down to the root causes of rural poverty. Through economic and social studies on the etiology of poverty implemented by remedial action through the community development program we will be better able to precondition the rural sector of our economy for the take-off into self-sustained growth.

It would be less than charitable if I failed to mention the important role that the United States Operation Mission has played in the successful operation of the Philippine Community Development Program. If I may paraphrase Mr. Churchill's famous remark: "America has given us the tools and we are finishing the job".

Manila, Philippines
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Foremost, but little understood, in the acceleration of change taking place in the villages of Asia is the community development movement. The staff of the Office of the Special Assistant for Community Development, ICA/Manila, which consists of Charles J. Nelson, Deputy, Bonard S. Wilson, Training Advisor, and Harry L. Naylor, Evaluation Advisor, has assisted in this effort to explain community development in programs of economic development. It is hoped that the paper will contribute to a better understanding of the problems of villagers in under-developed countries and how community development is contributing to the solution of these problems.

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I. Poverty, The Common Problem

Anyone who has travelled to any of the countries in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa or the Far East is acutely aware of the restlessness of the people and their yearning for something better. This desire for change in Asia is well described by Peggy and Pierre Streit in an article in the New York Times:

For hundreds of years life in these villages has not changed. Kingdoms have flourished and toppled; religions have flowered and faded; the village has endured - untouched. Famines and floods have ravaged the land; plagues have decimated the people; the village survived - unchanged. Today there is a great awakening in Asia and the strident tones of nationalism are heard in the city. But the heart of Asia, the village, lives on, largely unaffected and as yet only dimly aware of the voice of the social prophet.

These Asian hamlets have many faces. They vary from country to country, from province to province, from hilltop to valley... But despite diversity in appearance, custom and locale, all Asian villages have the same basic problems: Their people are badly undernourished. They are miserably housed. They are sick, ignorant, illiterate and shackled by centuries of tradition.

Yet it is in these hamlets that the real drama of the awakening of Asia is set, for the voice of change now heard primarily in the city must soon carry forcibly to the heart of the land. Today, Asian governments recognize that to develop their new nations they must improve their land and emancipate their villagers. ^{1/}

Malnourishment, illiteracy, ignorance, and ill health mentioned by the Streits, as being common to all the villages of Asia are, in fact the common coin of the villages in all the so-called underdeveloped countries. But these are only symptoms of the real cause of human misery, namely stark, stagnant, rural poverty. And poverty is the common lot of almost 75 per cent

^{1/} Peggy and Pierre Streit, "Asia's Villages" New York Times, Weekly Review Section, International Edition (April 28, 1957), p. 7.

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of the people in the less developed countries. The typical child in this environment of poverty is born by a mother who is unable to produce milk nutritious enough for his nourishment. From the time he is weaned from his mother's breast until he dies there is seldom a day in his life that he gets enough to eat to satisfy his hunger. His house and his village are littered with filth, flies, mosquitoes, and other insects. Man and beast occupy the same house. Filthy surface water drains and seeps into the drinking-well water. Men, women, and children suffer all their lives from insect and animal borne diseases. And the greatest weight of this poverty falls on the woman. Through her entire child-bearing period, she goes through one pregnancy after the other. Her body does not have time to recover from one birth before she is pregnant again. She is the first to rise in the morning. She prepares the food, takes care of the smaller children, joins her husband in the field, carries heavy burdens on her head or back, washes the clothes, markets the produce, and assumes the responsibility for feeding an evergrowing family.

Most of the people in the underdeveloped countries live in a primitive village type society. The land they till is normally not their own. They are ever at the mercy of the landlord and his henchmen, the rural police. The most elemental governmental services such as schools, clinics, roads and agricultural services are scarce or non-existent. A broken bone is set by the local village healer; children are generally delivered by unsanitary and untrained midwives; most sicknesses are still treated by a combination of supernatural supplication and home remedies. Their drab existence is only relieved by ceremonials and anamistic rites which surround births, marriages, deaths, planting and harvesting of crops. Even in those countries nominally Christian, Islamic, Hindu, or Buddhist, traditional spirits and fetishes survive. And,

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since there are many gods to appease, most natural events appear to be caused by the pleasure or displeasure of one or another of the local spirit world.

From one generation to the next down through history, these village people have carried on a subsistence agriculture, been exploited by landlords and their government, suffered from hunger and sickness, experienced the frustrating hopelessness of being so mired in want that no way out was ever visible.

Not only is there poverty in the villages but poverty permeates the entire fabric of the country. The civil servants, officers of the law, customs officials, license clerks, are paid such low salaries that they more often than not resort to graft and bribery to make ends meet. Those above forever grind down those below them in the social system. Even the highest officials may request salary "kickbacks" from lower officials. School teachers and other white collar folk live very little better than "those lowest down" - the peasants. Salaries are low, hours are long, and working conditions are primitive.

These are the day-to-day problems derived from poverty that face most of the underdeveloped countries and more than half of the people in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

What is the nature of poverty in a stagnant economy? There is little in our modern social science literature or even our culture that provides much understanding. Our economic theories, social and educational institutions have evolved out of a fluctuating, but always expanding economy, and from a dynamic culture. This fact poses a real problem to American technicians if they attempt to transplant current American institutions into the sometimes almost neolithic rural cultures of the underdeveloped countries in a foreign assistance program.

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Since poverty is the common problem with which we must deal, how do we delineate poverty and identify its characteristics? A recent paper, "The Take-Off Into Self-Sustained Growth" ^{2/} by W. W. Rostow, sheds some light on the problem. He divided economic development into four stages: traditional, pretake-off, take-off, and sustained growth. Our concern is with the transitional stage from the traditional period to the pretake-off period, since most of the underdeveloped countries fall into this traditional stage of economic development. In the traditional stage, "we start with a reasonably stable and traditional society containing an economy mainly agricultural, using more or less unchanging production methods, saving and investing productivity little more than is required to meet depreciation." ^{3/}

Bert F. Hoselitz and his associates at the University of Chicago, in a study of the role of foreign aid in underdeveloped countries proposed an index for the different stages of economic development. According to this index the underdeveloped countries, or those in the traditional and pretake-off stages of development, have a per capita annual gross national product below \$300. Those countries in the intermediate or take-off stage of development have a per capita gross national product between \$300 and \$750 and those that are considered developed or in the stage of sustained growth have a per capita gross national product above \$750. ^{4/}

^{2/} W. W. Rostow, "The Take-Off Into Self-Sustained Growth", The Economic Journal, LXVI (1956) p. 31 (footnote).

^{3/} Ibid., p. 27.

^{4/} E. F. Hoselitz and others, "The Role of Foreign Aid in the Development of Other Countries" Public Document 87236, U. S. Government Printing Office, (Washington 1957), p. 6.

Another index used by economists to determine the stage of economic development of a country is the percentage of gross national product that goes into capital formation. In theory, if the percentage is less than five or six per cent, the economies are stagnating or in the traditional stage of development. If the percentage of capital formation is between ten and twelve, the countries are maintaining their present level of living or they have reached the take-off point. If the percentage of capital formation is in excess of ten or twelve per cent, the economy is on the way to the self sustaining level and a rising of material welfare can be expected. ^{5/} But in the majority of cases the underdeveloped countries now receiving grant aid, rather than loan aid, from the United States have per capita gross national product under \$300 and utilize less than five or six per cent of the gross national product for capital formation and can therefore be said to have an economy of stagnation.

Before an underdeveloped country in a traditional or stagnant economic climate can reach the stage of take-off with self-sustained growth as Rostow sees it, certain preconditions are necessary:

.....The take-off requires, therefore, a society prepared to respond actively to new possibilities for productive enterprises, and it is likely to require political, social and institutional changes which will both perpetuate and initiate investments and result in the regular acceptance and absorption of innovation. ^{6/}

In the developed countries of Western Europe it took up to a century or more to establish the preconditions necessary for the take-off itself, but the take-off was a relatively short period, about three or four decades. The

^{5/} B. F. Hoselitz and others, op. cit., p. 4.

^{6/} Rostow, Op. cit., p. 25.

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problem we are faced with in the underdeveloped countries for our assistance to be effective is to reduce the time span from the traditional to the pretake-off period from a century to a decade and to achieve this rapid rate of change by evolutionary means.

We propose in this paper that the community development approach to economic development and democratic government in underdeveloped countries is a means whereby the time span from the traditional economy to the pretake-off economy can be materially accelerated in the villages and rural areas without recourse to the repressive methods of totalitarianism. It is postulated, however, that this agrarian preconditioning must go hand-in-hand with progress made in the industrial sectors of the pretake-off economies for balanced economic growth.

II. Community Development Suggests a Solution

Mass poverty can be eliminated in one generation by a powerful, totalitarian government as has been demonstrated in Russia. But the results accomplished by the U.S.S.R. have been proven to beat the partial cost of individual freedom in the total society, and even more so in the agrarian sector of its economy.

The challenge to democracy is stated crystal clear by S. K. Dey, Minister for Community Development in India. He writes:

It remains yet to be proved that physical well-being for man can co-exist with the freedom and dignity of the spirit... To risk this birthright of man for an additional crumb of bread, a scrap of clothing and some space under a roof would be a negation of all that India stood for during the ages. Yet freedom and deification of the spirit mean little to one with an enforced

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hunch on the spine, with starving children by the side, with no defense against the weather. Should man barter his soul for these elementary needs of life? Democracy will not survive if it cannot find an answer to this basic question. 7/

Minister Dey and some of our foremost American economists in recent papers have, it seems to me, indicated the specialized area for community development: that of reducing the time span in the rural sector for establishing the preconditions necessary for the take-off into sustained economic growth and at the same time preserving the freedom and the dignity of the individual. To understand the role that community development may play in this time-reducing process it is germane to discuss the rationale, goals, historical connections and limitations of this approach to rural improvement in underdeveloped countries.

The distinguishing characteristic in programs of community development (as opposed to unspecified rural development) is that the rural people become involved in helping to improve their own economic, social and political conditions. By so doing they in turn become effective working elements in programs of local and national development. The involvement of the people and the mobilization of local resources comes about through a community development program for village improvement in all phases of rural living. Many, if not most, such improvements must depend on self-inspired local community efforts. These community efforts, when encouraged and aided by the government but carried out through the initiative of the people, not only reduce the cost of improvement projects, but also mobilize the man-power and ingenuity of the community, give the people a feeling of accomplishment, and generate in them the enthusiasm to continue to work for better results. (Even were it possible for an underdeveloped country

7/ S. K. Dey, Foreword to A Guide to Community Development (Delhi: Coronation Printing Works, January 1957), p. ii.

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to husband its limited resources so as to make all the rural improvements which are needed and desired, such an objective would be highly undesirable. It would destroy citizen initiative, inculcate among the citizenry an unhealthy acceptance of governmental paternalism, and dangerously reduce the potential of the people to develop that attitude of self-reliance which is the indispensable characteristic of citizens in a democratic, non-totalitarian state).

The ultimate objective of the Community Development Program is the improvement and enrichment of rural life. The attainment of this objective necessitates arousing in the village people the feeling that a more abundant and satisfying way of life is possible and inspiring them to exert efforts to achieve it. The success of the program is dependent upon the active participation of the people of the village and the coordinated support of governmental agencies engaged in rural development work. How does the United States technical assistance program fit into the community development concept?

Historically, American missionary organizations (the forerunners of our technical assistance personnel) were quick to recognize the hiatus between the rural village and government services in the countries of missionary interest now subsumed under the term "underdeveloped countries". Well over forty years ago religious training for missionaries began to be supplemented with training in agriculture, medicine, secondary and higher education, and so on, in order to help fulfill the temporal services to the rural villages of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East not supplied by those countries' governments. The demand for missionaries-cum-technicians grew apace so that the various Missionary Boards in time turned to direct recruitment from secular colleges for part of their foreign staffs. Because great famines have devastated many underdeveloped countries from time to time, the need to increase agricultural

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production was early defined as an important economic principle by many of these early pioneers in rural development. Considerable stress was placed on the recruitment of religious-minded young persons trained in American agricultural extension methods as a consequence.

Moreover, because of Western interest in education and sanitation, educators and public health sanitarians grew in numbers in the missionary effort.

In 1950, when the foreign assistance program to underdeveloped countries became a reality under the banner of Point IV and the newly coined phrase of "the export of technical knowhow", administrators initially followed the missionary tradition in thought and experience and, by and large, the technical assistance program was crystalized (in the public mind at least) in terms of agricultural extension, educational methods, and public health and sanitation. In most of the now foreign assistance countries, missionaries had prepared the ground for the subsequent United States technical program of greater intensity. The importance of this altruistic spadework should certainly not be undervaluated. Yet, the missionary tradition with its conception of unrelated, causative methods to improve the living standards of the rural people in underdeveloped countries left much to be desired insofar as economic depth is concerned: agricultural extension does little for farmers who share-crop on uneconomic units of land; new educational methods may die aborning if peasant farmers are too poor to send their children to school and local taxes cannot provide school facilities; public health measures may increase unemployment and underemployment in the rural labor force in the absence of alternative job opportunities such as are present in industrial societies to drain off excess

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farm population, and so on. With the end of the Marshal Plan in Europe and the transfer of economists and economic administrators to the Point IV program, a more sophisticated view of foreign aid in organic sense began to develop in the higher administrative echelons of the foreign assistance effort. In the field, however, unilateral and specialized extension methods were, and are, still being urged on host governments with varying degrees of success. The procedural difficulties encountered by American unilateral extension methods in coping with the problem in underdeveloped countries of getting technical assistance down to the people who actually live and work on the land is partially explained by the fact that our extension methods at the county level, for the most part, were developed after our economy had reached the stage of sustained economic growth. The agricultural extension service, rural public health services, social welfare agencies, consolidated schools and the like, became public responsibilities only after 1900 in response to demands at first originating from the Country Life Association organized by President Theodore Roosevelt. Gradually each technical rural service was bureaucracized to meet specific rural problems. For example, the boll weevil infestation in the early part of this century gave impetus to the organization of the Agricultural Extension Service, the dust bowl of the 1930's in Midwestern United States to the Soil Conservation Service, and so forth, each proliferating bureau extending its corps of technicians and administrators from Washington to, say, Muleshoe, Kansas. These services developed in an environment where communications, land tenure patterns, local tax contribution and general facilities are radically different from those of the environment of underdeveloped countries now under consideration. It is often said that only the richest country in the

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world can afford separate technical services extending from the seat of government down to the individual farm family. Certainly, traditional economies cannot afford such refinements.

Moreover, there has been a lack of appreciation of the radical differences between American rural life and rural life in underdeveloped countries. The rural village of Asia, Africa, or the Middle East is a very delicate piece of social mechanism. It develops as a whole in all its aspects and in all fields and any change in one aspect of village life may produce secondary changes in other fields. Thus, a successful health program which lowers the death rate would increase the village population, increasing pressure on the land and creating secondary problems on food, schools, and village services. Paradoxically, the speed with which this happens is characteristic of the subsistence economy as compared to less dramatic reactions, due to the checks and balances, that would be set in motion in the more advanced societies under similar circumstances. It is therefore imperative that any development of a village society be intimately integrated and interrelated in contrast to the single-agency penetration method traditional in America.

In short, the contention here is that the heritage of a unilateral, highly specialized approach to the problems of rural poverty in underdeveloped countries is economically untenable.

Drawing on the experience of past efforts at economic development in peasant societies and with better insights into the problems of poverty, an effort at integration has been attempted in programs of community development in some underdeveloped countries. At the core of this program stands the multi-purpose village worker. He was developed as a civil servant unique to the

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underdeveloped countries, to be on the one hand, a social technician and, on the other hand, an advisor to the villager in a first-aid technical capacity in respect to all the different problems with which the villager is faced. He is the extension agent at the village level for all the government services and the energizer of village self-help.

In order for the multi-purpose village worker to be effective, however, it is necessary to have an administrative organization to coordinate the available technical services of the subject matter agencies from the central government to the municipal level. A village level worker can serve from five to ten villages depending on their size and his means of transportation. An effective administrative unit consists of from 10 to 25 village workers, or 50 to 100 villages. At the administrative unit, which is normally the end unit of government administration (such as the district or municipality), there is a community development district or municipal development officer who coordinates the local technical services and supervises the village workers.

To guide the community development program throughout the province or state, the job of coordination and supervision is entrusted to a senior development officer. Policy is determined by the state heads of technical departments concerned with development work and coordination achieved by committee action. The development officer, under the governor, is responsible for the implementation of the policy throughout the state.

At the national government, there is a community development planning agency consisting of the heads of the development departments with the chief of state or his direct appointee serving as chairman. The necessity to have the program pitched at the highest level of government will be discussed in more detail

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shortly. A small secretariat is necessary for the implementation of policy and for the supervision of the work at the provincial or state level. The secretariat has an executive officer, a few high level officers including a rural economist and some technical advisors for specialized fields.

The administration of the community development program flows through the existing administrative structure of government. A sound community development program is not concerned with operating subject matter programs per se so all efforts are expended for the utilization of existing technical services in a coordinated approach to serve the needs of villagers. In the absence of needed technical services from established agencies, grants are made by the national director of community development to these agencies to provide the needed technicians, but only down to the municipal level. Only the first-aid multi-purpose village workers are made the direct responsibility of the community development program director because they are extension agents for all the technical services and not the representative of any single technical department.

In addition to the administrative organization, a community development program in cooperation with the technical departments establishes and operates schools to train multi-purpose workers and technicians who provide the back-stopping for the village worker in community development techniques and principles.

In entering into community development programs, governments of pretake-off economies generally are casting themselves in a new role: that of a partner to the rural people in the amelioration of the undesirable conditions of their lives. Because most of the village people have had little or not positive participation in government or experience in the processes of government, the partnership must run through two phases:

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(1) Initially, the government seeks to stimulate people and to create an awareness of what can be accomplished by their aided efforts through the community development process.

(2) In the second phase, the government takes a subordinate role in which it provides certain essential services necessary for the achievement of goals and objectives that the people have set for themselves.

Through this partnership relation there can be expected to evolve on the part of the people an appreciation of what they can accomplish on their own as well as the belief that their government is making a sincere effort to assist in the attainment of goals beyond their own resources. Further, the idea spreads that the extent of government contribution is dependent in large measure upon the support the government receives from the people. This support is measured, not only in terms of local contributions and other forms of revenue creation, but also by their participation in the civic processes of government.

Within the United States Operations Mission to a host country there must be some kind of a policy coordinating body for community development. The membership of the coordinating body should be composed of the chiefs of the technical divisions, with the Mission Chief, or a person designated by him, as chairman. The Chief Community Development Advisor should serve as executive secretary of the coordinating body. The function of this body is to determine the kinds of community development activities that the Mission should support. After the committee has decided upon these, it should agree upon what support is needed, make arrangements with the subject-matter ministries under which the services of needed technicians are to be supplied, and work out details as to how the assistance is to be provided. The recruitment and supervision of

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technical personnel is the responsibility of the technical divisions. In general mission planning, the community development effort should balance with the effort made in the field of industrial development.

Up to this point we have been concerned with the problem of poverty and the community development process as an instrument to utilize the vast resources of the people as the first step in preconditioning for economic improvement. We have not yet come to grips with the larger problem raised by Minister S.K. Dey of India as to whether well-being and freedom can co-exist in the underdeveloped state struggling for self-sustained economic growth.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles touched on the same problem in his speech on April 22, 1957, at the Associated Press annual luncheon. He said:

Any police system is essentially negative. It is designed to repress violence and give a sense of security. But the sense of security is illusory unless, behind its shield, there is growth and development. Military collaboration to sustain peace will collapse unless we also collaborate to spread the blessings of liberty.

It is sobering to recall that about two-thirds of all the people who resist communist rule exist in a condition of stagnant poverty. Communism boasts that it could change all that, and points to industrial developments wrought in Russia at a cruel, but largely concealed, cost in terms of human slavery and human misery. The question is whether free but undeveloped countries can end stagnation for their people without paying such a dreadful price. Friendly nations expect that those who have abundantly found the blessings of liberty should help those who still await those blessings.

Of course, each country must itself make the principal effort to improve its lot. But others can provide an impetus and the margin between hope and despair, and perhaps between success and failure. They can do this by showing interest and concern; by giving technical guidance; and by providing capital for development.

It is in response to this quest to eliminate stagnant poverty and still preserve (or induce) the principles of egalitarianism and individual liberty that community development has become a dynamic agrarian movement in many of the

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underdeveloped countries. Yet it should be recognized that there are social and political factors in some underdeveloped countries which militate against, or limit, the effectiveness of a community development program. These are archaic and rigid land tenure systems, the pressure of the rural populations upon the presently available land base, the absence of adequate and modern public administration, and finally, the lack of progressive leadership at the top government levels of some governments participating in the mutual security sphere. Of these, the most critical, it would seem, is the disinclination on the part of the political elite of an underdeveloped country to change the status quo. With a progressive government comes land reform measures, the development of irrigation projects to provide land for the landless, the development of industry to drain off part of the unemployed and underemployed from the land, increased agricultural production, initial measures for planned families, communication and transportation nets, and a more efficient public administration system. Community development is deeply involved with all these activities. Community development is indeed, in our analysis, the medium through which these improvements may be translated from the government to the people and from the people to the government in a planned program for rural progress. But if host governments are politically and emotionally dedicated to "no-change" obligations, to the maintenance of a static, vested interest rigidity - then the time is not ripe for the initiation of a community development program.

And so we return to the basic question of whether poverty can be mitigated in the rural areas of underdeveloped countries without resorting to Draconian measures leading to the loss of individual and group liberty. Evidence gathered over the past five years of actual field experience with comparative community development programs would suggest that neither physical well-being nor

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freedom can exist under conditions of stagnant poverty, but that given a dynamic, humanistic leadership at the power level in government and a reasonable period of time for a community development program to take root and grow, both of these objectives can be accomplished. The community development process itself has been validated in many countries. But to generate enthusiasm for an improved life in an unorganized manner in scattered communities set apart from a planned national movement of economic development results in dilution of effort and eventual disillusionment. To key the community development process into the national economic effort requires leadership at the highest echelon of government of a quality that can infuse into the program an ethic of national freedom and growth which takes advantage of, rather than suppresses, the agrarian unrest apparent in the majority of underdeveloped countries.

III. The Mechanics of Community Development

It was said that for reasons of economy and program integration at the core of the community development program stands the multi-purpose village level worker. How is he trained to energize village people and local resources in a national rural development program and how does he go about it? Herein lies the difference between a line technician and the community development worker.

An empirical methodology to stimulate village people to become engaged actively in the solution to their problems has been described by a prominent rural sociologist, Dr. Carl C. Taylor:

"The first step in community development is systematic discussion of common felt needs by members of the community Such discussion is readily induced when local villagers have cause to believe that any organized self-help efforts on their part will be encouraged and assisted by their government or some other dependable agency

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"Sound community development programs, now in operation in a number of underdeveloped countries, provide both personnel to stimulate systematic discussion among villagers and technical, sometimes material, assistance to organize community self-help undertakings.

"The second step in community development is systematic planning to carry out the first self-help undertaking that has been selected by the community

Systematic planning for aided self-help community undertakings leads to the selection of the type of first project which, because it is practically feasible, will mobilize the local manpower and ingenuity of those living in the community. It leads to the actual task of enlisting persons who will contribute their labor and talents, and often materials and money, to carry out the project. It accomplishes realistic and responsible thinking about what should be and what can be done. It is a step that starts to mobilize the community to do something for itself.

"The third step in community development is the almost complete mobilization and harnessing of the physical, economic, and social potentialities of local community-groups... Once a goodly sized organized local group starts working on a project which if completed will yield obvious and early benefits to the whole community, members of the community who have thus far been only mildly interested or even skeptical start contributing to its successful completion.

"The fourth step in community development is the creation of aspiration and the determination to undertake additional community improvement projects

Until this step is taken, the universal problem of how to get local villages and villagers to desire and initiate improvements is not solved. Many community organizations promoted by outsiders never take this step. There are both good

physical and sociological reasons why the majority of community-groups, which have come into existence and progressed by taking the three previous steps described here, do take this fourth step. The physical reason is there are other improvements which need to be undertaken which are within the now developed competence of the group. The sociological reason is that every human group that has successfully accomplished worthwhile undertakings is proud of itself and tends to seek out and do other things to justify and feed its group-pride. It has developed team spirit, esprit de corps, patriotism, or, in simpler terms, group sentiments. Even Charles Darwin asserted that sentiment is the cement of groups. This cement, because it is sentiment, not only holds groups together but makes them seek to perpetuate themselves. When they have developed it they seek things to do the undertaking of which will effectively perpetuate them as functioning, aspiring groups." 8/

The training of the multi-purpose worker must prepare him to carry out the four steps of community development explained above by Dr. Taylor. He must be trained to do this as an informal teacher, who stimulates, advises and organizes village people to undertake self-help projects. In other words, the multi-purpose village worker must be trained, as a social technologist.

Commenting on the training of village level workers at the International Cooperation Administration Bangkok Community Development Conference, March 19-24, 1956, Jack Gray said:

In the first place, to be successful in his work, a village extension worker must be a technician in the field of working with rural people. He must have a good understanding and a high degree of skill in a social technology which we commonly call extension but which might be described as a mixture of informal adult education,

8/ Carl C. Taylor, Community Development Programs and Methods, Community Development Review, Dec. 1956, pp. 37-39.

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rural sociology, human psychology and cultural anthropology. In this particular field the multi-purpose extension worker must be a specialist.

In the second place, although the multi-purpose extension worker cannot be a technician or a specialist in all of the problem areas represented in his villages, i.e., he is not an agricultural specialist, a health specialist or a rural industries specialist, he must have useful know-how and skills in all the important problem areas occurring in his villages. He must know and understand the facts, which have to be taught to his villagers so that they will recognize and be able to solve their major problems. This is the point where the most trouble arises. It is hard to decide just how much of a technician the village extension worker must be in each problem area, or subject-matter field.

In each subject-matter field, the village extension worker needs to know and understand only those facts required to solve the present existing problems of the village people. He will actually need only those facts which directly and immediately apply to the recognition and solution of the main problems by village people. In most cases, these facts will consist largely of practices and measures which are to be adopted by villagers to solve problems or correct conditions. 9/

The training course outline required for developing this kind of worker includes:

1. Study of Society

This unit covers the study of the cultural history of the country, its social organization, customs, values and norms of the society, and the effect of recent political developments, both internal and external on social change within the society.

2. Public Administration

In this unit, attention is given to the Constitution of the country, and its political organization from the national government down to the village level. The trainees study the executive orders and legislative acts that have established the developmental, educational and welfare department of the

9/ Jack Gray, "The Village Level Workers and Technical Specialists" mimeographed (1956).

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government. They also study the regulations and requirements for elected, appointed, and civil officials and the rights and responsibilities of the voters are given special attention.

3. Social Economics

Here the trainees are given an opportunity to study the economics of poverty both analytically and from the standpoint of applied economics. They study specifically systems of land tenure, rights of tenants, credit and marketing facilities. The unit covers the organization of the people for sustenance in respect to population, occupation and industry. Labor requirements, standard of living, use of resources, and national income are analyzed, along with per capita income, expenditures and investment in capital formation.

4. Human Relations

This unit places high priority on inducing social change and changing patterns of behavior in individuals and groups. It stresses the psychological aspects of social development and the characteristic pattern of behavior of different groups, the influence of culture on the development of personality, the reaction of the individual to various kinds of group membership and how through applied human relations change can be achieved. The use and limitation of various types of communication media are studied.

5. Technical Skills

The problems of greatest frequency in the area of agriculture, health, education, public works and housing as they apply to village people are classified and analyzed. The trainees are given the minimum skills required in each of these areas to give first aid solution. They are also trained to recognize a problem that requires skill beyond their competency and to secure the proper qualified technicians needed for solving the problem.

6. Supervised Field Work

The success of the community development program depends on the ability of the worker to gain the confidence of the village people and the cooperation and support of the technicians in the development departments. This ability cannot be tested in the classroom or in the laboratory. The trainee is required to spend at least six weeks in supervised field work. During this period, he must show progress in getting the village people to discuss systematically their common felt needs, systematically plan to carry out a self-help project and secure the support of the technicians required for the specific project. During this experience the trainee and his supervisor discover his leadership ability or lack of it, his areas of strength and weakness and how to improve the shortcomings of his training before assigning him to a village.

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Since the success of the village level worker depends to a large extent on the support he receives from the technical specialists, it is necessary to provide special training to the supporting technicians in how to work with villagers through the village level worker.

In most countries it will not be feasible to send the supporting technicians through long term training programs. Their training must be done through special seminars and short in-service training programs. In their short training course, they will study the core of the courses in Study of Society, Public Administration, Social Economics and Human Relations. In order to avoid having to recondition these technicians after they are on the job, it is urgent that their regular training should provide the following recommendations of Jack Gray:

1. The supporting technicians should be aware of the village worker's need for their support and should understand what they must do to make the communication channel work.
2. All technical specialists should be able to communicate well. They should be able to write in simple, readable style suited to the village extension worker's level of reading ability; they should be able to speak well in layman terms about their own technology; they should be able to use visual and audio-visual methods of presenting information to groups and they should be able to participate in, and lead and plan group discussions.

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initiating and carrying it forward must make use of democratic processes and procedures. Certainly, democracy, as we know it, is an alien concept in many of the less developed countries where programs of community development have been undertaken. The history of government in most of these countries reveals the old, old story that the primary role of government has been the maintenance of law and order and the collection of taxes. (This is particularly true of countries formerly under colonial administrations). It is not surprising, therefore, that general distrust and suspicion of government exists, especially, among the rural people. It is because the functions of government have been so historically categorized that the less developed countries generally have, as previously mentioned, inadequate rural technical services in the fields of agriculture, health, education, and so on. Such services as do exist seldom reach the broad base of rural people. To offset traditional distrust and its previous lack of social responsibility, the government is faced with the problem of overcoming covert hostility and of enlisting the participation of the people in a projected community development program. The first step is to devise a program jointly with the people responsive to their needs and desires and one in which they can make a major contribution.

There remains, however, the problem of mobilization, stimulation and organization of people into effective working groups. This is the vital issue in community development programs and the point of departure in strengthening and building democratic societies. The "systematic discussion" process for this purpose was discussed earlier as being initiated by the village level worker. This human link, it was pointed out, is one of the most important functionaries in the community development process. He has as a major task, the organization of people

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into groups for purposes of community development; he is a resource person to whom the people can turn, not for solutions, but for assistance in arriving at solutions to community problems on their own. Further, he supplements meager technical services and serves as a channel through which these services can reach the people at the proper time and in response to their needs. He is unique in that he represents the first civil servant with the exception of the school teacher in some instances in these societies who actually lives in a village, works directly with villagers and comes with a positive approach to better living for the people.

A second step which aids the community development process, we said, is that of government financial assistance to the self-help efforts of the people. Under the community development program local institutions of government and people's organizations are encouraged to come together to plan project activities which will contribute to the betterment of the community. Generally, projects first conceived contribute to increased agricultural production, the improvement of village health and sanitation, and public improvements such as bridges, roads, wells, and community structures. A direct contribution of aided self-help activity is a gradual amelioration of the conditions of life under which rural people have lived. An indirect contribution is the realization by people of what can be done by utilization of the local resources at hand and the increase of community initiative. Experience has shown that groups which come together for the implementation of community projects tend to perpetuate themselves, particularly where their initial efforts in aided activity are successful. The result is the creation of groups with emerging civic consciousness and responsibility. These new attitudes, it has been found, are held not only in relation to project activity but to other citizen activity.

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A third step in the community development process is the improvement of the efficiency of the government service personnel which results in turn in improved institutions and a more responsive government. Community development does not provide technical services itself but stimulates greater need and a more effective use for them. While the multi-purpose worker may possess first aid technical skills, he must also be aware of his limitations and he is expected to call upon the subject matter technician on matters beyond his experience. The fact that he can handle problems on a first-aid basis and stimulate and educate people to accept technical services enables the scarce specialist to serve more widely as a true technician. As the community development program expands, the technical services that are necessary to the rural areas must also expand in terms of service in order to answer the demand that is generated for technical advice. It usually follows that as the program continues, the present government service institutions are strengthened in efficiency and the services they perform are in direct response to the needs of the people.

In keeping with the foreign policy of the United States to aid the efforts of the underdeveloped countries through a program of technical cooperation and the export of skills, some countries have been given technical and financial assistance specifically to support programs of community development. The success of these programs in reducing poverty and building democratic institutions merits, in our opinion, the serious consideration of more emphasis on community development as an integral part of the foreign aid program.

The Indian and Philippine Community Development Programs serve as examples of how American aid can be effectively used for establishing the pre-conditions necessary for economic growth and at the same time strengthening democratic institutions.

Indian Community Development Program

The Government of India and the Government of the United States entered into a mutual agreement on May 31, 1952 to provide financial and technical support for the Indian Community Development Program. Included in the Rupees 550 million (or 110 million dollars) appropriated by the government of India for the First Five Year Plan for community development was about \$13 million provided by the United States for the purchase of equipment such as jeeps, road construction equipment, land reclamation equipment, audio-visual equipment, and so on. Through this cooperative effort, India was able to launch the community development program on a national basis, which will bring full coverage to the country by 1961.

At the end of the First Five Year Plan, the Community Development Program had covered 1425 blocks or 192,563 villages with a total population of 110,300,000. A new corps of trained community development workers numbering 27,000 was serving the village people. Through the cooperative effort of these workers and the village people 41,000 new cooperative societies were started, 147,000 latrines constructed, 20,000 new schools started, 49,135 miles of road constructed, 140,000 wells dug, 4,517,000 acres of land irrigated, 182,154 houses constructed, and 664,000 persons provided with additional employment. The value of the people's contribution to these efforts was \$69 million compared with \$123 million for the government's contribution.

In mere physical terms, the achievements in community development have not been negligible in India, but what is perhaps equally impressive is that the program is building the foundation for a democratic society in that country. Prior to launching the community development program, officials accepted the authoritarian approach to intercourse with the villagers as a normal function of

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government. Today, these same officials are instructing villagers in the art of self-government. It is a common occurrence to see government officials in the community development program stressing the importance of land tenure reforms, adult education, improved health facilities, and free public discussion of local and national problems. It is encouraging to see government technicians working with the villagers showing them at the request of the multi-purpose village worker improved practices in agriculture, health, sanitation, and education. But it is of far more consequence after the community development workers and the villagers decide together what changes they want to make, to see the villagers seeking the assistance of government in making these changes on a partnership basis. Rural Indians are beginning to appreciate that their's is the major responsibility for improving their own lives, and that the balance of power rests with them to make these changes in their society at least under present government leadership. And as the aspirations of the people are raised by community discussion and through direct contact with the service agencies of government, the village Indians are reenforcing their government in its stated desire for a New India and are thereby bringing about changes in the direction of a democratic society from the man who works the soil to the Prime Minister.

Philippine Community Development Program

The Philippine Government and the Government of the U. S. entered into an agreement on October 1, 1956 to provide financial and technical support for a program of community development. The objective of the program as defined by the late President Magsaysay, who initiated the program is the improvement and enrichment of rural life through the aided efforts of the people. Explicit in President Magsaysay's program for the long-range rural development of the Philippine Republic was his belief that attention must be given to the development of the Philippine rural people equal to that given by economic planners to capital

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accumulation and the development of physical natural resources in the agrarian sector of the national economy.

In launching the national program (in the President's words "long overdue") however, action and immediate results were of the greatest concern to offset agrarian unrest, which after World War II, had reached national and critical proportions. An estimate of the general situation of rural needs was made on an expedient basis, then, with reasonable goals being suggested in seminar discussions with almost four hundred national and provincial officials from the development departments of government. The barrio people were then given their choices of projects in which they provide labor, local materials and project leadership.

The 158 community development workers in 49 pilot projects in 22 provinces who had recently graduated from the first training course for community development workers followed up this seminar and encouraged barrio people to undertake self-help projects in barrio road construction, projects that contributed to increased income and production, public works improvement and improved health and sanitation.

Through the application of Carl C. Taylor's four principles of community development, the Barrio Community Development Workers by June 30, 1957, eight months after their field assignments, were able to stimulate the barrio people to organize over 3,000 barrio councils, 195 Municipal Community Development Councils and 36 Provincial Community Development Councils. By working with and through these councils, the community development workers had stimulated the people to undertake construction on 696 kilometers of road, and to initiate 2125 self-help grant-in-aid projects of which the contribution from the Office of the Presidential Assistant on Community Development was ₱942,902.00 and the share of the barrio people was ₱994,731.00.

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In order to speed up the coverage of the Philippines with trained workers, eight additional training centers were opened in January, 1957. By October, 1957, eight hundred new trained workers will be assigned to the community development program. During their period of training, they have held seminars for barrio councils in seven of the nine training centers where they were able to explain the role of the barrio council in programs of community development to 1,723 barrio lieutenants and council members.

Even with the limited coverage provided by the first group of graduates plus the assistance of the 800 trainees, the accomplishments were such that the late President Magsaysay in his 1958 budget message could say:

Community development today has become a dynamic force that is sweeping the countryside in a long-delayed awakening to the opportunities of rural life and to the potentials for better living on the farms.

The Community Development Program with the support of the technical departments has already brought about marked improvement in the socio-economic life of the rural areas. It is helping to increase the over-all capacity of our society to maintain and preserve a more stable and democratic way of life. There has also come about a perceptible change in the attitude of the people towards self-help as a means of attaining a truly wholesome life through honest toil in an atmosphere of rising hope and deepening faith in the future.

Needless to say, it was this late great leader himself who provided the ethic of democracy which breathed life into the Philippine program of rural progress.

In both examples given of underdeveloped countries using the community development approach to economic development and democratic government, there is evidence that the time span from the traditional economy to the pretake-off period is being hastened in the rural areas without resorting to slave labor camps, mass deportation of agrarian population, forced quotas of farm production, and