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EXECUTIVE SEMINAR

ON TITLE IX

**of the United States Foreign
Assistance Act**

**Roanoke, Virginia
November 10-16, 1968**

ADVANCED STUDY PROGRAM



**The Brookings Institution
Washington, D. C.**

SUMMARY

FOREWORD

This seminar was one of five seminars planned and conducted by the Brookings Institution under contract with the Agency for International Development. The purpose of these seminars was to provide an opportunity for selected senior officials in the Agency for International Development and in other U. S. foreign affairs agencies to analyze and discuss the meaning, importance and implications of Title IX of the U. S. Foreign Assistance Act.

The Agency for International Development provided a rapporteur for each of the seminars whose responsibility was to prepare a summary of the principal issues and major substantive elements discussed and analyzed. The Brookings Institution agreed to issue the summary of each seminar in a sufficient number of copies to distribute to the participants and other designated officials.

The rapporteur who prepared this summary is identified on the page which is devoted to the table of contents. The summary is designated as a "draft," indicating that it represents primarily the interpretations of the rapporteur. The "draft summary" has not been subject to review and revision by all who participated in the seminar.

Neither does this "draft summary" purport to represent the views of the trustees, officers or staff members of the Brookings Institution.

Draft Summary

EXECUTIVE SEMINAR ON TITLE IX

AID/WASHINGTON

Roanoke, Virginia, November 10-16, 1968

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E. G. Alderfer, Rapporteur
25 November 1968

I. THE CHRONOLOGY OF DISCUSSION

The Intent and Meaning of Title IX

1. A.I.D. Considerations

No consistent formula for defining or coping with the social and political implications of Title IX has evolved within the A.I.D. system, although a broad, diverse, and sometimes conflicting set of responses is apparent within its frame of reference. Findings of the M.I.T. conference were presented, with special reference to the "twin pillars" theory of the interdependence of economic development and Title IX. The A.I.D. response to Title IX seems to require (a) recognizing and systematizing our analysis of noneconomic factors of development, (b) giving sharper focus to ways of broadening popular participation, and (c) study and exploration of programs more suitable to the conditions and potentials of the LDCs.

2. Title IX as U. S. Policy

Looking backward, the thrust of U. S. foreign assistance has been principally aimed at building viable national societies around the periphery of the communist world. But both the charter of Punte del Este and Title IX tend to lift foreign assistance out of the narrower confines of the cold war, in terms of emphasizing social and economic justice, popular participation, and local self-determination. A moral commitment seems implicit in Title IX because of its concern for improving the quality of life in emergent societies, and we must be prepared to recognize that this is a kind of intervention in the life style of other societies. We must also recognize that Title IX requires a long-term commitment and policy.

3. Congressional Considerations

To some degree at least, Title IX legislation represents a departure from previous, almost exclusive emphasis on economic indices of development -- a broadened view of development as an orchestration of social, political and economic considerations. This also implies some movement in the Congress beyond narrower cold war reasoning. What matters is the political behavior of receiving countries in terms of responsiveness to needs for productive change. The dangers of overcentralization of decision-making in the less developed countries is becoming more apparent to the Congress. On-going consideration to the changing roles and capabilities of other components of the U. S. presence --

military, counterinsurgency, informational, diplomatic, and non-governmental -- seems to be implied in the new Title IX initiative. Title IX focusses on the needs, opportunities and aspirations of people, and changes in power structures are regarded as a by-product rather than an objective. The Congress recognizes and has supported the need for additional research and training in the light of the Title IX mandate. Consideration was also given to establishing dialogue between U. S. political party representatives and LDC political organizations. Further emphasis will probably be given to the role of nongovernmental organizations and the private sector.

Relevance of U. S. Political Dynamics to Title IX

Through an analysis of our U. S. political decision systems, particularly as applied through the Federal bureau chief, the following characteristics were discussed: (a) the marked intellectualization of the decision process in recent years through the use of "experts" and specialists; (b) the resulting requirement that decision-making now takes coalitions of size, with alliance-building thus becoming a basic activity of the bureaucrat; (c) decisions are thus generally of a compromise nature; (d) within this coalition process procedural innovations may be frequent and often successful, but policy innovations are quite rare.

Decision-making in the LDCs is significantly different -- much more centralized and individualized. The induction of wider participation in the decision process in LDCs would have to proceed chiefly through a broadening involvement of more people in the political party, and the extension of support and encouragement of local associations and groupings.

Centralized Power Hierarchies and Title IX

1. The problem of development in LDCs was viewed as a balance of two principal thrusts: (a) socioeconomic growth and increased production, allowing for differentiation and diversification of individual roles in society, and (b) political and participative control mechanisms to allow for a more equitable distribution of benefits. A.I.D. has primarily emphasized the former at the expense of the latter (the Title IX mandate). Most LDCs tend to organize modernizing skills under central ministry direction and control, but this inhibits relations among skill-groups and the lateral transfer of skills.

2. The relationship of the peasant -- the great majority in LDCs -- to the traditional hierarchical overlay of government was considered in terms of his psychological dependence on and "satisfaction" in that kind of dependence, because of "anxiety fears" of coping with the governing role himself. However, due to modernizing influences, the "common" people outside the power structure have increasingly felt abandoned by the traditional elite, and where this is exacerbated revolutionary surges occur. Developing a basis for gradual democratization requires (a) growing trust among different groups in society, (b) a sufficient level of self-confidence among local leaders, and (c) enough freedom from dread of oppressive elite force.
3. This psychoanalytic interpretation of the peasant-elite relationship was contrasted with a stimulus-response (learning theory) evaluation. In the latter, it would seem necessary to start the participation process at the base of societies by overcoming the "selective inattention" of local people, avoiding the creation of new anxieties, and not moving too fast along the "participative control dimension" to avoid dictatorial responses from the elites.

Analysis of Technological Change in the Context of Title IX

It was noted that the U. S. has two unique capabilities to apply to development: (a) the application of technology for social benefit, and (b) a pragmatic, non-doctrinaire flexibility to develop institutions. In our view, therefore, a strong relationship exists between technology, development and politics, and our approach to institution-building is in sectoral terms. In our terms, technological decisions are "the engines of power".

Since few technical changes can be "parachuted" into other kinds of society, and some technology is either irrelevant or counterproductive in LDCs, successful introduction of technical change requires group analysis of three sectors -- the elites, the labor force, and the public technicians. Our optimum goal is to help create conditions wherein innovation becomes a pattern and a part of the elite life style.

A formula of analysis of the varying conditions of different societies could be based on three stages of host government action for modernization: (a) coercion -- the point at which change can be introduced into the traditional pattern by direct government action; (b) initiation -- when a habit of innovation begins to take root in government and its subjects begin to add to the innovative process; and (c) correction -- when rising groups of interests in the society have to be balanced so that the benefits of growth may be made more equitable. This process of inquiry and analysis can help determine what U. S. contributions are most appropriate to societies at different stages of development.

The Nongovernmental Sector and Title IX

Since a very large proportion of developmental activity of the Title IX type necessarily has to occur in nongovernmental settings, the advantages and disadvantages of expanding the role of U. S. nongovernmental (NGO) organizations were discussed. Differentiation in function and method of the various subsectors of the NGO community -- business, universities and research institutions, foundations, and the philanthropic group -- needs to be understood in this context. Various possibilities through AID for greater participation of NGOs, both U. S. and host country, were considered, such as deliberate development of host country NGOs, the employment of third country NGOs, and a clearer definition of functional capacities of different kinds of NGOs.

Two examples of NGO activity consonant with Title IX objectives were reviewed: the participation of the League of Women Voters' Overseas Education Fund with the women provincial governors of the Dominican Republic, and the activity of a newly formed National Council of Private Enterprise in Panama.

Agricultural Development and Title IX: the Case of Pakistan

The sudden and dramatic increase of agricultural output in Pakistan was analyzed in economic terms, in part to open up the question as to the relevance of superimposed national programs to Title IX objectives. This question is whether the benefits of centralized economic development, or rather an increased sharing of them, constitutes a kind of participation, and therefore an option that can be exercised in lieu of participation in decision-making.

The highly productive but superimposed tube well and irrigation program of West Pakistan had the effect of very considerably increasing the production and benefits of landholders with 25 acres or more of land, but smallholders and tenants, though in absolute terms better off than before, lost in relative position to the larger landholders. In East Pakistan the Rural Public Works Program concentrating on road building and drainage canals has not yet shown comparable effects.

In both cases the element of scale -- the size of inputs -- was a determining factor. Discussion highlighted the difference between economic growth per se, without equal insistence on more equitable distribution, and the principle of development in the larger sense wherein the quality of life of the total society is the principal consideration.

Strategies for Implementing Title IX

Questions as to what factors are most relevant to Title IX implementation were considered. U. S. national considerations naturally include our foreign policy objectives, and our security and economic interests. Most country factors include host government receptivity to change, public sensitivity to the U. S. role in the country, and administrative capability.

In assessing program goals in the context of Title IX, it is important to take into consideration the stages of development of the society and the degree of modernization, the degree of commitment of the power structure to development, and the history of the society as a whole as well as the future consequences of particular programs.

Korea was cited as an example of how evolving levels of programming are determined by the evolving condition of society. In the early 1960s the A.I.D. program there concentrated entirely on economic and financial stabilization. The concentration of program into such sectoral specialization, however, tends to lead to neglect of important considerations -- such as the growing imbalances in the private sector and the condition of the small farmer -- which create other serious pressures for the future.

II. SOME PRINCIPAL ISSUES

Regarding the Intent of Title IX

1. Does Title IX require radical departures in present policy and programming, or does current A.I.D. program essentially encompass the intent of Title IX?
2. If economic and technical inputs sometimes retard participative development by supporting and strengthening the status quo, what are the factors which can lead toward a more democratic directioning of these inputs, and what is the proper balance of priorities between economic and participative elements?

3. Does Title IX imply a deliberate attack on the highly centralized system of decision-making common to most LDCs, which tends to smother local initiative, or is it aimed at the gradual redirection of power for more social benefit?
4. To what extent is national integration of disparate local societies central to the intent of Title IX? Is its first priority to help host nations modify centrifugal forces within the body politic, or is it to develop local capabilities for growth and self-reliance?

Regarding the Implementation of Title IX

1. If A.I.D.'s work must be directed almost exclusively through central governments and ministries which tend to inhibit local initiatives, what are the mechanisms available to A.I.D. which can by-pass such obstacles?
2. To what extent is internal security a first consideration? Does this requirement take precedence before any Title IX programming, or can internal security and participative development activities coexist? How relevant is military and paramilitary "civic action" and counter-insurgency to the objectives of Title IX?
3. What organizational and institutional characteristics of A.I.D. are constraints on implementation of Title IX -- e.g., the functional segmentation of the country team resulting in "overlaps" and "underlaps"; resistance to innovative program ideas; lack of coordination with other U. S. agencies in the same country; lack of programming criteria?
4. How much of the Title IX program intention can or should be contracted out to the U. S. private nongovernmental sector, and upon what criteria? To what extent is it feasible for each AID program/project to include a requirement for developing a host country nongovernmental activity which is comparable and related?
5. To what extent does the Title IX emphasis change A.I.D. priorities of development investment from the industrializing sectors of LDCs to the traditional and rural sectors?
6. Assuming that we still have a great deal to learn about the nature of traditional societies as to the implementation of Title IX, is the research team (as in the AID/Thai mission) the most apt device for developing program groundwork?

7. To what extent and in what ways could representatives of U. S. political parties establish dialogue with host country parties and politicians to develop a climate for Title IX activity?

III. SOME AREAS OF CONSENSUS

1. A qualitative emphasis. Title IX addresses itself to the quality of life in societies where foreign assistance is applied. The quantifiable and economic growth characteristics are an important part, but only a part, of our concern with other societies and nations.
2. "Political" development. The equating of "political development" with Title IX is in terms of increasing opportunities for popular, massive participation in the many and various forms of association for mutual aid in achieving legitimate aspirations. It does not imply interference in the principle of sovereignty and self-determination.
3. Understanding the obstacles. We recognize the existence of deep-seated and historically-rooted obstacles to a wider sharing of powers of self-determination and participation in productive change in many less developed countries, and it is incumbent upon the aid practitioner to understand these obstacles better, recognizing the limitations placed upon him by his own ethnocentric bias.
4. The need for research and training. The wholistic view of development which is implied in Title IX (economic and social as well as political and cultural) requires us to learn much more about (a) the techniques most apt to bring about more encompassing process of development, and (b) the characteristics of particular local societies where this process is applied. It also requires an enlarged and deepened training of the aid practitioner.
5. A programming rationale. To A.I.D. Title IX represents a programming rationale and focus which should encompass the totality of aid efforts; it is not simply a mandate for new and different projects. The spirit of Title IX has already been demonstrated in various programs; what is new about it is the sharper focus it gives to qualitative aspects.
6. No rigid operational formula. Conditions in various countries and subsectors within countries require different kinds of A.I.D. response -- both in respect to levels of development and to the pressures of current events. Title IX permits this kind of flexibility in both programming and operations, providing this does not obscure the focus on broadening participation.

7. Nongovernmental participation. The very nature of Title IX calls for an expanded role in development for the private sector, both U. S. and overseas, as the most appropriate medium for nurturing the spirit of entrepreneurship.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1968

6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

RECEPTION

7:00 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.

DINNER

8:30 p.m.

PURPOSE AND PHILOSOPHY OF
THE SEMINAR

Fordyce W. Luikart
Senior Staff Member
The Brookings Institution

Chairman of the Conference

WHAT AID INTENDS

Princeton Lyman
Chief
Title IX Division
Office of Program and
Policy Coordination
Agency for International
Development

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

INTENT AND MEANING OF TITLE IX

John N. Plank
Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution

Panel:

The Honorable
Donald M. Fraser
Member, U. S. House of
Representatives from
Minnesota

The Honorable
F. Bradford Morse
Member, U. S. House of
Representatives from
Massachusetts

Princeton Lyman

12:15 p.m.

LUNCH

1:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

VIEW OF TITLE IX FROM CONGRESS

The Honorable
Donald M. Fraser

The Honorable
F. Bradford Morse

Panel:

John N. Plank

Princeton Lyman

6:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

SOCIAL HOUR

6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

DINNER

8:00 p.m.

Small group discussions with special guests

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1968

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**RELEVANCE OF OUR EXPERIENCE -
U. S. POLITICAL DYNAMICS**

Wallace S. Sayre
Eaton Professor of Public
Administration
Columbia University

12:15 p.m.

LUNCH

1:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

**POWER AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC
CHANGE**

Douglas Ashford
Director
Center for International Studies
Cornell University

6:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

SOCIAL HOUR

6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

DINNER

8:00 p.m.

Small group discussions with special guests

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**CONDITIONS WHICH INFLUENCE
SOCIAL CHANGE**

Everett E. Hagen
Professor of Economics and of
Political Science
Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology

Comments:

Douglas Ashford

12:15 p.m.

LUNCH

1:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

**NATURE OF AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL
STRUCTURES - WHY THEY EMERGE
AND PERSIST**

Everett E. Hagen

Comments:

Douglas Ashford

6:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

SOCIAL HOUR

6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

DINNER

8:00 p.m.

Informal discussion with special guests

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENT AND TECHNOLOGICAL
CHANGE IN DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS**

**John D. Montgomery
Professor of Public
Administration
John F. Kennedy School of
Government
Harvard University**

12:15 p.m.

LUNCH

1:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

**INSTRUMENTS OF AID FOR DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTION BUILDING**

John D. Montgomery

6:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

SOCIAL HOUR

6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

DINNER

8:00 p.m.

**Informal small group discussion with
special guests**

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**ROLE OF THE NON-GOVERNMENT
SECTOR IN DEVELOPING
PARTICIPATION**

John N. Plank
Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution

Panel:

Walter P. Falcon
Director of Research
Development Advisory Service
Harvard University

Princeton Lyman

12:15 p.m.

LUNCH

1:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

**AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN
PAKISTAN - ILLUSTRATION OF
PARTICIPATION?**

Walter P. Falcon

Panel:

John N. Plank

Princeton Lyman

6:00 p.m. - 6:45 p.m.

SOCIAL HOUR

6:45 p.m.

CLOSING DINNER

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16

9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

**STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTING
TITLE IX**

Princeton Lyman
Chief
Title IX Division
Office of Program and
Policy Coordination
Agency for International
Development

Panel:

John N. Plank

Walter Falcon

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

REVIEW AND EVALUATION

Fordyce W. Luikart
Senior Staff Member
The Brookings Institution

12:15

LUNCH

SEMINAR ADJOURNS

**EXECUTIVE SEMINAR ON TITLE IX
OF THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT**

Roanoke, Virginia
November 10-16, 1968

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