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**REPORT OF
THE CARIBBEAN REGIONAL
WORKSHOP ON INTEGRATED
RURAL DEVELOPMENT**



KINGSTON, JAMAICA

6 - 11 October 1969

**UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA**

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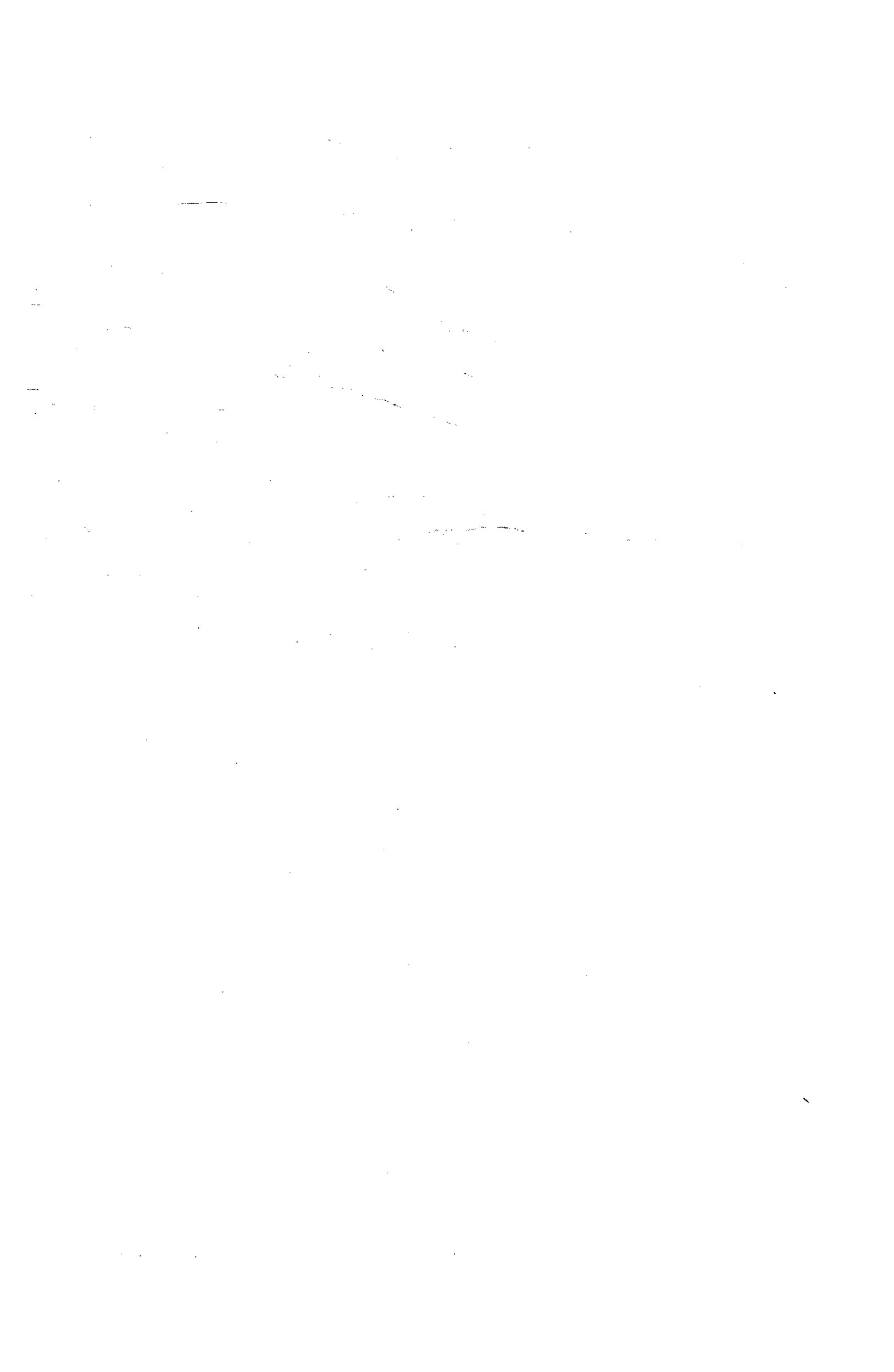
United Nations
Economic Commission for Latin America
Office for the Caribbean

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INTRODUCTION

Sponsorship

The Caribbean Regional Workshop on Integrated Rural Development, held in Kingston, Jamaica from 6 to 11 October 1969, was organized by the United Nations through the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Office for Technical Cooperation. The Government of Jamaica provided the necessary physical facilities for the Workshop and assisted in all stages of its preparation and conduct. Mr. T. Balakrishnan, Regional Adviser on Community Development for the Caribbean functioned as the Director of the Workshop; Mr. Chester Dowdy, Director, Social Development Agency, Jamaica was the Co-Director.

Objectives

The main objectives of the Workshop were:

- (a) to bring together the senior officials at the policy-making level of the different ministries concerned with rural development in the Caribbean region;
- (b) to facilitate an exchange of views on the inter-relationship between the various sectors of rural development and the role and methodology of community development in overall national development effort; and
- (c) to outline guidelines to foster a more coordinated and integrated approach to rural development with focus on ensuring maximum popular participation and development of local institutions.

Participation

Thirty participants from fourteen territories in the Caribbean and seven observers from Jamaica attended the Workshop. The countries represented were: Antigua, Barbados, British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Netherlands Antilles, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Suriname and Trinidad & Tobago. It was suggested to the area governments that one of their nominees to

the Workshop might be from the Central Planning Unit or the Ministry of Agriculture and the other(s) from other Ministries dealing with various sectors of rural development. The participants were invited as professionals in their respective fields and were not expected only to present the official position of their Governments.

Professor Lloyd Braithwaite, Pro Vice-Chancellor, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Division, Mr. C.K. Robinson, Director, Agricultural Extension, Faculty of Agriculture, University of the West Indies, and Dr. Bertram Collins, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Guyana and currently on an assignment with the Public Administration Division, UN Headquarters, acted as lecturers and discussion leaders on some specific topics on the agenda. Mr. Lawrence Moore, Regional Adviser on Community Development, ECLA Headquarters, Santiago, and Mr. Murray Silberman, Regional and Community Development Section, Social Development Division, New York, were consultants from the United Nations.

The list of participants is at Annex 1.

Documentation

Discussions were based mainly on two detailed working papers drawn up for the purpose. They were:

- i. Integrated Rural Development in Developing Countries with Special Reference to the Caribbean; 1/
- ii. Area Dimensions of Community and Rural Development. 2/

In addition, other working papers, information papers and background documents were distributed to the participants, a complete list of which is at Annex 2.

1/ This was an adaptation, with focus on Caribbean conditions, prepared by Mr. T. Balakrishnan, Regional Adviser on Community Development for the Caribbean, based on a draft study on Integrated Rural Development in Developing Countries done by Mr. Lawrence Hewes for the United Nations.

2/ Prepared by Mr. Lawrence Moore, Regional Adviser on Community Development, ECLA Headquarters, Santiago.

Inaugural Session

The Workshop was inaugurated on 6 October 1969 by the Honourable Allan Douglas, Minister for Youth and Community Development, Jamaica. In the course of his inaugural address the Minister stressed the important role of development of the rural sector in overall national advance and pleaded for "greater involvement and greater participation of the rural population if governments are to make rapid progress and bring lasting benefits in their efforts to develop their countries". Emphasizing the importance of social development in national planning, he urged the need for youth participation in the planning process which would direct their energies to "involvement, participation and finally achievement".

The text of the Minister's inaugural address is at Annex 3.

A statement was read on behalf of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America, a copy of which is at Annex 4.

Programme of Work

The Workshop employed the seminar method for exchange of experience, discussion of problems and outlining possible solutions and guidelines.

At its first working session the participants adopted the agenda and the programme of work. They divided themselves into two working groups, each of which considered one working paper in depth. Each working group selected its own chairman and rapporteur. After detailed deliberations on the working paper, each working group formulated its conclusions and proposals which were presented to the final plenary sessions. Discussions in the lecture sessions were drawn upon by the working groups in finalising their reports.

The participants were also taken on a field trip to the Yallahs Valley Land Authority Area and to the Chestervale Youth Camp.

The detailed daily work programme is contained in Annex 5.

Closing Session

The closing session was held on the morning of 11 October. The Honourable Hector Wynter, Minister of State in the Ministry of Youth

and Community Development in Jamaica delivered the closing address, in the course of which he underscored the importance of closing the gap between the urban and the rural sectors and indicated that urbanisation of the rural areas was a necessary step in this direction. He also pleaded for reorientation of the entire educational system in the Caribbean countries to make it more relevant and more responsive to the needs of integrated rural development.

The text of the Minister's closing address is at Annex 6.

At the closing session the participants adopted a motion of thanks to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Government of Jamaica.

II

SUMMARY OF MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions and recommendations of the Workshop and the premises on which they were based are presented in the appropriate chapters that follow. This chapter gives a resume of the more important recommendations of the Workshop.

THE NEED FOR A NEW STRATEGY

1. The Workshop considered that it was time to evolve a new strategy for integrated rural development which would secure a wholesome balance between the urban-industrial sector and the rural-agricultural sector, and bridge over time the rural-urban gap by creating a rural-urban continuum. The need for such a strategy was paramount, particularly in the current Caribbean context.
2. The strategy should be evolved within the framework of national planning and with a clear focus on popular participation and building up of local institutions.

OBJECTIVES OF INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The overall objective of integrated rural development was to "raise the whole pattern of living of the rural population to a markedly high level and create in the process a society which would thereafter be dynamic economically and socially".
2. Such conflicts as might occur from time to time between the economic and the social prime objectives which were equally valued should be identified, and the conditions on which and the means by which these conflicts could be resolved should be worked out.
3. The Workshop identified the following three main sub-objectives of integrated rural development within the framework of the overall primary objective, viz.:
 - (a) integration of the rural communities with the mainstream of the national economic life;

- (b) decentralization of political and administrative structures to enable concrete participation of the rural communities in decision-making processes affecting local and national development; and
- (c) expediting the process of acceptance of modernization ideals by a systematic effort at institution building.

SOME IMPORTANT SECTORAL COMPONENTS

1. The Workshop specified the following inter-related sectoral components in integrated rural development planning:

- (a) agricultural development;
- (b) rural industrialization;
- (c) employment;
- (d) youth development;
- (e) urbanization;
- (f) social services; and
- (g) institution building.

2. As for agriculture, the Workshop identified some of the salient components of composite agricultural development which should be tackled simultaneously or in a planned sequence, viz.: input factors, extension services, incentive measures, organizational aspects, and training and education.

3. When land settlement schemes were implemented, it should be ensured that they took into account the input, infrastructure, educational, managerial and the community needs of the settlers: adequate provision should be made for the inclusion of youth in settlement schemes.

4. There was need for zoning of agricultural production within the CARIFTA ^{1/} area based on appropriate studies.

5. A special training course in agricultural planning techniques for the concerned officers of the various territories in the region might be introduced in the University of the West Indies.

^{1/} Caribbean Free Trade Association, comprising the territories of Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Trinidad & Tobago. Belize (British Honduras) has signified its intention to sign the CARIFTA Agreement, which came into force on 1 May 1968.

6. As regards rural industrialization, the Workshop noted that the process might begin with the existing indigenous handicraft industries, but stressed that the effort should not stop there. The endeavour should be to promote agro-based and other industries so that rural industrialization complemented agricultural development.
7. A phased programme of rural industrialization might be drawn up based on the policy decisions of the recent ECLA/UNIDO feasibility studies.
8. Though the employment aspect was a function of overall development, it was necessary, under the prevailing circumstances, to make special efforts to provide venues of employment for the currently unemployed. This might take the form either of readjusting the outlays on different development projects and altering their mode of execution so as to increase their labour intensiveness or implementing supplemental works projects with main focus on the employment objective, or both.
9. The manpower programme should have as its integral part, schemes to improve the existing skills of the labour force and to impart new skills to them since one of the basic problems of unemployment was lack of requisite skills.
10. As regards youth development, the Workshop recommended special focus on programmes for rural youth development, considering the preponderance of youth population and their special problems and potential.
11. The institutional programme of youth camps, already under implementation in a few countries in the region, might be expanded and intensified.
12. Loan assistance might be provided to select youth groups for economic ventures such as small scale poultry farms, piggery farms, industrial enterprises, etc.
13. As had been done in some countries, general education classes designed to improve the minds of youth, who unfortunately could not continue their studies might be held in selected centres in the evenings.
14. There was urgent need for an early restructuring of school curricula to make them correspond to the development needs of the territories.
15. With a view to inculcating in the youth a sense of real involvement in national development activities, the Workshop favoured the establishment

of an advisory council of young people to the Ministry/Department/Division in charge of youth development.

16. Provision of social services and facilities like education, health, housing, electricity and recreational outlets in the rural areas on a planned basis was vital for the success of efforts to arrest the increasing migration of persons from the rural areas to the urban centres.

17. Gradual urbanization of rural areas was an essential element of the strategy for integrated rural development.

18. Promotion of development-aiding institutions was also basic. Where rural local government institutions operated, there should be a conscious national policy to strengthen them functionally and financially and to involve them fully in the development process.

19. This apart, development of various types of cooperative institutions, which could play a very significant role in many branches of economic life, was very important in a scheme of rural development and organization.

AREA DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

1. The Workshop considered that for many countries in the Caribbean, particularly for the larger territories, a regional or area approach was useful in planning for rural development. Whilst there was need for prescribing criteria for defining boundaries of an area for operation, there must be some degree of flexibility in defining area in spatial and 'problem set' terms.

2. In area planning, a brief description of policy was required, which might include: (a) the definition of objectives, (b) the allocation of resources to realise these objectives, and (c) specification of the ways of utilization of the resources. Such a policy statement should be available for the examination and guidance of technical personnel.

3. The current practice of heads of governments and top political leaders visiting rural areas and hearing for themselves the problems of the people was a desirable one; it should not, however, result in the ad hoc grant of concessions to different sections. Such concessions as agreed to should be incorporated in the national project and embrace the entire area rather than sections of it.

4. A mere aggregate of the expressed desires of the people could not constitute a development plan; they should be vetted by technicians and incorporated in an overall development plan, which would ensure that on various aspects of regional development were kept in perspective and on priorities established.

5. It was also necessary for senior administrative and technical officers to meet the people so that they could appreciate their 'felt needs'. It was however necessary to understand and give balanced emphasis to 'felt' and 'real' or 'persuaded' needs.

6. Whilst noting the gap between total demand for services and the resources available for meeting them, the Workshop was of the view that such difficulties could to a large extent be resolved by a clear formulation of objectives, integration of area programmes into national plans, and the strict establishment of priorities. Execution of projects on a self-help basis would also greatly assist in diminishing the gap.

OPERATIONAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION ASPECTS

Operational Aspects

- 1. If rural development plans were to be implemented with drive and purposiveness, it was necessary that the government's commitment to integrated rural development was stated in no uncertain terms. It would be useful to issue a policy statement outlining the government's approach.
- 2. The need for passing legislation in this regard and for suitably amending the existing enactments might also be examined.
- 3. As a means of giving reality to the concept of integrated rural development through refined planning techniques and processes, and with a clear focus on the improvement of human resources and enlargement of the popular participation element, it would be useful to design a model which would ensure these.
- 4. For the purposes of implementing an integrated plan based on the model, a statutory body like a Corporation or an Authority might be established under the appropriate existing laws. The shares of the body might be wholly or partly owned by the government with suitable

long-term loans by the Regional Development Bank and/or other appropriate international agencies. Working capital might be provided under arrangements which were common for development corporations and development banks. An important new resource for the body could be the grant by the government of a reasonable extent of cultivable land and sufficient funds for its development, similar to the arrangements made by some countries for land grant universities.

5. Besides loans and grants from the government, loans and grants from international and bilateral agencies, food aid from WFP, assistance from UNICEF, Freedom from Hunger Campaign, etc., could be made available to the body.

6. It would be useful if a fixed percentage of the loanable resources of the Regional Development Bank were earmarked for projects of integrated rural development.

Administrative Aspects

7. The special problems of public administration in the Caribbean countries - problems peculiar to small states and those which were common to most developing countries, but which size rendered more acute - should be taken into account in evolving and executing a strategy for integrated rural development.

8. The central planning unit might be adequately strengthened and where necessary, a separate cell for integrated rural development planning set up.

9. With a view to ensuring prompt and expeditious execution of approved projects, some machinery should be established on a national and/or ministerial basis, e.g. the creation of the post of Programmes Executive Officer.

10. Coordination between different ministries engaged in various sectors of rural development should be ensured both at the ministerial and the operational levels.

11. A good system of data collection and analysis should be established, and where it existed, strengthened.

12. Regionalized decentralization should be ensured to bring about effectiveness, flexibility and maximum citizen participation.

Approved by the Board of Directors of the Caribbean Development Bank, 1971.

Appropriate regional councils might be constituted, composed of officials, citizen leaders and representatives of local authorities.

13. For each area there should be an area coordinator, with adequate administrative and financial powers, in overall charge of the implementation of the integrated plan for the area.

14. A cadre of experienced resource personnel, supplemented by international expertise from United Nations and other agencies, might be established to be utilized by all the territories in the region.

15. Whilst the various territories in the region would continue to need international assistance, the donor nations and agencies should reduce the extent of tied aid.

16. Systematic evaluation, including not only fulfilment of quantifiable targets, but also evidence of technological change, new motivations among the people, institutional development, evolution of local leadership and the like, should be an essential aspect of integrated rural development efforts.

Popular Participation Aspects

17. Though in the early stages the central authority would have to accept major responsibility in plan formulation, the plan frame should be discussed at length in the regional councils and their views given due weight.

18. Rural local government institutions should be given increasing functions and responsibilities in the overall development of their respective areas.

19. The community development concept must be an initial aspect of all government activities in the planning process: the approach must permeate the entire fabric of the administrative machinery.

20. Adequate attention must be given to popular participation in the formulation and implementation of plans as a fundamental principle of community development.

21. It should be ensured that participation was authentic and truly democratic. Great importance should therefore be attached to the attendant measures of education, motivation, training and organization.

22. The possibility of conflict and confrontation in attempting to harmonize local and national needs must be recognized. It indicated the necessity for planning from below.

23. All sections of the community, women and youth in particular, should be involved in all programmes of development.

24. Black power, as an emerging concept, had potential for beneficial as well as harmful effects. Wherever this or other similar movements were evident, the energy of the followers should be harnessed and channelled towards activities for the common good.

Training and Research

25. The Regional Economic Commission might be requested to conduct periodic workshops for top level officials engaged in the process of integrated rural development. Besides a general inter-disciplinary course, special courses might be held in sectoral spheres like public administration, rural sociology, physical planning and fiscal procedures and programming.

26. Systematic country level training programmes for middle level personnel might be conducted with the assistance of United Nations advisers.

27. Regular training and orientation courses for citizen leaders were also necessary.

28. A Caribbean regional centre for training, study and research in integrated rural development might be established as a UNDP Special Fund project, with the collaboration of the Universities in the region.

III

THE NEED FOR A NEW STRATEGY

The Workshop recognized that overall national development depended to a great extent on the maximum utilization of the physical and human resources of rural areas, having regard to the preponderance of the rural sector in the Caribbean countries. ^{1/}

The rural areas had, no doubt, been receiving benefits from the implementation of development plans, but their needs still remained very compelling. It was, therefore, necessary to reassess the role and potential of the rural areas in overall national development, and evolve a strategy that would ensure a total uplift of the rural sector, which process would lead to the betterment of national life as a whole.

Despite the obvious importance of the rural economy as a function of national development, if the progress of rural areas still tended to be relatively slow, and if there was a widening gap between the rural and urban areas, it was, the Workshop felt, in the main due to an inappropriate planning strategy and inadequacy of economic resources. More often, "rural development" was interpreted in a narrow sense, implying a dichotomy between the rural and the urban sectors. Also, agriculture tended to be regarded as the sole category of rural development, and even there the efforts had not generally been integrally conceived. Again, harmonization of planning in the economic and the non-economic fields, though generally recognized, was apt to be overlooked if not neglected in practice. Though Community Development, which postulated an integrated approach to development, had been accepted as a strategy of development by almost all the Caribbean countries, refined planning techniques for local area programming had not yet been in all cases, fully evolved. Because of these factors, rural development projects sometimes tended to be rather isolationist in conception and sporadic in execution.

^{1/} The proportion of rural population in the various countries in the region ranged from 50 to 90 per cent of the total population.

The Workshop, therefore, considered that it was time to evolve a strategy for integrated rural development, which would secure a wholesome balance between the urban-industrial sector and the rural-agricultural sector and bridge over time, the rural-urban gap by creating a rural-urban continuum. The Workshop emphasized that it was essential to bear in mind that rural development was not a separate kind of development from overall national development, but that it should be viewed against the background of the array of factors affecting national development as a whole.

Particularly in the current Caribbean context, the need for such a strategy of integrated rural development was paramount. For instance, the transition in the field of agriculture in the Caribbean countries from the traditional to the modern phase, and the reorientation from the export to the domestic and tourism markets would engender far-reaching changes in various closely inter-connected areas like conditions and patterns of production, specialization of roles, community organizations, labour relations and local institutional structures. A process of industrialization which was in the offing would carry with it both occupational and geographical shifts. A strategy for planned overall development of the Caribbean countries would have to take these complex factors into account, whose inter-relations would be the determinants of the direction and pace of progress.

The Workshop was of the view that in evolving a strategy for integrated development of the rural sector in the Caribbean countries, certain characteristics and features common to the various countries in the region should be kept in mind, which would set the background for rural development efforts. Some of these were favourable to development, whilst some others tended to act as "discords to development". The more important of the favourable factors were:

- i. There was prevalence of a considerably high degree of literacy, which had resulted in a general receptivity on the part of the rural population to innovations and new ideas.
- ii. The levels of aspirations of the rural people were quite high, mainly due to the facilities for communication between the urban and the rural sectors in most of the countries which were geographically small in size; and a high level of aspirations was a great motivating agent.

- iii. Considering the smallness of size of many of the Caribbean countries, it was easier to disseminate information regarding the goals, strategies and targets of development plans and make them widely understood; and understanding was an essential prerequisite to participation.

Some of the common regional characteristics which might act as constraints to development would include the following:

- i. Despite the importance of agriculture to the growth of the rural economy and thereby to economic development of the Caribbean countries and its theoretical recognition, there was, owing to historical and other reasons, a widespread bias against agriculture among the rural population; this was largely also because agricultural income was generally lower than industrial income.
- ii. In most of the Caribbean countries, apart from the rural-urban divergence, there was a dichotomy in the rural sector itself - between the plantation and the small-scale agricultural systems, which was affecting harmonious agricultural development in no small measure.
- iii. Adequate scope was not being afforded to industrializing agriculture.
- iv. Mobilization of rural manpower resources on diverse, productive and essential projects, which would at once provide gainful employment for the rural manpower and result in the creation of production assets and infrastructure facilities, was impeded by the prevalence of relatively high profit rates in the private sector, notably in the petroleum, sugar and bauxite industries; this imbalance had resulted in the paradox of the co-existence of labour shortage and massive unemployment, and had helped accelerate the influx of migrants from the rural areas to the metropolises.
- v. The growing migration of able-bodied, educated and trained persons from the Caribbean territories to the advanced countries was having a denuding effect on the availability of skilled and trained personnel for the development of the countries. Relatively low levels of earning, lack of employment opportunities, lack of a sense of identity and even inadequacy of recreational facilities acted as powerful catalysts to migration.

- vi. The population in the Caribbean countries was growing at a very fast rate - roughly 3 per cent for the region as a whole. The smallness of size of most of the territories rendered the pressure more acute.

In sum, in consideration of these factors, the Workshop underscored the need for evolving a new strategy for integrated rural development within the framework of national planning, and with a clear focus on popular participation and building up of local institutions.

IV

OBJECTIVES OF INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Workshop endorsed that the overall objective of integrated rural development was to "design and coordinate approaches and policies so as to raise the whole pattern of living of the rural population to a markedly high level within a few years and create in the process a society, which would thereafter be dynamic, economically and socially".

Whilst visualizing this ultimate objective of integrated rural development, the Workshop recognized the existence of a plural value system characterised by equally valued economic and social prime objectives. Economic and social objectives were inter-dependent and it was necessary to conceive of an integrated plan for rural development encompassing both economic transformation and the creation of the desired social structure. The Workshop took note of the fact that whilst in the ultimate analysis there was no basic contradiction between the economic and the social goals, on particular occasions, apparent conflicts might come to surface. For instance, enthusiasm for increasing agricultural production in the shortest possible time might lead to deferment of actions like implementation of land reform measures, though in the long run the latter was vital for the realisation of the production objective. An important characteristic of integrated rural development was to identify such conflicts as they occurred and to work out the conditions on which and the means by which these conflicts could be resolved.

In considering the ultimate objective of integrated rural development, the Workshop noted that the rural populations tended to be isolated, neglected and poor, owing mainly to the dearth of economic opportunities and social services in their environs, absence of decentralized political and administrative systems which rendered their effective participation in public affairs difficult, and lack of assimilation of modernization ideals. In view of these, the Workshop identified three main sub-objectives of integrated rural development within the framework of the overall primary objective, viz.:

- i. integration of the rural communities with the main-stream of the national economic life;

- ii. decentralization of political and administrative structures to enable concrete participation of the rural communities in decision-making processes affecting local and national development; and
- iii. expediting the process of acceptance of modernization ideals by a systematic effort at institution building.

The sectoral, operational, administrative and popular participation aspects of the realisation of these objectives are discussed in the succeeding chapters.

V

SOME IMPORTANT SECTORAL COMPONENTS

The Workshop felt that it would be useful to outline suggested approaches and strategies regarding certain significant sectoral aspects, keeping in mind their inter-dependence, viz.:

- i. Agricultural Development;
- ii. rural industrialization;
- iii. employment;
- iv. youth development;
- v. urbanization;
- vi. social services; and
- vii. institution building.

Agricultural Development

Noting that agriculture was not the sole factor in rural development and that integrated rural development implied, beyond developing agriculture on sound scientific lines and generally improving the levels of living of the rural population, the creation of a wholesome rural-urban continuum, the Workshop recognized that agriculture was still the mainstay of the rural economy. Even in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago, which had attained the greatest degree of structural transformation in the Caribbean, agriculture was contributing about 12 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product; in the other countries the figure was 25 per cent and more, and in the Windward and Leeward Islands it ranged between 35 and 45 per cent. Again, despite the noticeably declining trend over the last two decades, there was still a sizeable percentage of the working population engaged in agriculture, and indications were that this might continue to be the case in the coming years. The Workshop, therefore, considered it necessary to indicate in some detail future approaches to composite agricultural development.

In this connection, it noted that despite the importance of agriculture to the overall development of the Caribbean countries, there were certain common factors hindering agricultural advance. ^{1/} They included:

^{1/} Based on the country statements presented by the participants.
(ECLA/POS/RDW/IP.4 and 5)

- i. extreme fragmentation of holdings;
- ii. relatively low level of technical and managerial skills;
- iii. inadequacy of agricultural credit;
- iv. severe capital shortage in small-scale farming;
- v. inadequate marketing facilities;
- vi. a none-too-rational system of pricing;
- vii. inhibitive land tenure systems;
- viii. an irrational wage structure;
- ix. the unfavourable attitude of agricultural communities, particularly their younger elements, towards agriculture;
- x. lack of social facilities and amenities in the rural areas; and
- xi. lack of research on non-plantation crops.

The Workshop emphasized the need for the formulation and implementation of an integrated agricultural policy within the framework of an overall rural reconstruction policy, which would take into account various inter-related factors such as timely and adequate provision of inputs, a systematic plan for diversification of agriculture, proper marketing arrangements, equitable and secure tenure systems, agricultural education including managerial skills, effective, efficient and adequate extension services, measures designed to bring about attitudinal changes, provision of social and recreational facilities and popular participation in schemes of agricultural advance.

The Workshop identified some of the salient components ^{1/} of composite agricultural development which should be tackled simultaneously or in a planned sequence. They were:

Input Factors

- i. Formulation and implementation of an optimum land utilization policy, based on a comprehensive land utilization survey;
- ii. provision of adequate capital to the farmers in the form of 'soft' loans and enabling subsidies;

^{1/} It was noted that some of these measures were already being implemented, with varying degrees of success, in the various territories represented at the Workshop.

- iii. well planned programmes for soil conservation measures, irrigation and drainage, supply of farm machinery, high yielding crop varieties and livestock breeds, fertilizers and pesticides, processing and storage facilities, rural electrification, construction of farm roads and farm houses etc.;
- iv. formulation and execution of a conscious and deliberate plan for the diversification of agriculture, including livestock and fisheries development.

Extension Services

- i. Strengthening and streamlining the existing extension services;
- ii. encouragement to the formation of a cadre of a more "generalist" extension officers, as against persons with narrow specializations in specific fields;
- iii. initiation of a special extension programme for farm women and farm youth.

Incentive Measures

- i. Concrete measures to implement an equitable and secure land tenure system based on systematic studies on the subject;
- ii. implementation of incentive measures relating to prices and marketing, and crop and livestock insurance schemes; and
- iii. provision of adequate facilities, amenities and social services in the farming districts.

Organizational Aspects

- i. Decentralization of the process of agricultural development with the maximum involvement of the farmers and their representatives; and
- ii. a conscious and deliberate policy to organize and develop agricultural cooperatives.

Training and Education

- i. Introduction of improved functional training for farm leaders;
- ii. conduct of special orientation courses to extension officers, including basic elements of rural sociology, to ensure that they appreciated the human and attitudinal factors in agricultural development;

- iii. establishment of residential farm schools to impart skills in agriculture, including basic managerial skills, to farmers;
- iv. review of the curricula of all agricultural institutions with a view to ensuring that they were more relevant to the needs of the region;
- v. introduction in the Eastern Caribbean Farming and Forestry Institute of a separate training course for frontline agricultural extension workers who might not possess the required level of general educational qualification (five 'O' levels in GCE);
- vi. a well directed, problem-oriented, action research programme dictated by actual farm needs, particularly with regard to food crops, vegetables, fruit crops and livestock, including a two-way link between the research centre and the farm.

It was also necessary, the Workshop recommended, when land settlement schemes were implemented, to ensure that they took into account the input, infrastructure, educational, managerial and the community needs of the settlers. Adequate provision should also be made for the inclusion of youth in settlement schemes.

The Workshop also stressed the need for zoning of agricultural production within the CARIFTA area, based on appropriate studies.

There was also need, where this had not already been done, for a proper manpower survey and projections, which would be the basis for drawing up perspective plans for agricultural advance.

Considering the importance of composite, well conceived agricultural planning in the context of integrated rural development in the Caribbean countries, the Workshop suggested the introduction in the University of the West Indies of a special training course in agricultural planning techniques for the concerned officers of the various territories in the region.

Rural Industrialization

An essential element of a development strategy for the rural sector with focus on creating a rural-urban continuum was the building up of industrial activities in the rural areas. The Workshop noted the observation of Prof. Arthur Lewis that (in the Caribbean) "Agriculture cannot be put on to a basis where it will yield a reasonable standard

of living unless new jobs (in industry) are created off the land." ^{1/}
The process of industrialization might begin with the existing indigenous handicraft industries, but the effort should not stop there. The endeavour should be to promote agro-based and other industries so that rural industrialization complements agricultural development. A phased programme of rural industrialization might be drawn up based on the policy decisions on the recent ECLA/UNIDO feasibility studies.

In enunciating a policy of rural industrialization, the Workshop was of the view that the following concentrations might be kept in mind:

- i. the location policy should be so designed as to secure external economies appropriate to the size of the units;
- ii. where large enterprises were being set up, each such location should be developed, to the extent possible, as a complex of related industries; and
- iii. according to its size and characteristic, each industrial location should be used as the nucleus of a wider region, whose development was to be taken in hand alongside the development facilities at the industrial centre. Such a composite approach to development would help integrate the economy of the adjoining rural region with that of the industrial centre.

Employment

The Workshop noted that the employment aspect of development strategy arose out of a complex of high rural population growth rates, adverse man-land ratios, lack of alternatives to agricultural employment and the like. Though the long-term solution of the problem would lie in a transformation of the economy from one that was basically agricultural to one in which the secondary and tertiary sectors were more pronounced and developed, considering the time-lag involved in the process, special endeavour was called for in the interim period to provide venues of employment for the currently unemployed. This might take the form either of readjusting the outlays on different development

^{1/} W. Arthur Lewis, The Industrialization of the British West Indies, Caribbean Commission, 1951, p.30.

projects included in the development plan, taking into account their employment potential, and altering their mode of execution so as to increase their labour-intensiveness or implementing special supplemental works projects with main focus on the employment objective, or both. The manpower programme should have as its integral part schemes to improve the existing skills of the labour force and to impart new skills to them, since one of the basic problems of unemployment was lack of requisite skills. ^{1/} Attachment of the younger elements of the working force to select development projects, on which they could acquire skills on an on-the-job training basis might, with advantage, be tried out.

Youth Development

Whilst youth development was a part of overall development, considering the preponderance of youth population and their special problems and potential, the Workshop recommended special focus on programmes for rural youth development as a distinct aspect of an integrated rural development strategy. It was strongly of the view that a national policy on youth should be enunciated by the governments, which should recognize three basic principles, viz.:

- i. the approach should not be problem centred, but should have a positive resources-development-orientation;
- ii. the approach should be an integral one covering the various aspects of the question like social environment, educational system and employment opportunities; and
- iii. the strategy should be part of the overall national development effort: youth development and national development were different aspects of the same process and they should be so planned that each supported the other.

As for specific action points, the Workshop favoured the expansion and intensification of the institutional programme of youth camps which

^{1/} Data available for some of the Caribbean countries showed that the proportion of skilled workers ranged between 24 and 30 per cent of the total working force.

were already under implementation in a few countries in the region. ^{1/}

The Workshop also suggested the provision of loan assistance to select youth groups for economic ventures such as small-scale poultry farms, piggery farms, industrial enterprises, etc.

As had been done in some countries, general education classes designed to improve the minds of youth, who unfortunately could not continue their studies, might be held in select centres in the evenings utilizing the services of paid teachers or of voluntary leaders. The Workshop particularly recommended those measures to be implemented intensively in 1970, which had been designated as the International Education Year.

It was noted with concern that the gravity of the youth problem was rendered more acute by the very sizeable number of 'drop-outs' from education at the conclusion of the primary stage. The Workshop observed that the result was that most youngsters in their teens, who had not had an opportunity to enter secondary school, and with an elementary school education, geared principally to the academic preparation for the grammar school, entered the working force devoid of skills and very often unequipped with an educational and attitudinal base adequate for, or conducive to, the acquisition of skills. The Workshop strongly urged an early restructuring of the school curricula to make them correspond to the development needs of the territories.

The Workshop underscored the importance of giving the youth a sense of real involvement and concrete participation in national development activities in all their stages. In this connection, it was in favour of the establishment of an advisory council of young people to the Ministry/Department/Division in charge of youth development. It also

^{1/} The broad objectives of the camps were to provide basic training and experience in agriculture, including the management and simple elements of the economies of viable farming (both crop and livestock farming), on-the-job training in various skills and trades appropriate to the process of development and promotion among the youth of community spirit, wholesome attitudes to work, good citizenship traits, and qualities of functional leadership.

urged the consideration of other institutional means designed to facilitate closer and more effective participation of youth in public affairs.

Social Services

The Workshop recognized that one of the main reasons for the increasing migration of persons from the rural areas to the urban centres was the absence of adequate services and facilities like education, health, housing, electricity and recreational outlets in the rural areas. It, therefore, emphasised the need for provision of these facilities on a planned basis in the rural sector. It suggested the nucleation of these services and facilities in select growth centres in each rural district, within whose sphere of influence adjoining villages might be expected to fall.

Urbanization

The Workshop agreed that gradual urbanization of rural areas was an essential element of integrated rural development. The strategy for urbanization required movement in two directions - upwards from the village and downwards from urban complexes. At the next step above the village, facilities like farmer service centres, storage centres, and small manufacturing establishments, might be located. Next, moving down from the larger metropolitan centres, would be a number of smaller towns which would serve as subsidiary marketing centres, industrial locations, raw material collection points, etc. They could also serve as locations for health clinics, veterinary dispensaries, educational institutions, etc.

Institution Building

One of the central problems affecting rural development, it was noted, was the absence of development-aiding institutions. This situation was complicated by the existence in some cases of inhibitory institutions which hampered development, e.g. exploitative land tenure patterns.

Providing an institutional base for the overall development effort was a vital necessity. Creation of village development councils or

strengthening such institutions where they existed thus occupied an important position in the outline of the development strategy. Where rural local government institutions operated, there should be a conscious national policy to strengthen them functionally and financially and to involve them fully in the development process.

This apart, development of various types of cooperative institutions would be basic to a scheme of rural development and reorganization. Cooperation could play a vital role in many branches of economic life, notably in agriculture, industries, marketing, distribution of supplies and housing and construction.

VI

AREA DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

The Workshop noted that planning for integrated rural development should take into account spatial considerations besides sectoral ones, for regional disparities had their effect on the dynamics of social and economic change. An area or zonal approach was, therefore, indicated. Such an approach, the Workshop felt, would, besides making a more rational use of geographical factors, place the development process at a more manageable level, i.e. between the local community level and the national level. Experience had indicated that taking the village as the unit of planning had its own shortcomings, like limitation of perspective and difficulties of relating the local needs and activities to the overall national planning efforts. On the other hand, an undue preoccupation with macro-planning at the national level would result in failure to pay adequate attention to the means of increasing the effectiveness of local community participation in development effort. The need, therefore, was clear for selecting a unit of planning and execution smaller than the national scale, but large enough to provide an adequate spatial perspective and small enough to consider project-level details and ensure organized and fruitful popular participation in the preparation and implementation of plans.

The Workshop thus favoured an area approach to integrated rural development and felt that it was particularly appropriate to the bigger territories in the Caribbean.

Criteria for Demarcation of Areas

The Workshop considered various criteria as the basis for defining areas for rural development purposes. These included topography, ecology and river basins as well as the spatial configuration of economic, social, administrative and transportation activities. The Workshop considered it also feasible to define the area by the nature of common problems and the availability of agencies to provide services in this context. The nature and the size of the physical area were therefore recognized as an essential focus of planning in rural

development. Nevertheless, the Workshop was of the view that there must be some degree of flexibility in defining areas in spatial and 'problem-set' terms.

Formulation of Policies and Objectives for Area Programmes

The Workshop recognized the need for formulation of policies and objectives for area programmes. As to the description of policy, the Workshop felt that it should include:

- i. the definition of objectives in a plan or programme;
- ii. the allocation of resources for achieving these objectives; and
- iii. specification of the ways in which the resources are to be used by agencies through the application of substantive skills.

At the same time, it was recognized that policy could be most meaningful within the wider frame of reference of the planning and action process, characterised by survey and analysis, identification of development problems, formulation of strategy, implementation of programmes to achieve stated objectives, and finally, evaluation of the results accomplished.

The Workshop noted that such policy statements - principally in the form of plans, programmes and objectives - should be available for the examination and guidance of technical personnel. The Workshop also stressed the need for identifying the 'content' of policy with particular reference to local or sub-regional programmes.

The Workshop endorsed the current practice of heads of governments and top political leaders visiting rural areas and hearing for themselves the problems of the people. But it felt that this should not lead to the grant of ad hoc concessions to various sections of the population; rather such concessions as were agreed to, should be incorporated in the national approach and should embrace the entire area rather than sections of it. The mere aggregate of a number of expressed desires of the people could not constitute a development plan. It was necessary that these were examined and coordinated by technicians in the overall development plan, which would ensure that

various aspects of area development were kept in perspective and priorities established.

The Workshop was of the view that it was also necessary for senior administrative and technical officers to meet the people so as to appreciate their 'felt needs' and real problems. At the same time, the Workshop recognized the necessity to understand and give balanced emphasis to 'felt' and 'real' needs. It was noted that the community development approach customarily emphasized the importance of 'felt needs' of small communities and local associations in determining the content of programmes. This concern for the individual and peculiar needs of specific villages needed to be balanced, however, by the recognition that it was usually necessary to help local groups understand their 'real' needs of which they were not always aware. Such needs might be technical in nature (as in the cases of control of disease, soil conservation, or crop diversification) or they might involve the extent of the social needs of organization, the participation of local leadership in decision-making at the area level, etc. Furthermore, the villagers should be helped to visualise and appreciate that their interests, when suggested at the regional or the national level, might require many other kinds of activities by the government to provide supporting services or to create new institutional forms for the society. Thus, whilst 'felt needs' represented the initial point of planning, their effective satisfaction through rural development programmes would also require attention to many other factors directly influencing the development process. These hierarchical aspects of planning were considered by the Workshop to be fundamental which were recommended to be taken into account by all persons at the policy-making level.

The Workshop noted the gap between the total demands for services and the resources available for satisfying them, and felt that this difficulty could to a large extent be resolved by a clear formulation of objectives, integration of area programmes with national plans and strict establishment of priorities. Execution of diverse projects on a self-help basis would also greatly assist in diminishing this gap.

VII

OPERATIONAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND POPULAR
PARTICIPATION ASPECTS

The Workshop noted that despite the vague and general agreement in principle that the approach to rural development should be an integrated one, in practice, this objective was yet to be realised. It, therefore, stressed the need for vigorous and purposeful measures for translating the principle into practice.

Operational Aspects

The Workshop was of the view that if the growing imbalance between urban and rural development was to be arrested, and if rural areas were to be developed in such a way as to make a significant impact on national advance, it was necessary that governments' commitment to integrated rural development should be stated in no uncertain terms. It felt that it would be useful to issue a policy statement outlining the government's approach. The need for passing legislation in this regard and/or for suitably amending the existing enactments, might also be examined. ^{1/} Following the general policy statement, major national proposals should be formulated, covering several important elements like national goals and priorities for agricultural inputs and outputs, national guidelines for industrial location, price regulations, etc. Derived from these, estimates for the quanta and sequences for allocation of various sectoral outlays to the rural sector should be prepared, where this had not already been done. The respective roles of the government and the private enterprise in promoting integrated rural development should be specified, too.

As a means of giving reality to the concept of integrated rural development through refined planning techniques and processes, with a clear focus on the improvement of human resources and enlargement of

^{1/} This might be required, for instance, in cases like tenurial reform, land and water use, consolidation of holdings, industrial policy, etc.

the population participation element, the Workshop endorsed a model ^{1/} designed to promote rural development in a manner which would stress the essential elements of inter-relatedness, linkage and integration of significant components of such a development programme.

The Model

At the outset, for a selected zone or region, a comprehensive rural development plan might be prepared with the assistance, if necessary, of an inter-disciplinary group of experts. This plan would utilize the concepts of rural-urban continuum and the techniques and approaches of urban-industrial planning and management in order to improve the quality and impact of rural development planning. In formulating the plan, close and continuous consultation with the community through its leaders and its institutions, either existing or promoted for the purpose, should be ensured. Achieving complementarity between rural and urban development, a purposive effort to effect fundamental changes in human motivation, outlook and aspirations by affording them the fullest opportunity to participate in plan formulation and execution and development of local institutions should be among the basic approaches and objectives of the plan.

The plan-frame would include the following elements and should accord due recognition to their inter-relatedness:

- i. land use, water resource development and control, technical innovation, crop and animal production;
- ii. farm management, rural credit, markets and marketing;
- iii. agro-industries, handicrafts;
- iv. development of growth-centres;
- v. employment, training;
- vi. family planning;
- vii. institutional arrangements for economic and social purposes, cooperatives, social reorganization, community participation and decision-making;

^{1/} Evolved in the Social Development Section, United Nations, New York.

- viii. public works, community facilities through self-help, transport and communications;
- ix. health and sanitation, nutrition, education, social welfare services, welfare of women and children, youth welfare and youth activities, housing recreation; and
- x. institutional and administrative reforms.

For the purposes of implementing this plan, the Workshop suggested the establishment of a statutory body - like a Corporation or an Authority - by the government. It could be set up under the appropriate existing laws. Where necessary, the services of UN experts might be requested to prepare the plan and to help in the operation of the body.

The shares of the body might be either fully or partly owned by the government with suitable long-term loans by the Regional Development Bank and/or other appropriate international agencies. Working capital might be provided under arrangements which were common for development corporations and development banks. An important new resource for the contemplated body would be the grant by the government of a reasonable extent of cultivable land and sufficient funds for its development similar to the arrangements made by some countries for land grant universities. In addition to the income derived from agriculture, the body would have other sources of income through seed multiplication and sale, cattle and dairy farming, agro-industries, hire and sale of agricultural machinery, etc.

The income available to the body through these operations might be augmented not only by loans and grants from the government but also loans and grants from international and bilateral agencies, food aid from WFP, assistance from UNICEF, Freedom From Hunger Campaign, etc.

Some of the major functions of the suggested body might be:

- i. Plan and implement rural community development programmes in the selected areas;
- ii. undertake the implementation of impact-making projects which were not the responsibility of, or were not being implemented in the selected areas by, the concerned departments of governments and other agencies;

- iii. stimulate existing agencies and departments of government to introduce their programmes and activities into the selected areas;
- iv. make investments in the selected areas out of its resources for purposes of training, demonstration and income generation;
- v. ensure that its profit-making ventures were run efficiently and profitably; and
- vi. work in partnership with local authorities, local enterprise and local community institutions.

It should be noted that the new institution was not intended to be a substitute for the government agencies already engaged in rural development activities. Rather, it would provide for complementarity and an integrated approach to rural development in the areas selected for its operations. It would engage itself in activities that needed to be taken up, but which otherwise would either be totally neglected or unduly deferred.

Investment by the body might be guided by the following criteria:

- i. Viability of a project as well as its impact on the community in which it was established, using both 'strict economic' and 'broad development' criteria;
- ii. provision of basic facilities, which would stimulate further community interest and action and for which financial and technical assistance was not available from existing development agencies;
- iii. the income generating potential of enterprise (which could be agricultural, industrial or commercial) the profits from which could be utilized for grants and loans to stimulate development activities; and
- iv. the demonstration effect of the activities (including possibilities of on-the-job training) which themselves could yield an income.

The Workshop also suggested that it would be useful if there were a stipulation that a fixed percentage of the loanable resources of the Regional Development Bank be earmarked for projects of integrated rural development.

Administrative Aspects

The Workshop noted that there were special problems of public administration in the Caribbean countries, which should be taken into account in evolving and executing a strategy for integrated rural development - problems peculiar to small states and those which were common to most developing countries but which size rendered more acute. These should be carefully considered in endeavouring to initiate integrated planning for rural development, as public administration was a component of the development process.

Besides the more common hurdles like shortage of trained manpower, difficulties of adapting a foreign-designed apparatus to the emerging needs of the developing countries, relatively poor working conditions, etc., the most serious obstacle to development encountered in the field of administration in many of the Caribbean countries was the uncertainty of retention of highly trained personnel in the public service. This was not only due to unattractive salaries relative to qualifications and limited promotion prospects, but also - and more importantly - because of the comparatively small scale of operations.

Social factors resulting from smallness of size had their own effect on administration. In the field of personnel administration, in matters of recruitment, promotion, discipline, etc., personal contacts sometimes exerted a degree of influence which was not conducive to the building up of an efficient service. Such influences affected administrative relationships of decision-making as well. Pressure groups, though smaller, were not less vocal and their demands were generally short-term oriented. Criticism became more personalized, mainly owing to the direct and close contact with members of the community. Decision making became more closely associated with personal risk, leading to the search for 'acceptable' substitutes.

The Workshop felt that the following administrative and organizational arrangements were necessary in formulating and executing integrated rural development plans:

- i. The central planning unit might be adequately strengthened and where the operational and spatial dimensions so demanded, a separate cell for integrated rural development planning might be set up. This cell would be responsible for overall logistical support and for developing the national planning framework expressing the national policy. This unit would also be responsible for ensuring that requests for technical assistance from international and bilateral agencies conformed to an integrated approach to rural development.
- ii. With a view to ensuring prompt and speedy execution of approved projects, some machinery should be established on a national and/or ministerial basis. This was necessary because the high rate of non-execution of government programmes and projects was a cause of grave concern. The creation of the posts of Programmes Executive Officers was, therefore, recommended. The duties of such officers would be concerned only with ensuring the execution of approved projects.
- iii. The importance of coordination in an integrated rural development effort and team work by the officials of various ministries and/or departments hardly required any elaboration. Both at the ministerial and at the operational levels, arrangements for coordination between different ministries engaged in various sectors of rural development might be strengthened and streamlined. Inter-ministerial and/or inter-agency coordination must be built into the overall programme of development.
- iv. A good system of objective and comprehensive data collection and analysis should be established, and where it existed, strengthened.
- v. Hierarchical over-centralization and regional over-centralization, both of which were mostly legacies of history, were impeding effective planning, expeditious implementation and active public participation. Regionalized decentralization would have to be ensured to bring about effectiveness, flexibility and maximum citizen participation. Appropriate regional councils might be constituted, composed of officials, citizen leaders and representatives of local authorities.

It was necessary that representatives from the urban or semi-urban centres in the areas served on the council to ensure complementarity between urban and rural development in the region. Where necessary, sub-area councils might be formed, particularly where growth centre development was envisaged.

- vi. For each area, there should be an area coordinator in overall charge of the implementation of the integrated plan for the area. Sufficient powers, both administrative and financial, might be delegated to him.
- vii. It was imperative that the regional machineries were given adequate professional and technical support by the ministries concerned.
- viii. Considering the shortage of resource personnel in the region, a cadre of such experienced personnel might be established, whose services could be drawn upon by all the territories in the region. This group might be supplemented by experts from the United Nations and other agencies.
- ix. The various territories in the region would continue to need international assistance for different programmes and projects; but the donor nations and agencies should reduce the extent of tied aid, especially where such arrangements necessitated expenditure of funds in a manner which was not the most economic, considering open-market potentialities.
- x. Systematic evaluation should be an essential aspect of integrated rural development efforts. It should be a "continuous process initiated at the planning stage with the establishment of a base-line situation, which through continuous feed-back of information and data contributes to periodic review of plans and procedures". It should be clearly recognized that plan fulfilment was not synonymous with expenditure of money allocated. Evaluation should not only include quantification of targets achieved, but should also take into account evidences of technological change, generation of new values and motivations among the people, institutional development, evolution of local leadership and the like, which were all basic to a process of planned change.

Popular Participation Aspects

The Workshop emphasized the importance of popular participation in any scheme of integrated rural development. The community development concept and all that it embodied must be an initial aspect of all government activities in the planning process: indeed, this approach must permeate the entire fabric of administrative machinery. The Workshop stressed that in formulating and implementing plans, adequate attention must be given to the vital aspect of popular participation

as a fundamental principle of community development. This participation must be recognized as 'a dynamic element of community and rural development' and as an indispensable force in any programme of structural change. It was necessary in this connection to ensure that participation was authentic and truly democratic. The governments should, therefore, realise that education together with motivation, training and organization were necessary to generate true leadership and meaningful participation.

The Workshop made the following specific recommendations designed to expand the scope of popular participation and increase its intensity:

- i. Though in the early stages, the central authority would have to accept major responsibility in the matter of plan formulation, the plan-frame should be discussed at length in the regional councils and their views given due weight.
- ii. The possibilities of conflict and confrontation in attempting to harmonize local and national needs must be recognized. This indicated the necessity for planning from below in contrast to the traditional imposition of programmes from above. This process would present an opportunity for technicians to discuss and rationalize national planning, taking into account the aspirations of local groups.
- iii. Rural local government institutions should be given increasing functions and responsibilities in the overall development of their respective areas. The desirability of instituting a two-tier system of local government might be examined. Whilst the unit nearest would ensure close contact with the people, the second tier unit covering a larger area, would be better suited for the provision of technical services and would afford a wider spatial perspective for area planning. ^{1/}
- iv. The governments must ensure that all sections of the community, women and youth in particular, were involved in all programmes of development.

^{1/} This had already been proposed by the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government held in March 1968. See Report of the Workshop (E/CN.12/L.37), pp.41-9.

- v. Black power as an emerging concept must be recognized as having potential for beneficial as well as harmful effects. Wherever this or other similar movements were evident, the energy of the followers should be harnessed and challenged towards activities for the common good.

The Workshop also appreciated the guidance that the political leaders in the various countries in the region had been giving community development, and expressed confidence that all those concerned with development, be they in the field of planning or execution, be they political leaders, civil servants or leaders at the grass root level, would continue to foster an even greater understanding of the community development principles, so that the complex problems of the social and economic development of the respective territories might be assured.

Training and Research

The Workshop noted that in initiating a new and dynamic programme of this type, the importance of training and research was self-evident. It suggested the following measures:

- i. The Regional Economic Commission might be requested to conduct periodic workshops for top level officials engaged in the process of regional integrated rural development. Besides a general inter-disciplinary course, covering economic planning, physical planning, community development and development administration, special courses might be held in sectoral spheres like public administration, rural sociology, physical planning and fiscal procedures and programming.
- ii. Systematic country level training programmes for middle level personnel might be conducted with the assistance of UN Advisers.

It should be ensured that the training, whilst including the necessary academic content, should be geared to actual problems in the national and the regional contexts. The content, method and techniques of training should be subjected to close and constant review so that they were kept abreast of the increasing body of knowledge in the concerned academic disciplines and remained responsive to emerging trends in the field.

- iii. Regular training and orientation courses for citizen leaders were also necessary. They should aim at acquainting the participants with the inter-relationship between the roles of various government agencies who

dealt with their problems, helping them understand their own responsibility in the various local and regional development programmes, and educating them on simple techniques of planning and implementation of local projects and maintenance thereafter.

The Workshop also suggested the establishment of a Caribbean Regional Centre for Training, Study and Research in Integrated Rural Development, whose activities might include:

- i. Conduct of systematic training courses for key administrators and high-level technical officers;
- ii. conduct of orientation conferences for leading public men;
- iii. organization of periodic trainers' training programmes;
- iv. conduct of a programme of research on various aspects of integrated rural development like models of strategy, refined analytical procedures for demarcation of regions and identification of growth poles, sociological aspects of regional development, etc.;
- v. assistance to national training programmes by way of academic guidance, suggestions for refinement of teaching techniques and materials, exchange of training material, experimental projects to explore the suitability of new materials, etc.; and
- vi. arrangement of regular exchange of regional and international experiences in the field.

The Workshop recommended that this Centre be established as a UNDP Special Fund project, with the collaboration of the Universities in the region.

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LIST OF DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED

Working Papers

1. Integrated Rural Development in Developing Countries with Special Reference to the Caribbean ECLA/POS/RDW/WP.1
2. Area Dimensions of Community and Rural Development ECLA/POS/RDW/WP.2
3. A Strategy of Composite Agricultural Development with Special Reference to Jamaica ECLA/POS/RDW/WP.3
4. Report of Working Group I on Working Paper 1 ECLA/POS/RDW/WP.4
5. Report of Working Group II on Working Paper 2 ECLA/POS/RDW/WP.5

Information Papers

1. Aide Memoire on the Workshop ECLA/POS/RDW/IP.1
2. List of Participants ECLA/POS/RDW/IP.2
3. Daily Work Programme ECLA/POS/RDW/IP.3
4. Country Statements on Agricultural Development ECLA/POS/RDW/IP.4
5. An Abstract of Country Statements on Agricultural Development ECLA/POS/RDW/IP.5
6. Composition of Working Groups ECLA/POS/RDW/IP.6

Background Documents

1. Community Development and National Development, U.N. Publication, Sales No: 64.IV.2
2. Community Development and Related Services, U.N. Publication (reprint from the Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 24th Session, Annexes)
3. Report of the Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government (E/CN.12/L.37)

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE HONOURABLE ALLAN DOUGLAS,
MINISTER OF YOUTH AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, JAMAICA

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my great pleasure and duty to welcome you to this first Caribbean Regional Workshop on Integrated Rural Development which will be held on this University Campus starting today and continuing until Saturday of this week.

As you are all aware, the Workshop was sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Ministry of Youth and Community Development of Jamaica. When the idea of this Workshop was first mooted, I expressed great pleasure and I am happy to say that I gave it my full support; and this morning I am indeed very proud that the Workshop is a reality and that Jamaica is privileged to be the host country. Today, we have no less than fourteen countries of the Caribbean Region represented here. All of us have similar problems in the drive for total development, that is, development of the people, and development of land in the rural parts of our country. There is vital need for the policy-makers and the administrators to become aware of the role that community development efforts can play in the development of a country. There is urgent need for greater involvement and greater participation of the rural population if Governments are to make rapid progress and bring lasting benefits in their efforts to develop their countries.

The greatest resource of any country is human resource, but our people must be educated and assisted in order to help themselves. There must be closer collaboration between the Ministries of Government and those Ministries should co-ordinate their efforts for maximum results. It is, therefore, necessary for them to study ways and means in which this can be done. Much of our efforts will be wasted if we do not endeavour to get the co-operation of the very people whom we want to help and this can be done only through education. We must seek to improve them in knowledge, in skills and in attitudes. They must not only be taught how, but they must know why we do and what we do it for.

We must remember that our people are not captive audiences and that they cannot be compelled to do what we would like them to do. Many of our rural folk are not educated by our standards, but they are capable of undertaking and assuming many leading roles. We should, therefore, endeavour to improve their knowledge, their skills and their attitudes so as to harness their efforts in obtaining their co-ordination in the task that lies ahead of us. While we as policy-makers and administrators may see the need for improvement, the people in the community also see their needs - perhaps in a slightly different light. We must, therefore, help them to see what is possible and help them to reach their goals. Let us not forget that we also need to improve our knowledge and our skills and our attitudes for the task of bringing about integrated rural development.

We need to realise that community development should not be regarded as a bonus on production but that it is a part of the cost of production. I will exhort Governments, therefore, when planning, to consider expenditure for community development as sound and necessary investment. We in this region have many problems in common, such as the lack of funds for our development programmes, shortage of staff - and more so, of well qualified staff - poor housing, the flight of young people from the rural areas to the cities and to the larger towns, soil erosion, failing crops, rising cost of living, bad roads, poor water supply, poor lighting in certain areas, and insufficiency of skills of our rural people to cope with their social and economic undertakings. It seems, therefore, necessary for this Workshop to consider how best we can use the resources at our disposal.

I would ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to take a look at the intensive type of community development as practised by Jamaica in its 'One Hundred Village Programme' and supported by most community development experts in the United Nations, as against the comprehensive type some countries still practice. We should give some consideration to the pooling of the training of our workers, as common training can lead to common thinking and oneness of approach. In this region, there are a number of experts in their own fields and I think consideration should be given to the inter-change of these as indeed arises. I feel that this Workshop will bring about collaboration with Local Government, the

Extension Services and the Community Development Agencies, and all of these can be combined to build up well developed communities.

In Jamaica at present we have thirteen Land Authorities, two of which have proved themselves great successes; the others are new. I can see, therefore, that there is need for closer working arrangement between the Ministry of Rural Land Development, which is the Ministry responsible for the Authorities, and with my Ministry, that is, the Ministry of Youth and Community Development; and I feel that the Authorities will need the services of the Social Development Commission which can provide services in Home Economics, Literacy, Youth Work, Craft Work and Sports. Then there will be need for health services, for example, family planning education, they will need the parish councils and the Ministry of Public Utilities and Housing, the Ministry of Communications and Works and Local Government; and then there is also the Jamaica Agricultural Society that can be of great benefit to any plan that we put into operation. There is, therefore, plenty of thinking and plenty to be done to bring an integrated rural development in these Land Authorities.

There are some people who think that economic development is synonymous with national development. Economic development is only a part of national development. Unless the people improve with the physical improvement of the country, we are doomed for trouble, and it is absolutely necessary that social development be given top priority by all planners. In social planning we must put much emphasis on youth. They are going to be the leaders of our countries in a few years' time. Let them be guided by the more matured leaders, but let them also take part in the planning. If this is done, their energies will be directed to involvement, participation and finally achievement.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I want to wish you all a very fruitful Workshop. I hope you will embrace the opportunity of seeing some of our city life and also the countryside. May your Workshop bring great benefit to the entire Region and may God's blessing rest upon all your deliberations and work here.

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA

It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to address you this morning on behalf of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America, at the inaugural session of the Caribbean Regional Workshop on Integrated Rural Development. The Workshop brings together distinguished senior officials from fourteen countries in the Region, whose participation promises serious deliberations and sound conclusions.

ECLA is deeply conscious of the dynamic pace and purposive direction of development efforts in the Caribbean, and is glad to have been able to assist the area governments, particularly in the fields of planning, training and research. Conduct of workshops of this kind is one of the aspects of the Commission's technical co-operation activities; indeed, this is the third workshop that is being conducted since the ECLA Office in Port of Spain was established a little less than three years ago. I should, at this juncture, express a deep sense of appreciation and gratitude to the governments for their ready and willing response.

The theme of this Workshop is an extremely important one. In fact, integrated rural development has been the active concern of the United Nations and its related agencies for quite a few years. The rural crisis, at once engendered and marked by a massive and increasing exodus of rural population to the urban centres, has been the subject of detailed and anxious consideration at various international forums.

There has been a growing recognition that isolated and segmentary efforts at rural development, however well directed and competently executed, cannot produce the desired impact since the compulsive needs of the rural sector are inter-related and multi-faceted. Moreover, although agriculture is the mainstay of the rural economy, rural development implies more than agriculture. Rural development planning should take into account the array of factors affecting the national development process as a whole, and should endeavour to secure a wholesome balance between the urban-industrial sector and the rural-agricultural sector. These principles have no doubt been generally

accepted, but what is urgently required is a workable strategy to translate intention into practice. This Workshop, which has been mounted on a basis of high priority, is an important step in the quest for formulating such a strategy for integrated development.

In another respect too, this Workshop assumes particular significance. The United Nations Second Development Decade is to commence in 1970 and balanced economic and social development is the ultimate goal of the proposals for action for the Decade. This Workshop is thus very timely, and the leads thrown by it would be of special value and benefit.

I am confident that out of your deliberations will emerge a fresh climate of understanding, new outlines of a composite development strategy, and concrete proposals for imaginative, resolute action.

WORK PROGRAMME

Monday 6/10/69	8.00 am	Registration
	9.00 - 10.00 am	Inauguration of the Workshop by The Honourable Allan Douglas Minister for Youth and Community Development, Jamaica
	10.15 - 11.00 am	Preparatory meeting and formation of working groups
	11.15 am - 12.30 pm	<u>Sociological Aspects of Rural Development in the Caribbean,</u> Lecture by Professor Lloyd Braithwaite, Pro Vice-Chancellor, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad
	2.00 - 4.30 pm	Working Group Discussions
Tuesday 7/10/69	9.00 - 10.30 am	} Requisites for Composite Agricultural Development
	11.00 am - 12.30 pm	
	2.00 - 4.30 pm	Working Group Discussions
Wednesday 8/10/69	9.00 - 10.30 am	<u>Emerging Trends in Community and Rural Development,</u> Lecture by Mr. Murray Silberman, Community and Regional Development Section, UN Headquarters, New York
	11.00 am - 12.30 pm	<u>Public Administration Aspects of Integrated Rural Development,</u> Lecture by Dr. Bertram Collins, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Guyana
	2.00 - 4.30 pm	Working Group Discussions: Finalization of Working Group Reports

Thursday 9/10/69		Field Trip to Yallahs Valley Land Authority Area and Chestervale Youth Camp
Friday 10/10/69	9.00 - 10.30 am) 11.00 am - 12.30 pm)	Plenary Session 1: Consideration of Working Group Report 1 <u>(Integrated Rural Development in Developing Countries With Special Reference to the Caribbean)</u>
	2.00 - 5.00 pm	Plenary Session 2: Consideration of Working Group Report 2 <u>(Area Dimensions of Community and Rural Development)</u>
Saturday 11/10/69	9.00 - 10.00 am	Closing Session: Address by the Honourable H.L. Wynter, Minister of State, Ministry of Youth and Community Development, Jamaica
	11.00 am - 12.30 pm	Adoption of main recommendations and evaluation
	Afternoon	Departure

CLOSING ADDRESS OF THE HONOURABLE HECTOR WYNTER,
MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, JAMAICA

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I wish I were a part of your Conference from the start and during the whole week, so that I might be able to comment with some amount of information and knowledge on what is the meaning of the title of your deliberations "Integrated Rural Development", so as to be able to close what must have been a very important Conference with some amount of justice. You will, therefore, pardon me, if as I speak to you, my ignorance is revealed increasingly, not only of the title of your Conference but also of your deliberations. I understand, too, and I can easily see that you are an extremely top-level Caribbean gathering. In addition to Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments, there are persons who are going to be either Permanent Secretaries or Heads of Departments if they remain in the service long enough. So this is an extremely brilliant gathering and I am looking forward quite seriously and expectantly to reading your deliberations and conclusions.

I should like to associate myself with our Minister, Mr. Douglas, who welcomed you on Monday at the opening of your Workshop and with the remarks which he made on behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica. On reading through those remarks, I realise that he had high hopes for your Conference and it is my hope that his hopes have been fulfilled by what you have said in your conclusions.

Now, may I repeat my difficulty in understanding this subject, "Integrated Rural Development". In the absence of an adequate definition I looked through your background paper which was issued by your Director here as far back as April of this year, to check on your objectives. The first one, of course, was not your own objective, because you were the guinea pigs, it was the objective of the United Nations, "to bring together the senior officials at the policy-making level". That has been done. The second objective was to facilitate exchange of views on a number of things and the fact that you have been together means that that second objective has been achieved. It is now the third one with which I concern myself: "to outline guidelines to foster a more coordinated and integrated approach to rural development with focus on ensuring maximum popular participation and development of local institutions"; I appreciate your problem in trying to boil that important objective into a meaningful three-word phrase to identify the Conference.

You will agree with me that "Integrated Rural Development" did seem a very tall order for a Conference to try and achieve anything meaningful in five days, but when you look at your objective as outlined in this paper, it seemed possible to achieve something in the way of outlining guidelines to foster a more coordinated and integrated approach to rural development with focus on ensuring maximum popular participation in development of local institutions.

No doubt, you have discussed your problems - being a Jamaican it is, of course, very easy to think of problems first; you may have seen in the papers only this week in a lecture by Prof. Marshall, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, where he referred to something he had said sometime ago in Africa when he was talking about the establishment of a Faculty of Law in the Caribbean, and he was pointing out the difficulty of the Caribbean leaders agreeing because of the differences in attitudes, you remember he quipped that the Jamaican always finds a problem to every solution; the Trinidadian always has a solution to every problem even before he knows the problem; and the Barbadian was in the happy position of not being concerned with either problems or solutions. So you will pardon me, if as a Jamaican I should think of problems, and anyone dealing with our civil service in Jamaica, will appreciate that the simplest solution put forward to a civil service department is always met by reams and reams of minutes, showing the problems to the solution. This, of course, is naturally, a necessary and good part of governmental machinery.

Some of the problems which I know you have looked at seem to me to be these; first of all, most persons throughout the world, not just in Jamaica, who are concerned principally with problems of rural development are themselves escapees from the miseries of the rural areas. In other words, those persons who sit down and write long documents and give lectures on ways in which to keep the young people in the rural areas are themselves persons who, as young people escaped from the rural areas. This is the first problem we have to face; that we who are prescribing the cure, we are the ones who were ill ourselves. And we might well find ourselves with the question, as some of us have been found with the question when we talk about this to rural folk, "physician, heal thyself". We escaped from the rural areas, and we can, of course, give all the reasons why we escaped, and we are now trying to prevent others from escaping. This, put in a very blunt way is: we have escaped, and we are trying to tell others, 'do not escape'.

On another level, all of us being from relatively small countries, whether we are like Guyana, not small in size but small in population, we are all here from small countries and, naturally, if we are small and developing, we will find that some of the brains we have will always be seeking other places for doing wonderful things for themselves. When we are bemoaning this fact we should remember that we ourselves were educated abroad at taxpayers' expense and we have already had our exposure abroad, but we are saying to others, "you must stay and develop the country".

On the other hand, of course, the problem that we are escapees ourselves may be an asset, may be an advantage, in that having gone through the problems ourselves, having been involved in the miseries and the drudgery of the rural existence, we can say we know the problem and, therefore, we may be able to help with the solution.

Then remember too, the whole question of agriculture. Look at the picture. Who are the young people who remain on the land in agriculture? They are largely the young people who are taking part in the ownership aspect of agriculture. They are the young people who can escape. They can go away every year for one month, however terrible the prices of

bananas might be, or citrus might be, or sugar might be. You see some of these young men and not so young who are representatives of the ownership class in agriculture; they still take their holiday abroad despite the poor prices of these products; they are not trying to escape. They may be trying to escape from the ownership of a particular aspect of agriculture, to go into a more prosperous ownership field, industry or tourism, but they are not running away from the land. The people who run away from the land are normally the people who cannot make anything from the land; and that includes most of us, who are in the urban areas of our country. But, as I said, this is something that can be an asset also because you can say "we know the problems at first hand".

Then, the second problem is the question of age of people in the rural areas. The Caribbean as a whole, more so the Caribbean islands, is one of the most densely populated areas in the world and, as is the case in most developing countries the population is getting younger with the increase in population and with the improvement in the preventive health facilities. You will notice, in all the Caribbean areas, the infant mortality rate is decreasing and that means you are having more and more young people to cope with; and then when all these new-fangled medical facilities and inventions come to the Caribbean it will even grow more. Some of you might have seen recently, in television films and documentaries, pictures of certain experimental operations for children who were born paralyzed from the waist downwards. And up to recently those children would have just died at birth or would have been allowed to die because there was no way of operating on them to make them live.

Now, while it is a wonderful thing from the point of view of giving God's creation a chance to live in God's world, it is going to be a problem to the administrators, because you are going to be adding a new sector of people who will be paralyzed from the waist down and who will have to be looked after, educated etc. right throughout their lives. This is going to be a burden on the State and the community. So, this is going to add another sector to our population when all of these things come to us in the Caribbean.

The number of rural people in the Caribbean countries, I am told is, without exception, over 50% of the total population, and in most cases in the Caribbean it is between 70% and 80% of the total population. Owing to the flight of young persons from the rural areas, the rural population consists mainly of the older folk. This factor of an older rural population is very important to consider when embarking on a programme for education or for any comprehensive programme dealing with rural development.

This is your second problem, and related to that is the fact that there is a high degree of illiteracy in the population in the rural areas, and this has led to a tendency or, you may say, almost a resistance to innovations and new ideas coming from outside; because the normal development process is that the younger population who are exposed to the newer ideas in educational institutions would be expected to have some effect upon the older population if they were to remain together. The younger population would be able to get the better traditions from the older population and in turn pass over to the older population the new techniques that they are learning in living, in agriculture etc. That would be the normal process.

But the younger people are moving away; the older people are thus left with their traditions and with their lack of literacy, and therefore a difficulty in at first accepting new ideas, especially when these new ideas are preached to them by officers who do not live in their areas, but who live away in the urban areas; and are coming to tell them how to develop their rural areas. This is the other problem.

And there is the problem of what one might call - the other names I am sure you have got from Dr. Collins and the others - 'administrative cubby-hole syndromes' in all our governments in the Caribbean, and I think I can speak about my own Government in Jamaica. Sometimes people refer to it as the "vested interest approach", or "the empire-building approach", but it all comes to the same thing. Let me explain.

A particular aspect of development in the form of a project, is given to some department or a ministry but it could involve other departments or ministries, but co-ordination does not exist since ministries have several departments and each department has a head, and each head has his own professional pride and wants to see the work of his department develop and expand rapidly, and that nothing should stand in its way. This applies to Ministries and Ministers as a whole, too.

Sometimes this problem, this attitude, is seen more clearly on the part of the permanent officials and sometimes it is seen more clearly on the part of the temporary officials, i.e., the politicians. I am sure that no one Caribbean country has escaped this situation, which we all have inherited from our colonial past - this division of our country's affairs into so many cubby holes.

I now refer to another problem for which I hope our United Nations' representatives will forgive me. You will find, that when a small territory puts forward a proposal to a bigger country in the past for help, the tendency was that they would say, "Give us a comprehensive programme and we will decide what aspect of the programme we will give you help for". We used to resist this, because we felt this was an interference in our right to decide which particular thing should have priority treatment. And we hoped for different treatment from the international agencies. But these agencies, like national bodies, consist of human beings, and alas! they have the same approach - a great insistence on comprehensive programmes. They say, "You must put forward a comprehensive programme". They do not go so far as to say, "Well, we will decide on which one we will give you help". The language is a little different; the language is, "we will try and help you with that particular aspect of the programme which according to our charter we can help you with"; which, of course, is a different language, but it comes to the same thing as the case of countries in a bilateral arrangement.

It is true, of course, that the international bodies will be kind enough to send someone or send a team to help you to prepare this comprehensive programme for which we might get help in certain aspects. Now, this is a big problem for us in a small country because it is asking us to do things that developed countries themselves were unable

to do in their own history; and one of the difficult things in preparing a comprehensive programme has always been this, that you cannot really work out a fool-proof blueprint when it comes to the development of the people. It is very, very difficult.

Once we have reached the stage where we can work out a fool-proof blueprint for the development of people, then they stop being people. They are so unpredictable that the most we can do is have some sort of outline, or to use our own terms, guidelines. That is the most you can do - have an overall guideline. Given certain conditions, these things might happen; not that these things will happen, but they might happen because one of the glorious things about being a human being is that human beings are so different. You might put two children in the same environment and yet they react and they develop completely different.

And therefore I am going to make an appeal to the international bodies: do not get too tied down to the 'comprehensive-programme-idea' because it is not easy to create comprehensive programmes which are going to demand and attract the popular support of everyone. It might be easier for us to identify the priorities of projects and we can, of course, unite them together and say this is a comprehensive programme. If this is what you want, then you get it, but it is not what I might call the intellectually honest approach to this matter.

And now I turn to some of the approaches, which I am sure you have discussed.

There is this question first of all, of agriculture and your young people. We hear every day about the importance of agriculture to our community. I said earlier that those who remain in agriculture are usually those who are at the ownership end or the managerial end of agriculture; and believe me, I think all of us here can speak with some feeling about this. I do not know how many of you escaped being born in a small rural community and having to go to school walking for miles with your shut-pan on your head, and having to get back from school and having to go not to a stand-pipe - which is a recent development of civilization - but having to go to a spring for water for the family. First of all you go to the spring early in the morning to get water and you put it in a kerosene tin and take it to your home and when you get back from school you go to the spring again, and go for water for the evening meal and to have a little for overnight in case of emergency. I do not know how many of you have done this, and many others in Jamaica have had their early days in this way having to go to school and not even benefiting from the tilly lamp - which is a sign of modern development - but having a tin lamp with a little wick and kerosene oil inside, and having to work by that. It means that you had to do most of the homework at school when there was daylight, because once you got home you had to do little chores and you went to bed in the absence of light. There were no community facilities.

Then your church assumed great importance because by going to church you met a lot of people and the church was really another form of play. What was also important was naturally the shop in the square, because when you were sent to the shop to buy your pound of flour or whatever it was it was not a chore so much but a way of meeting your other friends

to play your marble, to talk your talk and learn things like sex education. For things like sex were something which were dirty and terrible, and certainly your parents would not talk to you about them. The shop corner in our Jamaican rural areas was, and still is, a very, very important part of our development, even with the advent of our one hundred community centre scheme, and even with the advent of the 1937 Jamaica Welfare and community centres, and all of these things, I think if you had time to go around the rural parts of Jamaica you would find that the little grocery shop still has a better patronage than your community centre because everybody meets there. So the church and the shop were the areas which gave us our education.

And then, being involved in farming, having to help with the digging, the planting, and then waiting and, of course, the reaping, and very often as we were the brighter part of our families (we were going to school) we were very often sent to do the marketing.

I can still remember many of us as boys going to the train siding with our few hands of bananas and taking part in the selling of bananas, tallying, and getting our money to return proudly to our parents.

Nowadays we hear one saying that the surest way of development in the world today and the solution to all ills is education. But may I point out that education can also be one of the greatest dangers to rural development. When you use education simply as a means of educating people away from their society, then education is a danger, and I am going to submit that the educational policy of the Caribbean before our Independence and certainly for the last two hundred years has been an education based on educating us away from the Caribbean society. I do not think that this is open to argument, open to debate. It was an education which was based on training us for a community which was wider than ourselves. Some might say it was a good thing since it was a community in which we formed a part, first of all an empire and then a commonwealth. So that we knew in Jamaica, or we knew in St. Vincent or Barbados what was happening in England.

I was listening only yesterday to an educational broadcast in our own country where very good programmes are put out by the Educational Broadcasting Unit, and there was in this programme learning about what they used to teach in the schools in England in the sixteenth century and how they smoked cigars when tobacco was first introduced. We were told of the wonderful letter of James I in which he was attacking the habit of smoking. The person was a very good reader and you get the impression when you listened to James I that he was somewhat irate about this introduction. This was wonderful - this training of our young people to be a part of our international world.

But what worried me was that we had not yet succeeded in training them to be a part of this world, to think of the Caribbean and to think of Jamaica. I submit that a man cannot be an international thinker unless he is first national. Internationality involves nations together and this idea of making us international before we are national just cannot work. We then become neither fish nor fowl. We become rootless, not having any real strong loyalty or strong sympathy,

and I believe that any human being in this modern day world who has not had any strong loyalties, cannot really give a hundred per cent of his ability to the world and to his country.

So then, education can be a dangerous thing. It was a dangerous thing in our society and it is for us now to refashion our educational system in such a way that we might be able to use it to encourage our young people to know about their community; and if our young people are going to know about their community they will know about the agricultural section of their community.

Sir Arthur Lewis, some years ago, when he was at the University of the West Indies said that he would advocate making agricultural education compulsory to all undergraduates in the university, and I certainly agree with him. I believe that any undergraduate who goes to the university in the West Indies, whatever subject he is going to do, should spend at least a term or the equivalent of a term learning something about the agriculture of his society; that is, at the university level.

But I think, that if we waited until then, the danger, the disease would already have been spread, because, remember, that most of our young people are not going to university. The percentage of our young people going to University of the West Indies is not yet 1%. So you see, we are far behind. Remember, of course, that the United States still leads the world with 30% but the dropout rate in the first year is very high. England, the last time I knew the figure, was only 8%. We are very badly behind from the point of view of our own needs.

The idea of university education being a right is a very modern right, very, very modern indeed, and there are still some university lecturers who believe that it is only a right for the very bright; but we, on the other hand, believe it is a right for every person who can take advantage of it. It is not just for the very brilliant ones because, unfortunately, the world is run, our communities are run by what some people call mediocre but what I call the average. The average persons, they run the world - not the brilliant geniuses nor the idiots - and they need the training. So, I am suggesting further that we should not wait until we get to the University stage but we should think seriously of making some aspects of agriculture compulsory for every boy or girl who passes through our school system at some stage whether it is at the primary stage or the secondary.

In our youth camps which deal with people from fifteen years and upwards, agriculture is compulsory. We are thinking seriously whether we should make it compulsory right throughout, instead of giving just one block of agriculture for a certain period of the 18-month programme. In that way it will become a part of life.

We feel that every boy or girl should be exposed to some knowledge of agriculture before he or she leaves our school system. If we do not do this, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, we are going to continue the old system where education was viewed as a means of getting away from agriculture and moving into the "white collar" field. You get a scholarship to go to a secondary school and if you are lucky you get a scholarship to go to the university and when you go there you do medicine, or law, or engineering, or B.Sc. in economics or Science or Arts.

The governments of the West Indies have literally to beg students who are qualified to go into agriculture and have to offer them incentives by way of scholarships. What may well happen is that persons who do not get accepted for other courses may turn to agriculture without being committed to it. So, with that sort of situation occurring, it is no wonder that our education could continue to be used as an escape from the land.

I think I should here tell you one or two things about the Jamaican situation - although I see there are about six or seven Jamaican delegates here, who must have already given you aspects of the Jamaican story. In Jamaica we are experiencing now a change in our educational system. Our 4-H Clubs have done wonderful work being based on our primary schools, but I think even the most ardent 4-H Club promoter will agree that it has not been able to do all that it should have done simply because it has been almost alone in the field.

The 4-H Club was never designed to take the place of agriculture in the syllabus of the schools. The 4-H Club was designed to be complementary to what was taught in the schools; it was designed to so help the school programme that young people, whether they stayed in the country or not, would become most enthusiastic advocates of agriculture when they have left and some would, of course, continue in agriculture. That was, I think, the purpose of the 4-H Club. But, of course, increasingly, it has become the only avenue in the primary school for some sort of agricultural education, and we are hoping that with the new decision to see that agriculture is taught at the primary level and with a little bit more sophistication at the secondary level, things will improve. Our view is that, every school in due course, every secondary school, must have agriculture as a part of its curriculum. That is the aim of the government, and of course, the problem is that of instructors. We hope that with the youth camps training more and more people in agriculture, and with the land authorities now improving small farming, we might find instructors coming out of Land Authority programmes, Youth Camp programmes, to assist with the more scientifically trained instructors coming from the Jamaica School of Agriculture. Because, I think, despite my ignorance of agriculture, that you need to have not only the high level scientifically trained persons but the practically trained persons working together to encourage our people to go into meaningful and paying agriculture, not going into agriculture which will not pay. This is a little bit of the Jamaican story.

The other possible solution is on this question: can we in a small society continue to think of rural and urban? Is there any such thing as a clear dividing line between urban and rural? You must remember that when we were colonised, towns were selected for certain reasons which were reasons satisfactory to the colonisers. You notice, for example, that the towns were usually selected on the sea coast. So that, our colonisers could get there quickly with their troops and trade and get away quickly also. If you go around Jamaica you will find, in some cases, the capital town is far away from most people in the town. Let us take an example of Trelawny. If you go to Trelawny, you will find that Falmouth is more appropriately a part of St. James. The people over in upper Trelawny, they are more a part of Manchester.

So you find that the people in upper Trelawny, when you say, go to Falmouth, the capital town, they prefer to go to Christiana or even to Mandeville than to go all the way to Falmouth. But be it remembered that Falmouth is a sea coast town and this was a natural place to make the capital town. So that we the inheritors of the kingdom, have inherited from our colonial days towns which were built, not thinking of the people of the country, but thinking of the convenience of the colonisers. This is only fair. So that we are going to find that in any development programme we are going to be creating more towns and therefore, what I think is going to happen and should happen is that we are going to be urbanizing the rural areas.

When you speak to a "countryman", and you try to get from him what he thinks a town is, what do you think he thinks a town is? A town is a place which has lights, first of all; a town is a place where he can get most things to buy; a town is a place where he can get some entertainment; he can go to pictures, he can go for a walk, he can do all sorts of things, this is what town means to him; and a town is also to him somewhere where he can get a job in a factory. This is what a town means to a lot of our country folk, and I think, basically, this is what it means to many of us. Increasingly you are finding that because of our development we are going to have to urbanise our rural areas. So that one possible solution to our rural problem is that since we cannot stop the young people from coming to the town you take the town to the rural areas. This might be one solution. It sounds obvious but, of course, it is naturally very difficult to operate.

But it is something that we have to aim at and I think that some of our countries have begun to aim at this in our development programmes. You put development areas in the rural areas. So that, you do not necessarily keep a young man in village A but he might move from village A to village B or village C which has become a part of the development area; and this is some of the thinking behind Land Authorities. These will work along with other Ministries; such as Ministry of Finance and Planning in Jamaica which is a part of the development process; and Trade and Industry which is also a part of the development process, because you cannot just place a factory in a rural area without thinking of whether the raw materials for that factory can come from that area, or from the neighbouring areas and whether transportation is available. Then there is the question of marketing. So you see, whether we want to or not, integration or co-ordination is forced on us in the development process. So that despite our 'cubby-hole tendency', our empire-building tendency' and all these other syndromes, once you move forward in development, the different areas have to get together.

Well, those are the main points I want to throw out to you. I would not dare to try and throw out other suggestions to you because you have had the advantage of sitting down together for a week and discussing it with colleagues; I have not had. But I thought in closing the session this morning I should just give one or two indications of what is happening in Jamaica and one or two ideas about the whole subject. I have tried to show you some of the problems that you face and I have tried to show you one or two solutions.

Finally, I should like to say that integration or co-ordination of approaches will come more easily when the persons involved in the administrative level, both political and permanent public servant are fired with enthusiasm for the outlines or the guidelines as you call them. If there is no enthusiasm, then with the best will in the world it would not work; and since there are so few of us in our small countries with any semblance of training whatsoever, if those few of us who have had some training disagree, or if some of us go along unwillingly, then the development programme will not go forward quickly. This is a case where each and everyone of us have to look inside ourselves and sometimes will have to do some drastic surgery of cutting out from our minds and hearts our pet theories and say, "now, this is what the concensus is and we are going to try and make it work together".

Because you will find that whatever the politicians say - and I am speaking as a politician to administrators now - whatever we politicians say about this plan being for our Ministry only, if the administrators are eager to have this thing done, and they know it will involve co-ordination with another Ministry, the co-ordination will take place; because no Ministry, no politician in any part of the Caribbean is going to frown upon success.

Naturally if the administrator seeks co-operation elsewhere and the project fails, of course he gets a little blame, but in our line you have to risk blame sometimes; and I end with the statement of a very great Jamaican, Sir Alexander Bustamante, whose words should inspire us. He once said that the man who does not make a mistake is the man who does nothing; but the man of action is the man who will make a mistake, and who will learn from his mistake, so that he makes fewer mistakes in the future.

Thank you very much for listening to me for so long.

Annex 7

B A S I C

W O R K I N G P A P E R S



Working Paper 1

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CARIBBEAN *

I

INTRODUCTION : A DEFINITIONAL GROUNDWORK

The developmental prospects of most emerging nations are based on a predominantly rural heritage. This common heritage expresses itself in institutions, social behaviour, production and exchange methods and in various other functional and organizational forms. The elements of the heritage influence the process of organizing people in order to achieve order, solidarity, security and generally to cope with the environment. These rural characteristics and values act at once as assets and liabilities for the developing nations in the process of overall advance.

Across the vast extent of the developing regions of the world are found common characteristics of poverty, deprivation and backwardness which tend to identify rural people. Typically, they are looked upon either as Tolstoy's Ivans, good-natured, unambitious, contented, phlegmatic and hence loveable; or as improvident, ignorant, unrefined, obstinate and hence irredeemable. Agriculture, which is the mainstay of the rural sector, is carried on at a primitive level of technology with an unproductive surplus of manpower. The various inputs are costly and limited and land tenure systems are exploitative. Illiteracy is high and educational opportunities limited; health conditions call for vast improvement both in quality and dimensions; infrastructure and social overheads are lacking; institutions are few and ill-developed and customs prevail over practice. The central challenge of development is to break through this stagnant situation and to attain overall

* This paper is an adaptation, with focus on the Caribbean conditions, prepared by Mr. T. Balakrishnan, UN Regional Adviser on Community Development for the Caribbean, based on a draft Study on Integrated Rural Development in Developing Countries done by Mr. Laurence Hewes for the United Nations.

improvement. The most effective means of realising this objective, it is suggested, is a strategy of 'integrated rural development', which calls for a set of approaches and policies so designed and coordinated as to raise the whole pattern of living of a given rural population to a markedly high level within a few years, and to create in the process, a society which will thereafter be economically and socially dynamic.

In this connection it is necessary to bear in mind that the term 'rural' connotes what in many instances turns out to be a continuum within the range of which solutions must be sought. Also, some of the characteristic negative aspects of rural life in developing countries stem from the lack of urban type service centres. The transition of a predominantly rural society towards a better balanced rural, agricultural-urban, industrial continuum must begin with changes in the rural situation. At the same time, the aggregate of cultural, social and economic linkages between and among rural areas and the rest of the population which expresses a pattern of relationships should be identified and these linkages strengthened and multiplied.

Integrated rural development is a conscious and systematic evaluation and manipulation simultaneously of these components and linkages to achieve a planned composite development of the rural system, as distinct from the traditional separation of thought and action among inter-related sectors and functions, which hampers the full realisation of rural development opportunities. Implied in this definition of integrated rural development is the acceptance of a country, a region ^{1/} or a zone as a system of components and linkages between components. Development processes and development planning should seek first to identify them. Thereafter, the task would be to determine in a systematic fashion changes which need to be made in components and linkages which will positively affect the greatest number of other components and linkages. Techniques must be sought which will identify those components and linkages which are the most efficient transmitters of change in the planned direction. One aspect of such a technique is to perceive 'clusterings' of components and linkages and to arrange them in an order of relative importance and

^{1/} Throughout this paper the term 'region', unless otherwise specified, would refer to a sub-national as against a supra-national region.

degree of influence.

Integrated rural development can be most efficiently managed in the regions into which a nation may be divided which may be regarded as functional units of the nation. A regional approach to integrated rural development is likely to be more specific in its delineations and more administratively feasible to manage than a national approach, however detailed. This will also facilitate assimilation in the planning process of local interests and concerns. It also enables concentration of attention on the specifics of human resources and institutional development. It should, however, be borne in mind that regional integrated rural development presupposes a close synchronization with major national planning objectives and with development processes in the other regions.

The viability of the term 'integrated rural development' in a given situation depends on the prior acceptance of the philosophy and technology of planning as a continuous process of 'organized, rational and directed decision-making', and on a willingness to subordinate specific development activities to an overall design of development strategy. In the Caribbean countries, all of which have accepted planning as the principal tool for organizing development efforts, the concept of integrated rural development does not present any 'viability problem'.

Finally, it is to be noted that the term 'rural development' has been employed to emphasize the dominance of rurality in many developing countries and does not by any means envisage, much less advocate, rural development as a sectoral development. Indeed, inter-dependence between urban and rural functions urges an integrated approach to development. The term 'integrated' connotes the comprehensive efforts of several disciplines and activities with the objective of national economic growth and social progress; it combines measures for increasing agricultural and industrial output, providing infrastructure in rural and urban areas, and improving living standards of the rural and the urban population. In addition, it implies a recognition of human values and directs attention to human resources development. Thus integrated rural development efforts comprehend not only the means but the ends as well.

II

SOME CHARACTERISTICS COMMON TO THE CARIBBEAN ^{2/}

Before proceeding to outline a strategy of integrated rural development in the Caribbean context, it will be useful to take a brief stock of certain characteristics and features common to the various countries in the Region, which set the background for rural development efforts.

The Caribbean as a whole, with the exceptions of Guyana and Suriname, is one of the most densely populated regions of the world. Taking the islands alone, the average density is 402 persons per square mile of the total area; if agricultural lands alone (including forests) were taken into account, the density is 977. Table 1 indicates the country-wise position.

Table 1

AREA AND POPULATION DENSITY* IN THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Country	Total Area in sq. miles	Density of Population per sq. mile of	
		Total Area	Agricultural Lands
Jamaica	4,411	364	849
Trinidad & Tobago	1,980	418	1,296
Guyana	83,000	7	n. a.
Grenada & Carriacou	131	677	1,215
Antigua & Barbuda	170	318	515
Barbados	166	1,413	2,022
Dominica	305	196	1,198
Montserrat	31	392	608
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	153	370	746
St. Lucia	238	362	989
St. Vincent	150	543	1,253
Suriname	63,036	5	n. a.
All Islands	7,733	402	977

* Based on 1960 census figures.

Source: A Digest of West Indian Agricultural Statistics, University of the West Indies, 1965 and UN Demographic Year Book, 1967.

^{2/} The term 'Caribbean' refers to the Commonwealth Caribbean countries and the erstwhile Dutch territories in the Region.

Any scheme of rural development in the Caribbean will thus have to take account of the extreme pressure of population, which is increasing at a fast rate - roughly 3% for the Region as a whole. It is also to be noted that the smallness of size of the islands renders the pressure more acute. ^{3/}

The proportion of population residing in rural areas in the different countries is another important indicator. The particulars are given in Table 2.

Table 2
RURAL⁺ POPULATION IN SOME CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES^{*}

Country	Rural Population as % of Total Population
Jamaica	70.2
Trinidad & Tobago	54.3
Grenada & Carriacou	89.5
Antigua & Barbuda	60.0
Barbados	79.4
Dominica	76.8
Montserrat	84.2
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	53.9
St. Lucia	82.3
St. Vincent	80.4
All Islands	67.5

⁺ The exact definition of the term 'rural' has not been furnished.

^{*} 1960 Census figures.

Source: A digest of West Indian Agricultural Statistics, op.cit.

From these figures it is seen that there is a preponderance of rural population in all countries including Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago. The importance of an integrated development of the rural sector is evident.

^{3/} Smallness of size presents other problems as well. They are dealt with below in appropriate places.

These physical characteristics apart, one should take note of certain economic, social and cultural factors which will influence rural development strategy in the Caribbean.

Taking the positive factors first; An important factor favourable to development is the prevalence of a considerably high degree of literacy, which has resulted in a general receptivity on the part of the rural population to innovations and new ideas. Some particulars regarding levels of educational attainments in most of the Caribbean countries are given in Table 3.

Table 3
SOME PARTICULARS* REGARDING EDUCATION RELATING TO SOME
CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Country	Proportion in population 15+ of those with no education	with some level of primary education
Barbados	1.8	80.2
Guyana	12.9	75.5
Grenada	6.7	84.7
Jamaica	17.2	76.9
St. Lucia	25.8	69.7
St. Vincent	7.9	85.4
Trinidad & Tobago	11.3	72.8
Dominica	13.4	78.8

* 1960 Census figures.

Source: Caribbean Economic Almanac (1964-66) and Jamaica Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1968

It may be noted that in almost all the countries more than 70% of the population have reached up to some stage in the primary scale of education, and illiteracy is less than 10% in three countries; in one it is even less than 2%.

Again, the levels of aspirations of the rural people are quite high mainly due to the facilities for communication between the urban and rural sectors in most of the countries which are geographically

small in size. ^{4/} And a high level of aspiration is a good motivation agent. Also, as it has been said, "Integration into the Western world has produced a typical peasant mentality in which the 'community' and 'tribal' and group loyalties are minimised because of the predominantly economic orientation". ^{5/}

Since most of the countries in the Caribbean are small in size, they are societies of 'face to face contacts'. In such a situation it is easier to disseminate information regarding the goals, strategies and targets of development plans and make them widely understood. ^{6/} And understanding is an essential prerequisite to participation.

On the other hand, there are a few characteristics common to most countries in the Caribbean which may act as constraints to development which should not be overlooked in planning for integrated rural development. The most important and pervasive of these relates to the agricultural sector, the composite and coordinated development of which is basic to a wholesome growth of the rural sector. The need for developing peasant agriculture along scientific, economic lines has been underscored by various committees and teams who have looked into the general economic and social situation of the Caribbean, from the 1897 Royal Commission onwards. And the current role of agriculture in the economics of the Caribbean countries is significant. Whilst in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago, ^{7/} the agricultural sector contributes but 12%

^{4/} There is the other side of the coin, however. The frequent contact with the town can have the result of making the countryman wish to consume as much both privately and collectively as the better off townsman. In this situation "the mobilisation of small rural savings whether for agricultural cooperatives or for investment in Government bonds becomes a matter of considerable difficulty". See William G. Demas, The Economics of Development in Small Countries with Special Reference to the Caribbean, McGill University Press, 1965, p.80.

^{5/} Lloyd Braithwaite, Social and Political Aspects of Rural Development in the West Indies, Social and Economic Studies, University of the West Indies, Vol.17.No.3, p.265.

^{6/} See William G. Demas, op.cit., p.81.

^{7/} It is noteworthy that these two territories have attained the greatest degree of structural transformation in the Caribbean. A point of view has also been expressed, however, that one should not read too much into this inverse correlation between the contribution of agriculture to the GDP and the structural transformation in these countries. See W.G. Demas. op.cit. p.105.

of the Gross Domestic Product, in the other countries ^{8/} the figure is 25% and more; and in the Windward and Leeward Islands, it ranges between 35 to 45%. ^{9/} Again, although there has been a noticeable decline in the proportion over the last two decades there is a sizeable proportion of the total ^{10/} population engaged in agriculture. Table 4 gives the comparative picture.

Table 4

ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION ENGAGED
IN AGRICULTURE IN THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Country	% of Total Population engaged in agriculture in	
	1946	1960
Jamaica	18.5	14.7
Trinidad & Tobago	10.5	6.7
Antigua	20.3	10.1
Dominica	26.0	19.8
Grenada	18.1	12.3
Montserrat	28.1	15.6
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	25.2	15.1
St. Lucia	24.6	17.6
St. Vincent	19.6	12.5
Barbados	13.9	9.7
Guyana	18.0	10.7

Source: Brewster and Thomas, op.cit.

Despite the importance of agriculture to the economic development of the Caribbean countries and its theoretical recognition in the territories, there is, owing to historical reasons, a widespread bias

^{8/} Excepting Suriname for which particulars are not available.

^{9/} Source: Brewster and Thomas, The Dynamics of West Indian Economic Integration, University of the West Indies, 1967.

^{10/} If one took the working population alone, the proportion is considerably higher.

against agriculture among the rural populations. There is, thus the phenomenon of what is termed 'agricultural communities which do not like agriculture', whose attitude has been prejudiced by the archetype of the rural proletariat of the half remembered past - the plantation worker. The orientation of the educational system has, if anything, strengthened this prejudice. By and large, education is viewed "primarily as a source of mobility, the means of escaping out of agriculture into professions and skilled urban occupations". ^{11/} It is thus no accident that a high proportion of the income of the Caribbean countries is spent on imports of agricultural products. At current prices, the total c.i.f. value of imports of foodstuffs for eleven Caribbean countries ^{12/} is, on a rough approximation, \$325m; taking the wholesale value, it amounts to \$406m. ^{13/}

Another disconcerting feature of the agricultural situation in the Caribbean countries is the extreme fragmentation of holdings. On an average, farms in the size '100 plus' acres, whilst accounting for less than 10% of the total number of farms contain nearly 55% of the total farm land area. On the other hand, whilst the 'less than 5 acres' group constitutes about 79% of the total holdings it contains but 13% of the total farm land acreage. ^{14/}

The deleterious effects on production and productivity of the dis-economies of scale and the consequent unfeasibility of application of modern methods of cultivation hardly need to be detailed. Land settlement schemes have no doubt, been implemented for quite some time. But the size of the settlement holdings narrates a similar tale. Table 5 gives some illustrative particulars. ^{15/}

^{11/} Lloyd Braithwaite, op.cit., p.272.

^{12/} Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Barbados and the seven West Indies (Associated) States.

^{13/} Derived from the trade statistics of the different countries.

^{14/} Source: A Digest of West Indian Agricultural Statistics, op.cit.

^{15/} It is true that the figures relate to 1961 subsequent to which land settlement schemes have been taken up by the various territories and that the situation may not be as bleak now. But still there is room for considerable improvement.

Table 5

NUMBER OF LAND-SETTLEMENT ALLOTTEES AND THE ACREAGE
HELD IN SOME EASTERN CARIBBEAN TERRITORIES

Territory	No. of land settlement allottees	Area held by them (acres)
Antigua	1,063	3,090
Barbados	32	n.a.
Grenada	129	104
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	18	619
St. Vincent	252	269

Source: West Indies Census of Agriculture (1961): The Eastern Caribbean Territories, British Development Division.

Moreover, concerted efforts have not been generally made to implement land settlement schemes in a composite manner which devotes simultaneous attention to various related factors like provision of inputs, extension services and attendant community facilities.

Another factor which causes concern in an area which depends heavily on food imports is the extent of lands left unused or are not optimally used. Here the major share of the blame goes to the bigger holdings. On an average, only about 40% of the "100 acres plus" holdings has been put to productive use. ^{16/} As observed by Professor Arthur Lewis, "Travellers through the West Indies have always been struck by the large amount of land lying idle which they would expect in other countries to be cultivated. ^{17/}

As for the organization of the agricultural economy, the dichotomy between the plantation and the peasant farming systems is a peculiarly West Indian phenomenon. Permitting oneself a rather rigid simplification, it might be said that the plantation system, usually geared to the export

^{16/} A Digest of West Indian Agricultural Statistics, op.cit.

^{17/} Professor W. Arthur Lewis, The Industrialisation of the British West Indies, Caribbean Commission, 1951, p.29

market uses relatively large amounts of capital and more advanced techniques, whilst the peasant farmer produces either export staples or food for the home market on much smaller holdings using much less capital and much less advanced techniques. This leads to a central dichotomy, "which divides the rural economy into, on the one hand, a combination of foreign capital, local labour and agricultural land of a 'unique quality', and on the other, the rest of the agricultural sector which uses local labour, local capital and land resources of not such a unique quality". ^{18/} This dichotomy hinders harmonious agricultural development in no small measure.

Turning now to factors outside the agricultural sector: Experience in different developing countries has shown that mobilisation of rural manpower resources on diverse productive and essential projects, which would at once provide gainful employment for local manpower and result in the creation of productive assets and infrastructure facilities, is one of the important aspects of rural development. In the Caribbean, however, efforts in this direction tend to be impeded by the prevalence of unduly high wage rates both in the public sector and in the private sector, notably in the petroleum, sugar and bauxite industries. ^{19/} This results in the paradox of the coexistence of labour shortage and massive unemployment and also helps accelerate the influx of migrants from the rural areas to the metropolises. ^{20/}

The growing migration to the metropolitan countries is another important factor to consider. The observation is sometimes made that migration has beneficial effects because it helps relieve unemployment

^{18/} Brewster and Thomas, op.cit., p.115.

^{19/} For a discussion on the illogical wage and salaries structure which inhibits development, see William G. Demas, op.cit., p.79.

^{20/} There is a high concentration of population in the metropolitan centres. For instance, according to 1960 census figures, the population in Kingston, Spanish Town and Montego Bay accounted for 26% of the total population of Jamaica: also, about 50% of the population in the Kingston metropolitan area had been born in other parts of the country. In Guyana, persons living in Georgetown and New Amsterdam constituted about 30% of the total population.

at home and brings in sizeable sums of money into the country in the form of migrants' remittances to the relatives left behind. But on a closer look it would seem that on balance, the effect is harmful. For one thing, migration syphons off the more educated and trained persons in the population. A study made by Mr. O.C. Francis on the characteristics of immigrants in Jamaica illustrates this point. Of the 3,800 immigrants interviewed, only 2.5% of them had never attended school, whereas the corresponding figure for the whole population of Jamaica was 16%. 50% of the immigrants interviewed who were 15 years of age and over had had some vocational training, whereas according to the 1960 census figures only about 10% of Jamaica's population of 10 years of age and over had acquired some form of vocational training. ^{21/}

Another effect of migration is what is termed the 'female bias' in the total population. As stated in a recent report on one of the islands, whilst one may not entirely agree with the view that the "absence of the male parent has inevitably damaging consequences, there can be little doubt that where there are few traditional functional alternatives to make parental authority, the absence of the father does have certain unhappy social and psychological consequences". ^{22/}

The small size of the countries is doubtless a contributing factor to a high rate of migration. But there are other reasons, too, for the disturbing trend towards 'institutionalized migration', i.e. a situation in which a migrant visa becomes the most coveted object of exclusive pursuit. Relatively low levels of earning, dearth of employment opportunities, lack of a sense of identity, and even limited range of recreational facilities act as powerful catalysts to emigration. A multi-sectoral remedial effort should be part of any scheme of overall rural development in the Caribbean.

^{21/} O.C. Francis, The Characteristics of Emigrants Just Prior to Changes in British Commonwealth Immigration Policies, The Caribbean in Transition - Papers on Social, Political and Economic Development, Ed. Andic and Mathews, pp. 91-121.

^{22/} Report on St. Vincent, The Institute of Social and Economic Research, The University of the West Indies, 1969, p.106.

Another 'social cost' of the smallness of size may be mentioned here. Inherent in a process of planned change is a set of 'modernization ideals' like rationality in decisions, preparedness for change, impartiality, willingness 'to take the long view' etc. ^{23/} In a 'face-to-face' society where personal contacts and informal links have an undue measure of influence, these ideals become harder to realise than in a more 'formal' and 'impersonal' situation.

The new phase of social relations set in motion mainly by the exodus of the freed slaves from the plantations and the supply of new labour force from outside the region, has had its own impact on the characteristics of economic and social development of the Caribbean. Whilst it has led to the evolution of a rich cultural diversity, it has also resulted in a lack of strong local organizations conducive to development. ^{24/} This, coupled with the fact that development measures were introduced in the Caribbean based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1939 as an immediate palliative to relieve social unrest then prevalent in the region, without an organized and sponsored effort to bring local groups and institutions into the picture, still hinder the process of population participation and institution building. This is particularly unfortunate, since one would normally expect that in small countries there would be greater opportunity, scope, and inclination for population participation.

Finally, one should refer to the special problems of public administration found in many of the Caribbean countries - problems peculiar to small states and those which are common to most developing countries, but which size renders more acute. ^{25/} These are to be

^{23/} See Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, Pantheon, New York, 1968, Vol. I, pp. 54-63.

^{24/} See for instance, the observation of Lloyd Best that "the society itself was imported and in a very real sense has never drawn any experience from its own environment". Lloyd Best, Economic Planning in Guyana, The Caribbean in Transition, p. 59.

^{25/} It should not be forgotten, however, that smallness of size may have its beneficial effect, too. As already stated, in a small country, informing the public is relatively easier. Besides, securing public cooperation for government action may be a simpler task, developing in officials sensitivity and responsiveness to popular will may be a readier process, and administrative coordination comparatively surer to accomplish.

carefully considered in endeavouring to initiate an integrated planning for rural development, as public administration is a component of the development process.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate in detail all such administrative difficulties, much less to suggest solutions. Only the more important types of such problems common to most Caribbean countries and which are particularly relevant in the context of integrated rural development with maximum popular participation are therefore briefly indicated below. Here again, the more common hurdles like shortage of trained manpower, difficulties of adapting a foreign designed apparatus to the emerging needs of the developing countries, poor working conditions, etc. are not recounted.

The most serious obstacle to development encountered in the administrative field in many of the Caribbean countries is the uncertainty of retention of highly qualified personnel in the public service. This is not only due to unattractive salaries relative to qualifications and limited promotion prospects, but also - and more importantly - because of the comparatively small scale of operations which does not offer adequate professional challenge or satisfaction. As observed by the Tripartite Economic Survey Team, "the scale of operations on such small islands, even at the level of the Head of the Department, is not such as to keep a competent engineer or an economist, for instance, fully extended professionally for a whole career". ^{26/}

Another difficulty which besets planning is the lack of adequate, reliable and up-to-date data upon which to base decisions and projections. The seriousness of this lacuna is not adequately recognised and it is uncomplainingly tolerated by many senior officials who tend to consider their familiarity with local conditions a good enough substitute for an unbiased, objective body of data.

^{26/} Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey of the Eastern Caribbean, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1967, p.76.

Furthermore, non-availability of junior staff to collect and collate information systematically frustrates the efforts of senior planning officials to build up a regular process of data collection.

Social factors resulting from smallness of size have their own effect on administration. In the field of personnel administration, in matters of recruitment, promotion, discipline etc., family and personal contacts exert a degree of influence which is not conducive to the building up of an efficient service. ^{27/} Such influences affect administrative leadership and decision-making as well. Pressure groups, though smaller, are not less vocal and their demands are generally short-term oriented. Criticism becomes more personalised, mainly owing to the direct and close contact with members of the community. Decision-making becomes more closely associated with personal risk, leading to search for balancing 'acceptable' substitutes. ^{28/}

Hierarchical over-centralisation and regional over-centralisation both of which are mostly legacies of history, are added impediments to effective planning, expeditious implementation and active public participation.

^{27/} See C.A. Maynard, Problems of a Small Civil Service (mimeographed) Paper presented to the Seminar for Top Administrators, Dominica, July 1969.

^{28/} See The Administrative Problems of Small States: Report of a Preliminary Survey (mimeographed) Public Administration Division, United Nations, New York, 1968.

III

OBJECTIVES OF INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

PRIMARY, LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES AND DERIVED SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES

In any system of planning for development, it is necessary to distinguish between primary or ultimate long-term objectives and derived or instrumental short-term objectives. Diversification of the economic structure, raising the levels of living of the population, ensuring a more equitable distribution of income and building up an egalitarian society could be termed as primary, long-term objectives. Realisation of the primary objectives would necessarily involve instrumental short-term objectives. Thus an increase in the levels of living, a primary objective, may involve both production increase and population controls, which are shorter-term objectives. It will also include other elements like improved health, education, better leisure time facilities etc. which are quite indeterminate as to time. In action, objectives become development goals, which in turn, are to be broken down into short-term plan targets.

PLURALITY OF VALUES AND OBJECTIVES

The development process operates in a plural value system characterized by equally valued economic and social prime objectives such as increased production, better standards of living, equality of opportunity and a more equitable distribution of wealth. The objective of integrated rural development should, therefore, accommodate the realities of a plurality of primary objectives, which in turn will have a proliferation of instrumental objectives. Also, it should take account of a range in levels of development as between different areas or regions in the rural sector and as between urban and semi-urban and rural populations.

Economic and social objectives are inter-dependent and it is necessary to conceive of an integrated plan for rural development, encompassing both the transformation of the economy and the creation of the desired social structure. Though in the ultimate analysis there is no basic contradiction between the economic and the social goals, on

particular occasions, apparent conflicts may come to surface, the respective medium and short-term objectives competing with each other. For instance, the enthusiasm for increasing agricultural production in the shortest possible time may lead to deferment of actions like implementation of land reform measures, though over time, the latter is vital for the realisation of the production objective. Similarly over-concentration on 'economic' projects, may give rise to curtailment of investment in education and social welfare. In other words, at various points of time, there would be a tendency to give primacy of attention to a segment of the plan but not to its entire scheme. The important characteristic of integrated rural development is to identify such conflicts as they occur and work out the terms on which these conflicts are to be resolved. Though at times and for limited purposes re-adjustment of priorities may be required, the ultimate goal of overall advance, at once in the economic and the social spheres, should not be lost sight of and there must be constant endeavour to effect synchronised action between the short-term derived goals of the basic social and economic objectives.

UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

The prospects of success of the application of the strategy of integrated rural development is predicated on a few basic assumptions. Firstly, it is necessary that the government concerned accepts the concept of integrated rural development. It should be noted in this connection that the fact that the broad primary objectives of integrated rural development happen to coincide with the declared long-term national objectives of the country is no guarantee of the adoption of the integrative principle. If there is no firm commitment to this principle, integrated rural development may be subordinated to, if not completely supplanted by, piece-meal and ad hoc development efforts.

The second assumption is the administrative capability of the country to translate principles and values into a workable programme of action. An efficient public administration system which can ensure intensity of effort and quality of performance is vital to the realisation of the objective of integrated rural development.

Thirdly, there is the question of institutions that govern land and other natural resources. In a rural situation, the primary objectives of increased output or improved standards of living imply numerous short-term goals of change in the form and method of land use, alteration of tenurial measures, modification of cultural practices and farm management, execution and maintenance of irrigation, flood control or soil conservation schemes, etc. Unless the institutions that have control over land and other natural resources (e.g. land tenure system, crop-sharing practice and the like) can be manipulated to allow for the necessary rearrangements to take place, i.e. allocation, reallocation or changes in the use-pattern of natural resources, the primary objective of increased production and improved levels of living cannot be realised. Besides, in the case of colonisation and resettlement schemes it is important to ensure that engineering and technological considerations are continuously harmonised with social, economic and political objectives.

Fourthly, it is assumed that the development of human resources component and the goals of democracy rank high in the scale of objectives of the country, and that the top leadership is committed to converting them into concrete action. For it is clear that integrated rural planning will have little meaning unless it involves effective and active popular participation. It is to be noted that people participate effectively only through institutions. In some countries the necessary constitutional framework may exist, and in others it may have to be created. Citizen-involvement through existing or planned institutions is a component of the development process, which must be integrated with the other components that make up human resources.

THE PREVENTIVE OBJECTIVE

Cases are many where monumental errors have been committed in the field of development. The reason has mainly been due either to the omission of important factors from the planning analysis or failure to consider all significant alternatives. Integrated rural development commences with an effort to assemble and weigh all relevant components and linkages that have a bearing on development. Because the ensuing analysis is systemic and systematic, a very large number of linkages and components are subject to review. More important than the

sophistication of the method involved is the acceptance at the outset of the principle that one of the objectives of integrated rural development is to produce a sounder and more correct approach to development by recognising the inherently complex nature of the operation and the imperative need to avoid wastage through mis-allocation of resources. This is an aspect of integrated rural development, which is at once preventive and constructive.

IV

STRATEGY FOR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

THE NEED FOR A NEW STRATEGY

A strategy for integrated rural development is a structured investment plan by which scarce resources are allocated to achieve simultaneously or in a planned sequence a totality of economic, social and human ends. Implicit in this strategy is the principle stated by Mr. Gunnar Myrdal that efforts "must be directed simultaneously at a great number of conditions, concentrated within a short period of time, and applied in a rationally coordinated way". ^{29/} The strategy should recognise the 'circular causation' of under-development and development and should be so designed as to break what is known as the 'vicious circle' of stagnation. Once it is broken, "the very fact that the relation is circular tends to make for cumulative advance. We should perhaps hesitate to call the circle 'vicious'; it can become beneficent". ^{30/} Briefly put, the strategy of integrated rural development is thus to make the 'vicious' circle 'virtuous'.

Obvious as the need for such a strategy may seem, in most developing countries it is yet to be properly constructed and purposefully implemented. The present position may now be briefly recapitulated. Firstly, many developing countries are not responding to development efforts in any consistent fashion. Indeed, many of their problems are apparently not much nearer solution than they were when development efforts began, in some cases quite a few years ago. ^{31/}

^{29/} Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, op.cit., Vol. III, P.1901.

^{30/} Ragnar Nurkse, Problems of Capital Formation in Under-developed Countries, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1953, p.11.

^{31/} Taking the aggregate magnitudes of GDP and per capita income, the combined GDP of developing countries rose only by 4.5% in the period 1960-5 and the growth rate of per capita income during the same period was but 2%. See Report of the Second UNCTAD, U.N. Publication, Sales No: E.68.II. D.14., 1968, p.7.

Secondly, a consistent, positive strategy for composite rural development has not been formulated though general statements on rural development policy find place in the plan documents of many countries. Most often, rural development is interpreted in a very narrow sense, viewing the rural and the urban sectors as Kipling's East and West. Agriculture is taken to be the sole category of rural development and even here, the efforts are not integrally conceived. This fragmentary and fractured approach to agricultural development found all too commonly is no more commendable than the uncoordinated efforts of the uninformed, improvident farmer on his small holding.

Though the need for harmonization of planning in 'economic' and 'non-economic' fields is generally recognised, strategies in economic planning still lay almost exclusive stress on economic indicators like markets and prices, savings, investment and output. It is also not fully appreciated that in a developing situation, social factors do not readily and smoothly adjust themselves to changes in economic development but may well inhibit and obstruct them, and that measures for the restructure of the economy not only create in their wake new sets of social problems but also change the form and characteristics of existing ones.

There has, unfortunately, been no conscious attempt to take into account the causal inter-relationship between sets of economic factors like output and incomes, conditions of production and levels of living, and sets of non-economic factors like attitudes and institutions. Many economic models, on which plans of most developing countries are based, isolate certain of these variables, mostly the economic ones without regard to their inseparability from the other variables - a process which Mr. Myrdal terms 'illegitimate isolation'.^{32/} Such an isolationist strategy is mainly owing to the transplantation of Western European or North American economic models, without a thorough appraisal of their applicability to the developing situations. The result of an uncritical following of 'model-builders' and 'stage-setters'

^{32/} For a fuller discussion on this, see G. Myrdal "Asian Drama", op.cit., particularly pp. 1843-1941.

has been that rural development plans are not conceived of as an integrated whole with its essential inter-related components like production, infrastructure, social overheads, institutional growth, attitudinal changes etc.

True that Community Development, which postulates an integrated approach to development, has been accepted as a strategy of overall development by almost all the developing countries, but refined planning techniques for "local area programming with organized popular participation for comprehensive development" are yet to be evolved. ^{33/}

Thirdly, arising out of the foregoing, rural technical assistance programmes have tended to be particularistic, spotty and project - rather than programme-oriented in practice. This is partly owing to the strong Western economic theory orientation of donor agencies. The result has been a proliferation of partial and consequently imperfect rural development theories and programmes. For instance, there have been projects in the sphere of agriculture with an exclusive focus on one aspect of it without considering inter-related aspects even in the same field. Cases are not lacking where research institutions have been set up which are poorly related to education and practice. In other places handicrafts and handicraft centres have been assisted and encouraged as the sole development input. No doubt, rhetorical appeals have been constantly made to coordinate these fragmented efforts, but such exhortations can be, and have been, but in vain when the basic concept and philosophy has in it an inherent conflict.

Fourthly, in the absence of a strategy of rural development designed to create and strengthen linkages between the rural sector and the urban-industrial sector, rural areas have come to be badly neglected. The fact that the people in the rural areas are less articulate, less vociferous

^{33/} For instance, the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government held in March, 1968 recognized the need for building in area dimensions in community development strategy and proposed a closer blending between community development and area development. See The Report of the Workshop (E/CN.12.L.37) p.9 and p.31.

and less organized than those in urban centres has contributed to the perpetuation of the neglect. Community development has doubtless been a source - sometimes the exclusive source - of benefit for the rural sector but in quite a few cases, some government ministries have not been able to resist the temptation to use the self-help component of community development as a means of getting cheap labour for executing projects in the rural areas. The resignation of the rural people has quite often been mistaken for contentment.

Fifthly, efforts at evaluation of results have also tended to be on a project-by-project basis. They have been generally more descriptive than analytical and too often tended to become tendentious justifications of particular operations.

The need for a doctrine of integrated development of the rural sector is thus evident. This is particularly valid in the current Caribbean context. For instance, the process of transition in the field of agriculture in the Caribbean countries from the traditional to the modern phase, and its reorientation from the export to the domestic and tourism markets, will engender far reaching changes in various closely inter-connected areas like conditions and patterns of production, specialisation of roles, community organizations, labour relations, and local institutional structures. A process of industrialisation would carry with it both occupational and geographical shifts. A strategy for planned overall development of the Caribbean countries will have to take all these critical factors into account, whose inter-relations will be the determinants of the direction and pace of progress.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE STRATEGY

The strategy has to commence with a realistic appraisal of the composition of the rural society. It could begin with a consideration of the rural socio-economic scene, made up of four inter-locking sets of factors:

- i) The central production process (which is predominantly agricultural);
- ii) the rural labour force, its characteristics and its deployment;

- iii) the rural infrastructure; and
- iv) the rural social overhead.

Development planning and programming are concerned with changing any one or a combination of these factors, or all of them. People and areas in the rural sector may be graded into four categories, from the least developed to the most developed. ^{34/} By relating these categories to the four principal socio-economic factors, it is possible to gain a general idea of what factors have main development significance for the different groups in the population and for the different areas.

THE CONCEPTUAL CONTENT OF THE STRATEGY

The process to be initiated is a transformation of a characteristically rural region into a rural-urban continuum with significant increments of industrialisation and urbanism. Agriculture becomes increasingly productive as new markets appear and new and stronger links are forged between farmers, industrial workers, merchants and processors. The strategy involves a re-deployment of a none-too-productive mass of largely unemployed rural manpower into the cadre of industry, trades and service centres, accompanied by a general raising of all aspects of welfare. Education and training are important aspects of the transformation, which should accommodate the unevenness of human development potentials. Indeed, the essence of an integrated rural development strategy is simultaneously concerned with a broad array of variables. Progress is by small increments along a broad front so that inter-dependence and complementarities become effective in the process.

Whilst the development strategy for each region and each nation must of course, vary, it could be stated that the strategy should cover six significant aspects viz: regional development, unemployment, urbanisation, industrialisation, institution-building and social overhead.

^{34/} This classification has been suggested by Mr. S.K. Dey, in his report to the UNDP entitled "But, For Whom".

Regional Development

Central to the design of rural development strategy is regional development. By a careful identification of social, economic and physical characteristics, a geographical area can be delineated for development purposes within national boundaries. ^{35/} In demarcating the regions, the following criteria may be kept in view: ^{36/}

- i. spatial contiguity;
- ii. inclusion of functionally inter-related areas;
- iii. inclusion, as far as possible, whole and not partial problem-areas;
- iv. homogeneity in regional character;
- v. economic viability; and
- vi. the existence of a regional centre, accessible to all parts of the region, which will act as an administrative, economic and cultural focus.

The initial action in regional development is the formulation of a regional plan based on a systematic analysis of the needs and resources of the area. ^{37/} The plan should seek to balance agricultural production with urban, industrial and commercial development. It would also be useful to identify within the region 'focal points of growth' or 'growth poles' and concentrate development activities around them. ^{38/} The following aspects may be borne in mind in drawing up such integrated area plans:

^{35/} This may or may not fit into the officially designated administrative regions.

^{36/} See Rao and Bhat, Planning Regions in the Mysore State, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, 1960.

^{37/} For a suggested schedule for data collection, see the Report of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government, op. cit., pp.35-40.

^{38/} Such a strategy has been incorporated in the draft Third Five Year Development Plan (1969-73) of Trinidad and Tobago.

- i) The scope of the area plan should be wide enough to comprehend within itself the totality of the development activities that can be taken up within the region. With this approach, the plan could be so formulated as to be the basis for coordinated growth without being a mere aggregate of sectoral investments.
- ii) In formulating the plans, local institutions and interest groups may be involved to the maximum extent so that the plan will have the benefit of 'the inputs of local thought'.
- iii) The Ministries concerned should give broad advance indications of the financial and other inputs that would be made available to the area. The financial plan should be based on these indications and the possibilities of local resource mobilisation.
- iv) The regional plan should ensure harmonious inter-relationship between various essential components like framework of social and economic overheads, conservation and development of resources including utilisation of the rural manpower and production programmes.

Such plans for regional development should become a creative base in the whole process of planning for rural development.

Employment

The employment aspect of development strategy arises out of a complex of high rural population growth rates, adverse man-land ratios, lack of alternatives to agricultural employment and the like; though the long-term solution of the problem would lie in a structural transformation of the economy, considering the time lag involved in the process, special endeavour is called for in the interim period to provide venues of employment for the currently unemployed. This may take the form either of readjusting the outlays on different development projects included in the development plan, taking into account their employment potential, and altering their mode of execution so as to increase their labour-intensiveness or implementing special supplemental works projects with main focus on the employment objective, or both. The manpower programme should have as its integral part schemes to improve the existing skills of the labour force and to impart new skills to them, since one of the basic problems of unemployment in developing countries is lack of requisite skills. Attachment

of the younger elements of the working force to select development projects, on which they can acquire skills on an on-the-job training basis may, with advantage, be tried out.

Urbanisation

Urbanisation of development regions is an essential element of the strategy for integrated rural development. The strategy for urbanisation requires movement in two directions - upwards from the village and downwards from urban complexes. At the next step above the village, facilities like farmer service centres, storage centres, and small manufacturing establishments, may be located. Next, moving down from the large metropolitan agglomerations would be a number of smaller towns which would serve as subsidiary marketing centres, industrial locations, raw material collection points, etc. They could also serve as locations for health clinics, veterinary dispensaries, educational institutions etc.

Rural Industrialisation

An essential element of development strategy for the predominantly rural developing countries is the building up of significant industrial activity. It is only by this means that a self sustaining, balanced economic development of rural regions can be brought about. As Prof. Arthur Lewis has observed of the Caribbean, "Agriculture cannot be put on to a basis where it will yield a reasonable standard of living unless new jobs (in industry) are created off the land". ^{39/} The process of industrialisation may begin with the existing indigenous handicraft industries, but the effort should not stop here.

A plan for rural industrialisation may take into account the following considerations: ^{40/}

^{39/} W. Arthur Lewis, Industrial Development in the Caribbean, p.30.

^{40/} Tarlok Singh, Economic Growth and Disparities in Levels of Development. Brij Narain Memorial Lectures at the Punjab University, 1964.

- i) It should be an important aim of location policy to secure external economies appropriate to the size of units and the technology being established.
- ii) Where large enterprises, whether public or private, are being set up for the first time, each such location should be developed as a complex of related industries.
- iii) A measure of guidance and even direction will be necessary for the enterprises moving to various locations. This may take the form, in part of restriction against expansion in congested cities, and in part of offer of facilities at a limited number of approved locations.
- iv) According to its size and character, each industrial location should be used as the nucleus of a wider region whose development is taken in hand pari passu with the development of facilities at the industrial centre. Such a composite approach to development would help integrate the economy of the adjoining rural region with that of the industrial centre.

Institution Building

One of the central problems of developing countries is the absence of institutions which are necessary to development. It has rightly been said, "Economic under-development is itself largely a consequence of institutional under-development." ^{41/} This situation is complicated by the existence in some cases of inhibitory institutions which hamper development, e.g. exploitative land tenure patterns.

Providing an institutional base for the overall development effort is a vital necessity. Creation of village development councils or strengthening such institutions where they exist thus occupy an important position in the outline of the development strategy. Where rural local government institutions operate, there should be a conscious

^{41/} See Ervin J. Long, Institutional Factors Limiting Progress in the Less Developed Countries, Agricultural Science for the Developing Nations, Ed. Albert H. Moseman, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington D.C., 1964.

national policy to strengthen them functionally and financially and to involve them fully in the development process. ^{42/}

This apart, development of various types of cooperative institutions would be basic to a scheme of rural development and reorganization. Cooperation can play a vital role in many branches of economic life notably in agriculture, small industries, marketing, distribution of supplies and housing and construction.

Social Overhead

The quality of the prevailing social overhead and the creation of better social overhead are complementary to development. Government functions must be performed in such a way that they enhance feelings of security. Similarly, high quality and regularity of performance are important roles of private enterprise. Welfare measures for the old, the disabled, the infirm, the ill, and for women and children are necessary. Unfavourable rural social overheads can delay or distort the development process.

THE TIME FACTOR

The time interval between the initial implementation of the development strategy and the appearance of results is an important consideration. It should, however, be appreciated that the time lag cannot be gauged with precision, particularly in a complex strategy which involves various components, each with its sequence of events. The designers of strategy should however, recognise and take into account the continuous pressure, both political and administrative, for short-run accomplishments and quick results. If these are not

^{42/} In all but one of the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, local government bodies exist. The statutory functions entrusted to them are, however, generally limited to civic functions like street lighting, village sanitation, regulation of markets etc. and maintenance of minor roads and bridges. The Caribbean Regional Workshop on Community Development and Local Government held in 1968 strongly proposed that these functions be enlarged to include development activities. Consequently, in some countries the scope and range of activities of local authorities are being expanded.

visualised and comprehended in the strategy, a dangerous situation entailing abandonment of otherwise fruitful investment may result.

V

OPERATIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS

As has been stated already, despite the vague and general acceptance in principle that the approach to rural development should be an integrated one, in practice, this objective is yet far from realisation. Though many attempts have been made to improve rural conditions, these have failed to produce the necessary impact mainly owing to the fact that integrated rural development has not been pursued as a deliberate, organized effort. Rural problems have been viewed as sectoral in nature, rather than from the point of view of creating a rural-urban continuum. The fragmentation of efforts resulting from this conceptual isolation has been aggravated by the relatively unsophisticated planning techniques applied to the rural sector as compared with the urban, leading to a situation of having a "plan without planning".

If the growing imbalance between rural and urban development is to be arrested, and if rural areas are to be developed in such a way as to make a significant impact on national advance, it is necessary that the government's commitment to integrated rural development should be stated in no uncertain terms. It would be useful to issue a policy statement outlining the government's approach. The need for passing legislation in this regard and/or for suitably amending the existing enactment, may also be examined. ^{43/} Following the general policy statement, major national policy recommendations should be formulated, covering several important elements like national policy goals and priorities for agricultural inputs and outputs, national guidelines for plant location and distribution, and price relations. These proposals should be based on advanced planning techniques. Derived from such goals, recommendations should be made for sub-goals and sequences for rural allocation of water, power, transport etc. National criteria

^{43/} This may be required, for instance, in cases like tenurial reform, land and water use, consolidation of holdings, industrial policy, etc.

specifying the respective roles of Government and private investment for integrated rural development should also be laid down. All the important facets of this composite development should be quantitatively analysed, formulated and projected. There should be no doubt about national intentions with regard to terms of trade, credit, prices, taxation, subsidy, land tenure and consolidation, industrialisation, markets, cooperatives, and the like. This overall formulation should take into account observable and predictable national linkages and conflicts. ^{44/}

STRATEGIC REGIONS

Since it will not be possible for many countries to cover the whole nation all at once with an overall integrated rural-urban planning strategy, it would be necessary to make a selection of regions in the early stages, and to design composite plans appropriate to each region. Three types of regions are suggested for initial action:

- i. urban dominated regions;
- ii. regions with unique characteristics; and
- iii. backward or problem regions.

Urban Dominated Regions

Such an identification would help indicate at the outset the main lines of regional development planning and operation with particular reference to creating an integrated rural-urban continuum. One specific element could be the allocation of land use requirements as between rural and urban claims. In such a region, the whole gamut of transfer, market, handling and processing arrangements for

^{44/} An example of the situation where this has not been done may be cited. In some countries attempts have been made to support urban welfare programmes by taxes on agricultural exports. As the tax became heavier, production and the quality of farm management, the use of modern technology and physical inputs declined.

agricultural commodities could be systematically put together. Projections of regional communications and transport requirements should also be made.

Regions With Unique Characteristics

These would include regions with particularly high production and growth centre potential, natural resource regions such as river basins, savannahs, deltas, high altitude plateaux, rain forest etc., and mixed resource regions where agricultural development accompanies or complements forest, mineral or fisheries exploitation. Appropriate programmes for the regions may be planned taking into account complementarities and inter-dependence.

Backward or Problem Regions

These should not be excluded from priority consideration for development. Considerations of equity and political expediency apart, it should be noted that neglect of these areas would over time create an ever widening gap between them and the more advanced regions in the country. Indeed, it is this kind of region which represents the essential hard core challenge of national development effort. The first task would be to identify the regional characteristics and the next would be to diagnose the basic causes of the adverse conditions. Initially, short-term welfare work and emergency operations may be required but these short-term approaches should be phased into long-term efforts with a positive development orientation.

An appropriate strategy of allocation of resources should be formulated in order to develop the more promising regions in the first two categories, and at the same time to tackle the more resistant problems of backward regions.

A SUGGESTED MODEL ^{45/}

This model has been evolved as a means of concretising the concept of integrated rural development through sophisticated planning techniques and processes which are not now generally applied to rural

^{45/} This model has been formulated by the Regional and Community Development Section in U.N. Headquarters, New York.

development planning. Inherent in the approach is the improvement of human resources, which is critical for any sustained growth.

The suggested model is a project, predicated upon UNDP Special Fund assistance, designed to promote rural development in a manner which will stress the essential elements of inter-relatedness, linkage and integration of significant components of such a development programme.

At the outset, for a selected zone or region, a comprehensive rural development plan will be prepared with the assistance, if necessary, of an inter-disciplinary group of experts. This plan will utilise the concepts of rural-urban continuum and the techniques and approaches of urban-industrial planning and management in order to improve the quality and impact of rural development planning. In formulating the plan, close and continuous consultation with the community through its leaders and its institutions, either existing or promoted for the purpose, will be ensured. Achieving complementarity between rural and urban development, a purposive effort to effect fundamental changes in human motivation, outlook and aspirations by affording them the fullest opportunity to participate in plan formulation and execution and development of local institutions will be among the basic approaches and objectives of the plan.

The plan-frame will include the following elements and will give due recognition to their inter-relatedness.

- i. land use, water resource development and control, technical innovation, crop and animal production;
- ii. farm management, rural credit, markets and marketing;
- iii. agro-industries, handicrafts;
- iv. development of growth-centres;
- v. employment, training;
- vi. institutional arrangements for economic and social purposes, cooperatives, social reorganization, community participation and decision-making;
- vii. public works, community facilities through self-help, transport and communications;

viii. health and sanitation, nutrition, education, social welfare services, welfare of women and children, youth welfare and youth activities, family planning, housing, recreation; and

ix. institutional and administrative reforms.

For the purposes of implementing this plan, the establishment of a Corporation by the government is suggested. It may be called Rural Development Corporation and may be set up under the existing laws relating to public corporations in the country. UN experts may be assigned to the Corporation at the request of and with the approval of the government. One of the experts will be designated 'project manager' who together with his national counterpart as co-manager and a Board of Directors appointed by the government will be responsible for the management of the Corporation.

The shares of the Corporation may be either fully or partly owned by the government with equity participation by the regional development bank and/or other appropriate international agencies. Working capital may be provided under arrangements which are common in connection with development corporations and development banks. An important new resource for the Corporation will be the grant by the government of a reasonable extent of cultivable land and sufficient funds for its development similar to the arrangements made by some countries for land grant universities. In addition to the income derived from agriculture, the Corporation will have other sources of income through seed multiplication and sale, cattle and dairy farming, agro-industries, hire and sale of agricultural machinery etc.

The income available to the Corporation through these operations may be augmented not only by loans and grants from the government but also loans and grants from international and bilateral agencies, food aid from WFP, assistance from UNICEF, Freedom From Hunger Campaign etc.

Some of the major functions of the Corporation will be:

- i. plan and implement rural community development in the selected areas;
- ii. undertake the implementation of impact-making projects which are not the responsibility of, or are not being implemented in the selected areas by, the concerned departments of government and other agencies;

- iii. stimulate existing agencies and departments of government to introduce their programme and activities into the selected areas;
- iv. make investments in the selected areas out of its resources for purposes of training, demonstration and income generation;
- v. ensure that its profit-making ventures are run efficiently and profitably; and
- vi. work in partnership with local authorities, local enterprise and local community institutions.

It should be noted that the Corporation is not intended to be a substitute for the government agencies already engaged in rural development activities. Rather, it will provide for complementarity and an integrated approach to rural development in the areas selected for its operations. It will engage itself in activities that need to be taken up, but which otherwise would either be totally neglected or unduly deferred.

Investment by the Corporation will be guided by the following criteria:

- i) Viability of a project as well as its impact on the community in which it is established using both 'strict economic' and 'broad development' criteria;
- ii) provision of basic facilities which will stimulate further community interest and action and for which financial and technical assistance is not available from existing development agencies;
- iii) the income generating potential of enterprises, (which can be agricultural, industrial or commercial) the profits from which can be utilised for grants and loans to stimulate development activities; and
- iv) the demonstration effect of the activities (including possibilities of on-the-job training) which themselves can yield an income.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The following organizational arrangements would appear to be necessary in formulating and executing integrated rural development plans:

- i. The central planning unit may be adequately strengthened and a separate cell for integrated rural development planning may be set up. This cell will be responsible for overall logistical support and for developing the national planning framework expressing the national policy. This unit will also be responsible for ensuring that requests for technical assistance from international and bilateral agencies conform to the integrated approach to rural development. 46/
- ii. At the operational level, arrangements for coordination between different ministries engaged in various sectors of rural development may be strengthened and streamlined. The importance of coordination in an integrated rural development effort hardly requires any elaboration. Suffice it to point out in this regard that the effects of failure would be as disastrous as the results of success be rewarding.
- iii. Regionalised decentralisation will have to be ensured to bring about effectiveness, flexibility and maximum citizen participation. Appropriate regional councils may be constituted, composed of both officials, citizen leaders and representatives of local authorities.

It is necessary that representatives from the urban or semi-urban centres in the areas serve on the council to ensure complementarity between urban and rural development in the region. Where necessary, sub-area councils may be formed, particularly where growth centre development is envisaged.

- iv. For each area, there should be an area coordinator who will be in overall charge of the implementation of the integrated plan for the area. Sufficient powers, both administrative and financial, may be delegated to him.
- v. In the early stages, the central authority will have to accept major responsibility in the matter of plan formulation. But even then the plan frame may be discussed at length in the regional councils and their views given due weight.

46/ There is a danger that particular donor agencies may try to pressurize the government into accepting a particular project-aid which may be inconsistent with the integrated efforts at development. This should be sensed and avoided.

- vi. It is imperative that the regional machineries are given adequate professional and technical support by the ministries concerned, for a nation's commitment to integrated rural development would imply not only the allocation of physical and financial resources, but an adequate diversion of top level talent and skill.
- vii. Rural local government institutions should be given increasing functions and responsibilities in the overall development of their respective areas. The desirability of instituting a two-tier system of local government may be examined. Whilst the unit nearest to the community would ensure close contact with the people, the second-tier unit, covering a larger area, would be better suited for the provision of technical services and would afford a wider spatial perspective for area planning. ^{47/}
- viii. Systematic evaluation should be an essential aspect of integrated rural development efforts. It should be a "continuous process initiated at the planning stage with the establishment of a base-line situation, which through continuous feed-back of information and data contributes to periodic review of plans and procedures". ^{48/} It should be clearly recognised that plan fulfilment is not synonymous with expenditure of money allocated. Evaluation should not only include quantification of targets achieved, but should also take into account evidences of technological change, generation of new values and motivations among the people, institutional development, evolution of local leadership and the like, which are all basic to a process of planned change.

TRAINING AND RESEARCH

In initiating a new and dynamic programme of this type, the importance of training and research is self-evident. The following measures are suggested:

^{47/} For a fuller discussion on this, see the Report of the Caribbean Regional Workshop on Community Development and Local Government, op. cit., pp.41-49.

^{48/} Conclusions of the Joint FAO/WHO Technical Meeting on Methods of Planning and Evaluation in Applied Nutrition Programmes, January 1965.

- i. The Regional Economic Commission may be requested to conduct periodic workshops for top level officials engaged in the process of integrated rural development. Besides a general inter-disciplinary course, special courses may be held in sectoral spheres like public administration, physical planning and fiscal procedures and programming.
- ii. Systematic country level training programmes for middle level personnel may be conducted with the assistance of UN Advisers.

It should be ensured that the training, whilst including the necessary academic content, should be geared to actual problems in the national and the regional contexts. The content, method and techniques of training should be kept under close and constant review so that they keep abreast of the increasing body of knowledge in the concerned academic disciplines and remain responsive to emerging trend in the field. 49/

- iii. Regular training and orientation courses for citizen leaders are also necessary. They should aim at acquainting the participants with the inter-relationship between the roles of various government agencies who deal with their problems, helping them understand their own responsibility in the various local and regional development programmes and educating them on simple techniques of planning, implementation and maintenance of local projects.
- iv. It is also for consideration whether under the circumstances in the Caribbean there is not a need for establishing a regional centre for Study and Research in integrated rural development. 50/

Besides conducting periodic high level training programmes, the Centre, which should be manned by a team of experts drawn from various related disciplines, could undertake continuous action-

49/ For a fuller treatment of the basic aims of and approaches to training, see the Report of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government, op. cit. pp.-66-74.

50/ The Caribbean Regional Workshop held in March 1968 recommended the establishment of a similar institute for Community Development. The suggestion here is to expand the scope of activities and concern of the proposed institute so that it could fill the emerging training and research needs in the wider sphere of integrated rural development including regional development planning.

research on various aspects of integrated rural development like models of strategy, refined analytical procedures for demarcation of regions and identification of growth poles, sociological aspects of regional development, etc. The Centre could also function as a clearing house for information and training material, and could assist the national training programmes by way of academic guidance, suggestions for refinement of teaching techniques and materials, staff-development, etc.

Working Paper 2

AREA DIMENSIONS OF COMMUNITY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT *

I

INTRODUCTION

The governments in the Caribbean, like most developing countries, have accepted the concept of planning for development and development plans have been formulated and implemented. But the planning methods and development strategies followed are fundamentally sectoral. National plans have been conceived around leading sectors that are presumed to be the motors of economic growth, without giving much attention to the spatial configuration of the economy or the effects of regional disparities on the dynamics of social and economic change. ^{1/}

It is normally assumed in this approach that industrial and infrastructure projects in these leading sectors are major economic events that will generate a multiplier effect. The impact of this effect is expected to filter down to benefit the different social strata and territorial areas of the nation.

Experience indicates this premise is not valid. The trickle-down effect of social benefits has not materialized as expected from realized economic projects. The reasons for this blockage include the unanticipated spatial concentration of the benefits of development, which usually tend through a process of lodgement to give urban populations more wealth and opportunities while leaving relatively unimproved the conditions of rural people. So far, at least, the effects of development in its social and spatial dimensions can be summed up by the saying, "Them that has, gets."

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^{1/} It must be stated, however, that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, in their third five-year development plan (1969-73) has sought to remedy the lacuna by adopting the strategy of regional planning, one of the objectives of which is "to mitigate the serious effects of regional imbalance". See the Draft Third Five-Year Development Plan: 1969-1973, Government Printery, Trinidad and Tobago, 1968, pp. 191-209.

This phenomenon of concentration of modernization in the cities thus aggravates the already-existing disparities among regions and within regions. The gap between the ways of life of the city and the country is like that between rich and poor countries, and tends to persist for the strata caught in the culture of poverty, even when these rural poor migrate into areas of uncontrolled urban settlement.

This problem has been thrown into bold relief by a number of recent studies and projections of the rural situation in Latin America and the Caribbean. ^{2/} The search for instruments that can reduce urban-rural differences has become more urgent, as the imbalance between town and country existing in most nations comes to be regarded not only as intolerable, but as a rigidity that retards national development. The solutions that are being offered usually involve a number of different "programme mixes" of community and rural development activities. Since these must be administered in regional or sub-regional units, new concepts of area development are beginning to have a pervasive influence on the community and rural development approach and the programming techniques associated with it. The philosophy and methods of earlier years are changing: programmes of rural community action are losing their parochial and limited scope. They are now being integrated into overall strategies of national economic and social transformation, and are being conceived as aspects of integral regional development. ^{3/}

This paper examines some aspects of this new programming tendency. First, it considers the nature of areas in connection with location,

^{2/} See Marshall Wolfe, "Rural settlement patterns and social change in Latin America", Latin American Research Review, Vol.1, No.2, 1966; ECLA, Social Change and Social Development Policy in Latin America, E/CN.12/826, Santiago, 1969 (to be published in revised form); UNESCO, Social Research and Rural Life in Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean Region, Paris, 1966; S.L. Barraclough and Arthur Domike, "Agrarian structure in seven Latin American countries", Journal of Land Economics, Vol. XLII, No.4, 1966. A plea for research into the spatial consequences of social and economic change in the Caribbean countries has been made by Mr. G.E. Cumper. See his "Non-Economic Factors Influencing Rural Development Planning" in Social and Economic Studies, Vol.17, No.3, 1968, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

^{3/} The Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government laid particular emphasis on this aspect. See The Report of the Workshop, E/CN.12/L.37, 1968.

discussing the ways in which a country may be broken down into regions and areas, as well as the kinds of criteria that can be used for defining the physical boundaries of any particular area.

Next, these areas are considered in connection with the requirements of programming: the idea is presented here that areas are defined as much by the nature of their problems as by the nature of their topography and ecology.

Third, operational dimensions of areas are considered in relation to the complex of installed agencies that carry out the programmes: the area may be said to constitute an "inter-organizational field", a fact which has some interesting consequences not very often taken into consideration in spatial analysis.

Lastly, the paper addresses itself to the area as a community that participates through organized groups and institutions in the promotion of development. This participative dimension should also be given attention in deciding how the area is to be delimited, because these social and political characteristics will have a direct effect on the viability and effectiveness of all rural programmes.

Other "dimensions" of rural development areas could be suggested and examined in relation to the definition and structuring of the spatial units of programming. But for the improvement of rural and community development actions in their present forms, these four perspectives seem to merit more than cursory attention.

II

THE AREA AS A PLACE

The terms "area" and "region" usually are taken as referring to units of territory, and in this sense they represent important tools for planning community and rural development. But in the attempt to define or bound the development area exactly, it is often found that the spatial unit that was assumed to be given, is in reality, quite indistinct. Examination often shows that an area is not an evident phenomenon merely to be identified and classified. Rather, it will

be determined by, or be a function of, some set of criteria used by the investigator or planner.

By applying diverse criteria any country can be divided into an almost limitless combination of areas. Examples of the dissimilar interpretations of spatial structure may be found for a given country in the conclusions of geographers, geologists or engineers interested in natural areas, of economists focussing on production and marketing areas, of sociologists identifying areas in terms of population characteristics, or of public officials concerned with administrative areas. Each of these dimensions has elements in common with the others, and all can contribute useful elements to the solution of development problems.

How can these different views be brought into harmony? Can they be combined somehow into a single system of areas - or at least be related meaningfully to such a general system?

The answer that is proposed to these questions rests on the simple idea that people use space for all of their activities. Therefore, any activity or set of activities can be spatially located in relation to others. Since activities are inter-dependent - whether social, economic or administrative - these relationships tend to set up flows of transport and communication along which move people, goods, services and information. If it were possible to chart all of the activities in a country, they would cluster around points of concentration, which are urban or rural centres, and they would be connected by lines of relation which are the routes among these centres.

Spatial structure can be analysed by the study of these activities and flows. ^{4/} An area or region can be regarded as a spatial context within which the concentration of activities at centres and the intensity

^{4/} The concepts and terminology presented here in connection with spatial analysis have been drawn from central place theory. This should not be interpreted as implying that this theoretical approach is superior to others. But it is eclectic, and it does provide a clear point of departure for discussing areas and regions. See Brian J.L. Berry and Allen Pred, Central Place Studies, Regional Science Research Institute, Philadelphia, 1965.

of the relationships among these points will reveal a tendency to polarize into an identifiable pattern. The periphery of this polarized space will be indicated by the points of least intensity, or where settlement is sparse and human activities are few. The "poles" of this area will be the principal points of concentration of activities, and the "core" can be shown as the most intense axis or axes of relationships.

The concept of the area or region ^{5/} conceived in this way provides for an integration of all of the factors that influence human settlement, activity and movement. However, in order to be able to use this concept, which is really not at all as simple as it appears, a number of considerations must be kept in mind. Some of these are particularly important in the definition of rural areas and the analysis of the kinds of problems that must be overcome if their development is to be accelerated.

Principles and Problems of Definition of Areas

Research and theory about spatial structure of settlements has produced hypotheses and principles that can be applied in defining areas for development purposes. ^{6/} The observations made above have already summarized some of these. For example, it has been assumed as empirically evident that centres develop because they provide goods and services for a surrounding tributary area. The advantages enjoyed by each centre in terms of its optimal economic distance from points within this area will be significant factors in its growth. But other administrative, social, topographical and natural resource factors will also be conditioning.

These factors determine that centres are of different orders of size and importance. Highest order cities dominate the most extensive

^{5/} In this paper, the term 'region', unless otherwise specified, refers to a sub-national and not a supra-national region.

^{6/} For a brief review of recent theory on this subject, see Eric E. Lampard, "The evolving system of cities in the United States: urbanization and economic development", in Harvey S. Perloff and Lowdon Wingo, Jr., editors, Issues in Urban Economics, Resources for the Future, Inc., Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1968, p. 81.

tributary areas. Lesser order cities, towns and rural centres fall successively under the influence of the orders above them. The influence of the largest centres derives from the fact that they offer the widest range and highest order of goods and services. Their activities will be the most complex and specialized.

High order goods and services require greater investments and superior technology. They can be sustained only by extensive tributary areas. Low order goods are necessities available at many low-order centres. The Beatles offer specialized high-order goods from London to most of the world, while the corner grocery exists at the rural crossroads and in every urban neighbourhood to serve a small clientele. This determines that the degree of role specialization and the range of social differentiation will also be greatest at the centres of highest order. At the other extreme, peripheral places will be characterized by relatively low occupational, educational or status levels, and the possibility of specialization of activities will be limited. As will be shown below, these characteristics have an important bearing on the strategy and objectives of community and rural development programmes.

The dimensions of areas are therefore a function of the accessibility and size of their centres. Just as all rural centres are dominated by some high order centres, so also every high-order centre has tributary areas that include some rural sectors. It follows that the development of rural areas will depend upon that of their higher order centres, and for this reason rural and urban development cannot be dissociated. They are inter-dependent in the longer term, although in the short-run a city can grow by exploiting its rural sectors and subordinate centres. The influences of growth-poles or core regions are not necessarily positive within their areas of influence: in many cases urban expansion is bought at the price of stagnation and decline of the periphery.

There are a number of principles that determine the relationship of higher order centres to their tributary areas. These relationships are hierarchical. It is asserted that these hierarchies appear in most parts of the world, and they are assumed to result wherever tertiary economic activities are spatially inter-related. ^{7/} Although the ranking

^{7/} Berry, op.cit., p.7.

of centres may be modified by culture and levels of development, in the Western Hemisphere this hierarchy will normally display levels of farmstead, hamlet, village, town, city, district capital and metropolis. In many Latin American countries the national capital has become the primary metropolis and core region.^{8/} At the other extreme of the hierarchy, the spatial characteristics of rural settlements will normally be a function of the type of economic activity. These variables will also influence spacing of centres and their propensity to move to a higher order. Ordinarily, population densities will be relatively greater nearest metropoli, and here lower order centres will tend to develop to higher levels. At the periphery spacing of centres will be greater and the orders will tend to remain lower.

It is hypothesized that these features are determined by the principles of marketing or supply, resulting from factors of economic distance, spatial distribution of the population, levels of income, willingness and ability of consumers to travel for shopping or services, and inclination of the establishments at the centre to set up branch outlets.^{9/} The principle of traffic explains the tendency of centres to appear along transport routes between two major centres, and for complementary areas or regions to "nest" according to these axes. The administrative principle arises from the necessity of the State to establish spaced centres of control, and from the tendency of social structure to stratify around these places as the nuclei. In theory, it is taken for granted that these principles are likely to be conflictive in the sense that in different conditions one or another will predominate. One can surmise that the administrative principle historically was the most weighty in Latin America, but that in the period of accelerating modernization in the past several decades the marketing influences are winning out. This statement implies that the principles can be seen as operating within dynamic development situations, and that they are subject to fluctuations over time.

^{8/} This is largely true of the Caribbean countries as well.

^{9/} Berry, op.cit., p.16.

It should not be assumed that a tributary area of a single major centre can always be defined as a development region. Reflection about the inter-action of the principles of settlements that are briefly mentioned here, as well as the operation of many other factors of historical, economic, social or ecological kinds, will reveal that regions and areas are influx as the more powerful expand and the weaker decline. Moreover, areas and regions have a number of centres of different orders jostling for advantage. The ways in which these extend their influence and compete for predominance will make area delimitation difficult, especially at the highest levels of order. ^{10/}

Theoretically, areas may be delimited by determining "breakpoints" at which flows of people, goods, services and communications reach their minimal level between the tributary areas of two equally-ranking adjacent centres. Major regions consist of composite overlapping tributary areas of a number of centres. Any good or service provided from a centre can be used as a definitional indicator for establishing the breakpoints. The functional boundary of an area or region will then be drawn by connecting these points. Each centre will have many goods and services of different market ranges, with the result that area boundaries may be defined by combining a number of indicators. In this way areas can be defined at each level of the hierarchy mentioned above, even when the breakpoints thus established may be purely abstract. For this reason it was stated above that a region or area is a construct based on concepts.

In practice, though, the application of this method requires data about activities and flows that are very often unavailable in developing countries. Gathering this information is costly in time and money. For that reason, creation of the information systems required for regional planning constitutes one of the most stubborn problems to be overcome. ^{11/}

^{10/} In the larger countries, the relationship between natural resources and the development process produces what has been called "a geography of national economic expansion". See Harvey Perloff and Lowdon Wingo, Jr., "Natural resource endowment and regional economic growth", in Friedmann and Alonso, op.cit., p. 215.

^{11/} Torodd Harmansen, Information Systems for Regional Development, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, 1967.

If this were recognized, community and local development agencies could make useful contributions as units of information gathering, and assist more directly in the definition of hierarchical systems of areas.

However, at the level of the hamlet or village such sophisticated techniques as the identification of functional areas based on breakpoints is hardly justified. For that reason it may be advisable to attempt to find short-cuts in defining areas of different kinds for community and rural development programmes. ^{12/}

Characteristics of Centres and Areas in the Rural Caribbean

Systematic studies are yet to be made in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of centres and areas in the Caribbean, ^{13/} which is a diverse region, comprising countries widely disparate in size, terrain, and other physical characteristics - which will facilitate the formulation of a hierarchical classification of areas.

It could, however, be stated that in delimiting areas for development programming in the Caribbean countries, five different settlement patterns could be distinguished viz., plantation areas, other rural settlements characterised by communities engaged in peasant farming, recently established government land settlements, semi-urban town areas, and the national capital cities and their immediate environs.

It should also be noted that in the Caribbean context the concept of the village as a community is not quite valid. ^{14/} Indeed, "the village acts as the distributive and organizational centre for the more dispersed settlements grouped around it". ^{15/} Also, in the highly

^{12/} The planners of Trinidad and Tobago, have, for instance, identified, on a practical basis the following five regions: Tobago, Port of Spain Capital Region, North-west Peninsula, West Coast Region: Central Sugar Area and South-western Region: Oilfield Area.

^{13/} The term Caribbean here connotes the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, the erstwhile Dutch territories of Suriname and Netherlands Antilles and the British Virgin Islands.

^{14/} See Lloyd Braithwaite, "Social and Political Aspects of Rural Development in the West Indies", in Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1968, op.cit.

^{15/} M.G. Smith, "Community Organization in Rural Jamaica", in Social and Economic Studies, Vol.5, No.3, 1956, University of the West Indies.

mountainous countries, following the abolition of slavery, large numbers of people withdrew from the plantations on the plains to hilly areas, and this has given rise to a "permanent structural differentiation" between the hill and the plain areas. As in many Latin American countries, the town in the Caribbean has reached a higher order economy that provides employment for a large number of residents not directly dependent upon agriculture. On the other hand there is less of social differentiation between the urban and the rural areas than one finds in Latin American countries. ^{16/}

It could be generally stated that in demarcating areas, the following criteria may be kept in view: ^{17/}

- i. spatial contiguity;
- ii. inclusion of functionally inter-related areas;
- iii. inclusion, as far as possible, whole and not partial problem-areas;
- iv. homogeneity in regional character;
- v. economic viability; and
- vi. the existence of a regional centre, accessible to all parts of the region, which will act as an administrative, economic and cultural focus.

As for the hierarchical chain of areas, in the Caribbean context, a two-tier proposal would appear suitable. Whilst the unit nearest to the community would facilitate a large measure of popular participation in the provision of local services, the second tier unit would be better suited for the provision of technical services. ^{18/}

^{16/} See Lloyd Braithwaite, op.cit.

^{17/} See "Integrated Rural Development in Developing countries with special reference to the Caribbean", ECLA/POS/RDW/WP.1.

^{18/} See "The Report of the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government", E/CN.12/L.37, 1968. For the larger territories of Guyana and Suriname, however, a three-tier structure as suggested in Decentralization for National and Local Development, ST/TAQ/M/19, New York, 1962, may be proposed.

III

THE AREA AS A PROBLEM-SET

Spatial analysis provides an indispensable frame of reference within which to initiate the preparation of community and rural development programmes. It can be of enormous help in the definition of programming areas at various hierarchical levels. But the delimitation of programme areas cannot be done on the basis of this information alone.

Each type of programming area - the sub-regional field administration unit, the micro-regional local programming area, and the small community context - may be conceived as an environment for the provision of certain kinds of development activities. ^{19/} The nature of the activities should, of course, be consistent with the kinds of development problems that are found in each programming area. Or, to put it in another way, from the perspective of programming, the area may be regarded not only as a place but as a problem-set, and may be modified in its size and physical limits to fit the needs of the agencies that implement the programme. ^{20/}

The nature of the problem to be attacked and the resources available for this purpose together determine the programme mix as the substantive activities to be carried out by each of the agencies in the programming area. Three kinds of questions arise in connection with the area as a problem-set. The first will refer to the approach that is to be taken in analysing the problems and defining the areas of action. Two complementary kinds of studies will usually be required: (i) regional

^{19/} The nature of these functions and the processes of devolution from headquarters to field units and local authorities has been discussed in Decentralization. See also Raanan Weitz and Levia Applebaum, "Administrative and organizational problems of regional development planning in Israel", in Multidisciplinary Aspects of Regional Development, OECD, Paris, 1969, p.215.

^{20/} The idea of different perspectives as a basis for defining regions has been discussed by Sidney Sonenblum, "The uses and development of regional projections", in Issues in Urban Economics, op.cit., p.141.

disgnosis as a broader frame of reference for strategies and policies, and (ii) the area social survey for obtaining the detailed information needed in local programming. The second question will relate to the formulation of policies and strategies, and especially to the definition of programme objectives in spatial as well as substantive dimensions. The third aspect of the problem-set that must be clarified is the way in which the operating organizations will carry out the programme that has been formulated, particularly in regard to decentralization for the administration of technical services and their coordination at each of the levels of the hierarchy of programming areas.

This section discusses the first two of these questions, relating to analysis and the formulation of policies and objectives in determining the substantive content (mix) of programme. The question of organizational structure within programming areas will be taken up in the following section.

Regional Analysis

As indicated before, it is assumed here that some kind of regional analysis will have been made in connection with the preparation of the national development plan in most countries. Where this has been accomplished, the broad outlines of regional plans will serve as the frame of reference for the preparation of area programmes, and the regional spatial analysis will have been completed in connection with this diagnosis. But where intra-regional diagnosis has not been completed, it should be assumed that at least some of the following topics of regional diagnosis may have to be investigated at the level of programming areas by the agencies engaged in community and rural development programming:

- i) spatial analysis, including urban and rural aspects of spatial structure, flows of transport, study of the transport system, location of social, administrative and economic activities in relation to flows;
- ii) demographic analysis, including demographic structure at the regional or provincial level, the dynamics of demographic change in comparison with the rest of the country and occupational analysis;

- iii) economic analysis, including economic structure and articulation, economic growth (or decline) patterns, sectoral analysis in both agricultural and industrial sectors with conclusions about the problems and advantages existing within the region;
- iv) social analysis, including the social situation described in terms of the social structure, levels of living and aspirations, social change, types and distribution of amenities and social services and their relation to social organizations and institutions;
- v) administrative analysis, indicating the degree to which the region or area has access to public services, the nature of the administrative system, the degree and kind of decentralization of powers and functions, politico-administrative subdivisions, role of local government bodies, and the extent to which public and private activities are coordinated.

This regional frame of reference may then be used as a point of departure for the gathering of more detailed information about each of the programming areas that have been defined, aiming especially at identifying the problem-set in its spatial setting.

The Area Social Survey

Programming at the level of local and sub-regional areas requires much detailed information about the needs of populations, the available resources and the forms of organization. This information can best be obtained by studies focussing on areas as programming units. These will have been tentatively identified as a result of spatial analysis, and will have to be finalised on the basis of the conclusions reached in the survey.

An areal survey calls for the services of a team of specialists from various technical disciplines. This team should begin its task by defining the subject matter to be included in the survey. The subject matter may be general, covering all aspects of the life of the people in the area, or it may be topical, including only specific

fields such as agriculture, health, education, housing and so on. ^{21/}

Obviously, the social survey at the level of sub-regions or micro-regions should be closely related to the regional diagnosis. For this reason, the survey ought to be performed using all or part of the general outline, applied in regional analysis. If this has not been prepared, some agreement should be reached between national planners and the agencies carrying out the survey so that the information thus obtained can be used later in regional and inter-regional diagnosis.

Once the survey outline has been prepared, data-gathering should be organized so that all of the relevant areas are covered and sufficient information is obtained to initiate programming. It should not be necessary for programme personnel to repeat the survey, which should serve at once as a basis for analysis and later for programming. The survey outline should be prepared not only in consultation with the appropriate planning units at higher levels, but also should have the benefit of expert assistance of specialists familiar with methods of research and problems of interpreting data. If possible, planners and research specialists should continue to act as consultants during the course of the analysis and programming. The same team of technicians making the survey should also participate in operations once the programming has been completed. The steps of surveying, analysing, programming and action need not necessarily be separated. They can occur simultaneously, if agency activities already exist in the areas being investigated, and the information from ongoing programmes should then be incorporated into the diagnosis. When a regional analysis instrument has been agreed upon by planners and agency heads, it may be

^{21/} Various approaches in social surveys have been suggested: see Hsin-Pao Yang, Fact-finding with Rural People, FAO, Rome, 1957; Caroline F. Ware, Estudio de la Comunidad, Union Panamericana, Washington, 1962; Armand Mattelart, Rene Eyheralde, Alberto Pena y Andres Necochea, La Vivienda y los Servicios Comunitarios Rurales, ICIRA, Santiago, 1968; Ministerio de Ganaderia y Agricultura (Uruguay), Situacion Economica y Social del Uruguay Rural, Montevideo, 1963. See also, The Report of the Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-40.

possible to adapt this to different situations so that area diagnostic surveys can be undertaken in many areas or regions concurrently.

The methods used in such surveys will usually rely heavily on sampling. However, at local levels participant observation, interviewing, questionnaires and case studies will be applicable as well. Much of the information for sub-regional area studies can be obtained from secondary sources such as the census, technical services and local government.

When skilled researchers are participating in the study, it may be possible to employ statistical methods with a high degree of complexity. But in most cases the significant findings of an area diagnosis can be expressed as sociological, economic and administrative generalizations, relying of course to some extent on the preparation of primary and summary tables, charts, graphs, diagrams and maps. The processing of the information should be prompt, and exhaustive data should be avoided. The rule should be economy of time and cost in reaching conclusions that have practical application in programming. For this purpose the problem-set of the area should be described and diagnosed as concisely as possible. Presentation of this diagnosis should not be an end in itself, but serve as the beginning of action.

Formulation of Policies and Objectives for Area Programmes

When the area analysis has been made, this implies that something will be done to resolve the complex of problems that block development. These proposed solutions will be stated as proposals in a diagnosis or draft plan. Once some decision has been made by authorities to activate the programme, these policies and objectives should be spelled out as a set of values for determining the ends and means of activities. Policy can be briefly described as: (i) the definition of objectives, (ii) the allocation of resources for achieving those objectives, and (iii) specification of the ways in which the resources are to be used by organizations through the application of substantive skills. Policy is, therefore, directly concerned with the technical content of a comprehensive set of activities as programme mix. Through the process of analysis described above, policies should be made to reflect the kind of substantive content needed in each local or sub-regional development area.

The formulation of the policies of area programmes will require the reconciliation of aims already formulated by central and regional planning bodies and sectoral programmes with the interests of the population of the affected area. Programming thus serves to transmit downward the strategic policies from higher levels, and to channel upward the aspirations and needs of areagroups. Central objectives should then be combined at the area level with the policies of the sectoral or multi-purpose agencies that execute the programmes. Consequently, area policy will consist of three inter-related orientations - local, technical and strategic - each of which represents a distinct view of the problem-set, the area and the kinds of substantive activities that are proposed as solutions. These three policy orientations give rise to the following kinds of objectives:

i. Locally-Defined Objectives, or "Felt-Needs"

The community development approach has given much attention to the "felt-needs" of the small communities and local associations as a first approximation of programme objectives. ^{22/} The interests and goals reflected in this concept are considered to be an indispensable policy guideline that rests upon the values of the people themselves. In the application of this approach in programming, community development technicians ascertain what the people want and structure the programme mix around these interests.

Programming in response to "felt-needs" usually leads to tangible improvements of social infrastructure such as roads, wells, schools, irrigation works, churches and community meeting halls. The execution of these works requires technical personnel to first mobilize local groups for action. This is done by motivation, organization and education. In each case the techniques for accomplishing these activities imply orientation toward change of values, attitudes and behaviour.

In the early years of the community development movement, the programme mix usually reflected the interests of each individual, small community or village. In time the programming became more

22/ See Contemporary Trends in Community Development, United Nations, New York, (to be published).

sophisticated, and focussed upon the problem-set of wider local areas.^{23/} Most recently the community development approach has been adapted to be complementary with regional development at the sub-regional level as well. Thus, although in early years of rural and community development programming the emphasis on the individual village led to haphazard and improvised activities in an attempt to make these conform with "felt-needs", these difficulties are now being overcome by integrated programming. Nevertheless, consideration of felt-needs remains a fundamental principle of community development method because it assures the people that the government planners are interested in local interpretations of needs, and it assures organized local groups a role in the formulation of policy.

ii. Technically-Defined Objectives, or "Real" and "Induced Needs"

Technicians, administrators and planners seldom regard the identification of felt-needs as a satisfactory method for determining programme content. As we have seen, felt-needs by themselves present many problems in the formulation of policy. They need to be supplemented by other values and greater technical insight. For this reason community development programming has come to include objectives that are technically defined as a result of analysis of the problems in each area. These are usually called "real" or "induced needs".

Worldwide experience in the promotion of rural community development discloses that the substantive content of programmes tends to have considerable similarity in spite of the difference of local situations. Emphasis may vary, and some activities that appear in one country may be lacking in others. Yet, everywhere the programme content tends to be substantively complex. Each programme consists of a wide variety of specialized activities that require different kinds of professional skills performed within the scope of sectoral programmes.

^{23/} In the Caribbean context, the single-all-embracing-village-community approach is particularly inapt. See Lloyd Braithwaite, op.cit. The Caribbean Regional Training Workshop on Community Development and Local Government (1968) recognised this and proposed a "closer blending of community development and area development". See The Report of the Workshop, op.cit., p. 9.

Inasmuch as many of these sectoral activities can be carried out independently, rural and community development within a given area may be considered to be a programme of programmes.

Thus the problem-complex of the area results through planning, in the creation of an activity-complex. This combination of technical activities may be broken down into two kinds of substantive content. The first of these will be made up of the various technical activities required to mobilize the local groups for participation in the programme and in the wider societal process of modernization. These activities have already been mentioned as including motivation, organization and education. The second set of activities in the comprehensive programme will include those of the sectoral agencies that are normally provided in the fields of agriculture and credit, cooperatives, health, education, social services, housing, building and recreation. Each of these types of activities will be provided in such a manner that the participating populations come to recognize their importance and feel the necessity for them. Hence the use of the terms "real" or "induced needs".

But two problems tend to arise that cannot be resolved on the basis of either local or technical value-orientation. First, the sum of objectives for all of the small communities in a programming area may result in a total demand for services that the agencies do not have capacity or resources to satisfy. Secondly, there is no evidence to prove that the combined technical services that are likely to be available add up to the most efficient programme mix. While coordination and joint activity by many sectoral agencies may be achieved within a community development programme, strategy and priorities may be completely lacking. No criteria exist for determining which kinds of activities should be given preference to make them fit the peculiar constellation of problems within a particular area. These difficulties can be resolved only by the formulation of objectives that integrate area programmes into national ones.

iii. Strategic Objectives

The shape of an area strategy for development - and particularly the allocations that permit realization of this strategy - may be said to result from the interplay of global plans and the persuasiveness of

an area's leaders. Yet even when we agree that "rural development strategies have to take account not only of where the rural society is and where the planners want it to go, but also who decides what and who does what", ^{24/} it nevertheless is true that the state has the last word in setting development objectives, just as it is also true that in the technical interpretation of these objectives the planners pose many of the questions and propose answers to them. Area strategy therefore emanates from global and regional plans in a very large part.

The global plan has no value in itself as a blueprint; it must be disaggregated sectorally and spatially in the form of programmes and projects. When this is done, the community and rural development activities at the area level become instruments of global policy. The effectiveness of the programmes will be measured by their impact in producing the kinds of changes that are identified as the principal variables in a development model through macroeconomic and macrosocial analysis.

Among the economic aspects that may be affected by programmes in rural areas are private consumption, employment, propensity to save, labour productivity and the extent of commitment to development. These factors will also be significant determinants of area development, which will be dependent upon the exogenous sector of its economy as the dynamic growth-producing influence. ^{25/}

In the social dimension, the prominent variables that are often mentioned include population trends, structural and institutional change,

^{24/} S.L. Barraclough, Rural Development and Employment Prospects in Latin America, paper presented to the Second Conference on Urbanization and Work in Modernizing Areas, St. Thomas, US Virgin Islands, November 1967, p. 26.

^{25/} Good statements of the theory of the regional economic base may be found in Charles M. Tiebout, "Exports and regional economic growth", in Friedmann and Alonso, op.cit., p. 256, and Theodore Lane, "The urban base multiplier: an evaluation of the state of the art", Journal of Land Economics, Vol. XLII, No. 2, 1966, p. 339. A synthesis of regional development theory with emphasis on the economic aspects has been presented by J. Hilhorst, "Regional development theory", Multidisciplinary Aspects of Regional Development, op.cit., p. 21.

social mobility and human resources development, employment, social participation and communication systems. ^{26/}

A general study of rural problems in the Caribbean points to the need for diversification and modernization of agriculture, its reorientation from the export to the domestic and tourist markets, and a process of rural industrialization. These changes cannot be realized without eliminating the currently prevalent structural unemployment. The creation of a servile nuclei and removal of certain institutional impediments are also indicated.

The implications of such changes are also far-reaching in the area of urbanization, amenities (or community equipment, as it is often called) and government services. Although it is difficult to estimate the economic impact of social amenities, some theorists have advanced the idea that, "National and local areas seeking to stimulate economic growth have to anticipate the level, quality and demand for amenities and plan their investments accordingly It is no longer sufficient to rely on tax or other financial incentives to bring areas to the threshold of spontaneous economic growth. The social infrastructure has to be built up to the level appropriate for the industries and the employees group to be situated in the community". ^{27/}

To a large degree, development in rural areas will therefore depend upon the creation of redistributive mechanisms that can provide for the deconcentration of industries to the smaller cities and towns, the extension of new employment opportunities to the surplus rural manpower

^{26/} A full analysis of social policy at the strategic level may be found in Social Change and Social Development Policy, op.cit., and usefully, but not so completely in L.H. Klaassen, Social Amenities in Area Economic Growth, OECD, Paris, 1968. Also useful are United Nations, 1965 Report on the World Social Situation, E/CN.5/402/Rev.1, New York, 1966, Barraclough, op.cit., and Ruben D. Utria, Development as a Social Phenomenon and its Implications for Social Policy and Programmes at the Regional Level, UNRISD, Geneva, 1968.

^{27/} Klaassen, op.cit., p. 10.

and the simultaneous provision of the social infrastructure that can bring the human resources up to the level required for sustained development. This will include not only housing, urbanization, educational and health facilities and services, recreation, cultural and commercial installations, but also the strengthening of local government institutions through a conscious process of decentralization. A solid societal base must be provided at the same time to provide for popular participation in this process, to assure the societal mobilization that will make this possible.

The structure of rural society can be transformed only by a major effort to redistribute the activities of the national economy in space. The prevailing subordination and dependency of the rural areas on a small privileged urban stratum should be broken, and a complete reorientation of the hierarchy of central places should be achieved in order to prevent further concentration at one or a few metropoli in each country. Those nations now entering the so-called "postindustrial" phase of development are seemingly reversing the tendency to concentrate economic and social activities; consequently, there is no reason why the developing nations should delay any longer the need to do this as a strategic approach in solving their rural problems. In this struggle, there is no doubt that the State must be prepared to take the leading role, and that the spatial restructuring of the national socio-economic system will have to be financed at least in its early stages largely from public resources.

It is in the context of this larger societal design that the local area programme becomes significant for its effect not only on life in hamlets and villages, but also for its impact on modernization and nation-building.

IV

THE AREA AS AN INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD

In the past few years the governments of the Caribbean countries have been intensifying their efforts at rural development. Consequently, many agencies having similar programmes that include the community development approach can be found operating at the area level. These

are mostly agencies of various national ministries dealing with different aspects of rural development and a few voluntary organizations.

This situation creates an inter-organizational field. ^{28/} The inter-action of any two of these agencies will be affected by the size of this field as an area of action and by the number of similar agencies occupying the same field. All of the organizations within a programming area that are engaged in some way in rural community development will find it necessary to adapt their structure and activities not only to the spatial dimensions of the area and its peculiar problem-set, but also to the presence of other agencies within this context.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that when a number of similar agencies exist within an area, they come into conflict for clientele, resources and activities. As development occurs, there is a tendency for this organizational environment to change in the direction of increasing complexity. These aspects need to be considered in relation to the definition of programming areas, because the inter-organizational relationships bounded within the spatial unit will be of great importance in the implementation of concerted development activities.

Typology of Organizations and Programmes

It becomes evident that some analytical tool would be useful to enable planners and administrators to classify and relate the organizations within a given programming area. Such attempts to classify programmes have been made earlier ^{29/}, and recently ECLA, impressed by the total number of integral local development agencies of different kinds in Latin America, has again tried to devise such

^{28/} The term is taken from Roland Warren, "The interorganizational field as a focus for investigation", Administrative Science Quarterly, Dec., 1967, p. 377. For further discussion and a recent bibliography on this subject, see Michael Aiken and Jerald Hage, "Organizational interdependence and intra-organizational structure", American Sociological Review, Vol. 33, No. 6, Dec. 1968, p. 912.

^{29/} J. Pascoe S., "Community development trends in the region", in UNESCO, op.cit., p. 151.

a typology. ^{30/} This was done by selecting two sets of variables - substantive complexity and organizational forms - and correlating them. When this was done, it was found that all of the organizations correspond to one of three general types. Their programmes were invariably substantively complex, including two or more kinds of sectoral activities. It was noted that these activities could be performed by one or more agencies, but that the operational variations in which these combinations appear actually include: ^{31/} (i) sectoral organizations performing a number of substantive activities that have been amplified beyond the original function, (ii) multipurpose organizations carrying out a large number of different sectoral activities, and (iii) joint action or coordinated organizations that are engaged in executing joint programmes of many activities performed in concert by a number of agencies of types (i) and (ii).

For simplicity of reference, type (i) will be called "amplified sectoral agencies". These have been widely identified throughout Latin America as agricultural extension, fundamental education, health, housing or cooperative sectoral agencies whose programmes have been amplified substantively to incorporate community development activities and technical activities of other sectors. The community development activities may be defined as those aimed at widening or assuring participation of local groups in development processes in (a) joint action by people and government in implementing the programme, (b) guidance of self-help of local groups in this process, and (c) recognition of the involvement of these groups in programming the means and ends of action through the expression of felt-needs. Thus community development principles and methods are integrated into the substantive content of the activities of these organizations, supplementing those for which the agency was originally established. But once the community development approach is accepted, activities of other technical sectors may also be included in the functions of the organization.

^{30/} Economic Bulletin for Latin America, "Integral Local Development Programmes in Latin America", Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1968.

^{31/} This classification and the description that follows are not wholly applicable to the Caribbean countries.

The reason for the amplification of the functions of the sectoral agency in this manner can be found in the natural tendency of public services to maximise their autonomy by expanding their scope of action, and in this way justifying the acquisition of additional resources, coverage or clientele.

Type (ii) organizations will be referred to here as "multipurpose agencies". Many agrarian reform, rural development, land settlement and Indian integration agencies fall into this class along with those organizations generically or specifically denominated as community development agencies. These agencies are often created as corporations or semi-public bodies in order to endow them with greater autonomy and to avoid many of the administrative constraints that hobble the action of conventional ministerial agencies.

The spectrum of substantive activities of these organizations tends to be very broad. Some, particularly agrarian reform and community development agencies, may cut across virtually the whole range of activities performed by the sectoral services. Both amplified sectoral agencies and multipurpose agencies display the common characteristic of a single organization performing multiple substantive activities. Since their activities are obviously very much alike in some respects, the essential difference between the two types derives from their dissimilar authority and organizational structures.

Type (iii) organizations are the most complex and the most interesting. These are designated "joint action agencies" here, because their activities form a "joint programme" that is performed by a number of organizations acting in concert. Although the distinction between joint action and coordination can be made only with some difficulty, the former expression is preferred here because some inter-organizational structures are now beginning to appear in Latin America that go considerably beyond what is usually understood by the term "coordination".

The joint programme is based on inter-organizational relationships of a permanent kind, in which the participating agencies agree upon formalized patterns of inter-dependence in their operations within a given spatial area. These agencies may restructure and harmonize their functions so that their activities are complementary and they can make

more efficient use of joint resources, specialized personnel, certain types of equipment and facilities. The agencies may also create a joint organization, which has an identity apart from the member agencies, to perform services needed by them to carry out the programme. ^{32/} In a number of Latin American countries the Presidential or Prime Minister's Office, or some division of it such as the national planning body, may serve as the joint organization for a number of sectoral agencies engaged in a joint community development programme. ^{33/} In a few countries this type of structure may be created in regional development corporations or in the executive offices of Governors.

By correlating these three organizational types with the hierarchy of areas presented in part II of this paper, a model can be created for classifying all integral local development programmes within a country, and to show the possible inter-relationships among these.

This instrument, which is shown on the following page, locates structural complexity of the organization and programme horizontally to include the amplified sectoral, multisectoral and joint action forms of organization. Vertically the model has been divided into three dimensions of territorial coverage that correspond to national, regional-zonal and local scope of activities. The resulting nine-cell model can then be used to classify all of the rural and community development action structures within a country as a means of showing their inter-organizational relationships. The model can also be applied at the regional level, or even at the sub-regional level if the total number of organizations seems to make it worthwhile to do so. In this model, the simplest form of programme appears in the lower left-hand corner (an amplified sectoral programme of a single sector having coverage only in one local area), and the most complex type in the upper right-hand corner (a joint programme of a number of agencies acting in concert at the national level).

^{32/} Joint programmes involve exchange of clients, funds, activities or other types of organizational cooperation. These should be distinguished from joint organizations, which refer to situations in which two or more organizations create a separate organization for some common purpose. See Aiken and Hage, *op.cit.*, p. 913.

^{33/} In two Caribbean countries, the Prime Minister is in overall charge of Community Development. He is assisted by a Minister of State and a Parliamentary Secretary.

TYPES OF COMMUNITY AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

		Degree of structural complexity of programme and organization		
Scope of territorial coverage	National	Amplified sectoral programmes having national scope, usually covering zones and regions throughout many parts of the country, as in the Cultural Missions of the Mexican Education Ministry	Integral programmes of national coverage, such as agrarian reform, rural development or Indian integration agencies having broad authority, as in Corporation of Agrarian Reform, Chile	National joint action systems of ministeries and organizations of the integral-programme type, often having a joint action organization or where the Presidency or national planning office serves for this purpose, as in Joint Action Programme, Peru
	Regional	Amplified sectoral programmes covering a number of local areas within a single region, state or province, as in the ABCAR System of Credit and Extension, Brazil	Integral programmes having regional scope, most frequently structured as a regional development corporation executing its own programme with little or no direct participation by other agencies, as in Regional Corporation of the Savannah of Bogota, Colombia	Joint action systems at the level of regions, states or provinces, especially where regional development or state bodies function as the joint organization for coordinating and rationalizing the activities as in Departmental Community Action Council, Antioquia, Colombia
	Local	Amplified sectoral programmes limited to a single local area, such as a city or a rural pilot project, as in the Coco River Pilot Project, Nicaraguan Ministry of Education	Integral programmes of multipurpose organizations confined to a single locality, found usually in urban areas and rarely in rural ones, as in Committee for the Rehabilitation and Urbanization of Barrios Suburbanos, Guayaquil	Joint action structures at the local level, particularly found in official coalitional urban programmes in which the municipality serves as joint organization, as in Bogota and Medellin, Colombia

Inter-agency Relationships at the Area Level

The programming area as in inter-organizational field will probably be a focus of study during the years immediately ahead. Evidence is accumulating that the introduction of the community development concept into almost all kinds of rural development programmes during the past decade has been a factor contributing to changes in the organizational environment. The use of the integral programme at the local level has reinforced the natural interest of the sectoral agencies to broaden their coverage and the content of their activities. This has enhanced the probabilities of inter-agency conflict or cooperation.

As the agencies amplify their activities in various technical sectors, the organizational field of the programming area gradually becomes "saturated". This situation may be said to exist when conflicts among agencies lead to inefficiency of activities, elimination of some organizations to make room or provide resources for others, or result in a more positive response of seeking joint solutions to the problem of saturation through cooperation. At this point the community development approach has a unique contribution to offer, for it is postulated on the necessity of this coordination or joint action by organizations working within a given locality, region or country. ^{34/}

By using the insights gained from the classification of programmes in the model presented above, it is possible to propose that organizational inter-dependence can lead to rationalization of complex activities at each of the different programming levels that have been indicated. As a coherent matrix for relating programmes and organizations to each other, each programming area represents an inter-organizational environment. Some principles can also be derived from the model that should be applied in planning and policy-making at different levels. These may be summarized in the following standards:

^{34/} The standard substantive definition can be found in United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Official Documents, 24th Period of Sessions, Annex III, "Community Development and Related Services", Geneva, 1957. Also reprinted as United Nations document E/2931.

- i. Any number of organizations within a local area, a region or a country may be considered to constitute a set when they perform substantive activities that are characteristic of the community development approach.
- ii. All organizations within this set may have some relationship to each as they expand. These relationships can be either conflictive or harmonious.
- iii. Any number of organizations can act in a complementary way so long as their activities do not overlap territorially.
- iv. Within a local area or region the relation of organizations can be efficient and harmonious only if their substantive activities are complementary.
- v. Amplified sectoral organizations and multipurpose organizations will be in conflict (potentially or actually) when they cover identical areas and substantive activities. Resolution of this conflict can be achieved in three ways: (a) by rationalizing the substantive content of their programmes in order to make the technical activities complementary, (b) by rationalizing the territorial coverage of the programmes to prevent overlapping, or (c) doing both at once.
- vi. The formulation of a policy regarding the creation or expansion of any programme either territorially or substantively should be a subject of planning and joint consideration of the agencies present in the inter-organizational field. From the analysis in the model above, it may be concluded that within a given programming area, the eventual solution to the problem of inter-organizational conflict lies in the creation of some kind of joint programme.

When these propositions are recognized, the creation of joint programmes and inter-organizational structures will become a major objective of regional and local planning. Study shows that the large number of existing organizations engaged in overlapping activities at sub-regional levels has begun to near the saturation point.

V

THE AREA AS A COMMUNITY OF PARTICIPATION

In the foregoing sections we have considered factors of location, programmes and agency structure in relation to the definition of areas. Let us now assume that a delimitation of an area (or inter-dependent

set of complementary areas) has been agreed upon, that reasonably adequate allocations of resources are being channelled into the area through sectoral services and/or regional development bodies, and finally, that these organizations are collaborating in a joint programme. An improbable situation, perhaps. But it is one that presents a challenge to community development experts, who, as "provisional catastrophists",^{35/} fear that ruin is just around the corner for small rural communities while at the same time hoping that something can be done to prevent the disaster. If this "something" were perfect area programming and action, would there continue to be a role for community development?

This question brings to attention the fourth dimension of an area as the scene of development - the prerequisite of popular participation in every programme at the local level. The fundamental purpose of community development activities will be to assure that such popular involvement and collaboration does in fact occur.

Up to this point our discussion in this paper has been rather heavily weighted in favour of action from the central government. To balance this view, attention needs to be given to the necessity of social participation as the dynamic element of community and rural development. Planners and strategists of rural and regional development are now coming to recognize that mobilization and participation of local groups are indispensable aspects of any process of structural change.^{36/}

In theory, the kinds of relationships that agency personnel have with local groups and associations can vary from an extreme of autocratic, non-collaborative intervention to the other extreme of untrammelled involvement and participation in all aspects of the programme.

^{35/} The term is taken from the discussion of change and continuity by Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Weiner, The Year 2000, Macmillan, New York, 1967, p. 29.

^{36/} See Utria, op.cit., Social Change and Social Development Policy, op.cit., John Friedmann, The Future of Urbanization in Latin America: Some Observations on the Role of the Periphery, Ford Foundation, Santiago, 1969.

These two extremes are not absolute action "styles", as has been suggested: ^{37/} more likely, the range of tendencies of agencies to be more or less coordinative or participative in their approach will be fluctuating, and will depend upon circumstances such as the nature of the activities to be performed, the capacity of the population to contribute usefully to technical decision-making or to operations, and the inter-action forms of the organizations that exist as synopses of communication between agencies and people. ^{38/}

In each of these situations, then, participation will have to be an achievement not alone of the public agencies in unilateral fashion, but also by many different local groups, associations, syndicates, federations and other indirect forms of representation. Moreover, the nature of the participation will not be confined to the activities foreseen by the agency, but will take other direct and indirect forms, depending upon the pre-existing societal integration within the area. Popular groups and collectivities will be inclined to act independently of each other in the early phases of the programme. Looking at the programming area from a vertical perspective, it can be seen that participation will have to be conceived separately at each hierarchical level of the spatial units as regions, sub-regions, localities, small communities and even down to the level of village or neighbourhood groups. From another perspective, the organizational network within

^{37/} The idea of "autonomous" and "coordinative" action styles has been presented by Kenneth P. Wilkinson, in "Special agency program accomplishment and community action styles: the case of watershed development", Rural Sociology, Vol. 34, No. 1, March 1969, p.34.

^{38/} These situations may be regarded as comparable to factors that are being investigated in regard to workers' participation in management. These have been tentatively identified as workers' and managers' propensity to participate, as well as the participation potential of the enterprise in terms of (i) autonomy of the enterprise, (ii) technological limits, (iii) dimensions of the enterprise and (iv) limits set for the form of the workers' participation. See R. Cox, K.F. Walker and L.G. de Bellecombe, "Workers' participation in management", Bulletin, International Institute for labour Studies, Geneva, No. 2, Feb. 1967, p.64.

which participation occurs can be regarded as cutting across the areal units within any one of these levels, in effect connecting local groups in one area with those in others. In this lateral aspect, participation therefore requires the creation of a new structure that can effectively bind small groups into widespread associations and collectivities.

The interpretation too often given to 'participation' by community development practitioners has been that of local collaboration in the performance of agency tasks. This is usually seen as the use of local help and resources in projects or works for which the agency provides direction, tutelage, resources or an official blessing. ^{39/}

Nevertheless, participation should be conceived as going far beyond this kind of relationship of agency to people at the village level. It should have a structural as well as a functional aspect: it should imply that local groups mobilize their will and power to persuade the controlling elites of the society to adopt policies and make programme allocations that will benefit the area. Obviously, the overall development of areas within a region will be limited by the rate of growth and resource capacity of the country as a whole; still, it should be recognized that rural areas rarely, if ever, get their "fair share" of the resources allocated by the central government. Since their rate of development will be determined there, they should be enabled to exert the necessary pressures to win participation in the benefits as well as the costs of the development process.

The response made by the State to their needs will turn on the degree of mobilization and integration that can be achieved by the local communities. This societal mobilization occurs at the group level. It requires modifying or breaking down many old norms and behaviour patterns in order to make people available for membership in new kinds of groups and collectivities. It also implies that the mobilized social units gain in control of assets which they previously

^{39/} See the interpretation of J. de la Fuente, in "Participation of the population", UNESCO, op.cit., p. 131.

did not control. ^{40/} Mobilization precedes social, political and economic transformation: even a process of gradual or "normative" change in a developing society will involve the entrance of more interest-groups and pressure groups on the stage of history. These processes involve shifts in the relationship of groups within the society, and these shifts will tend to produce tension and conflict. ^{41/}

Since the disparities in the distribution of wealth and power in the society are spatial as well as stratified, a collective energizing of regional and local communities will be necessary as a means of obtaining access to new opportunities and societal assets by these groups. Therefore, participation should be conceived as the responsiveness of the society to the requirements of the deprived and marginal strata that are caught in the web of structural poverty.

It is the specific function of community development activities to promote the mobilization and integration of these groups. Unlike collectivities in higher strata of the national society, these under-privileged populations will typically lack the assets and the leadership

^{40/} The concept of mobilization and the control of assets as means of power in the society have been examined by Amitai Etzioni in "Mobilization as a macrosociological conception", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XIX, No. 3, September 1968, pp. 243 ff., and in his book, The Active Society, Free Press, New York, 1968, Chap. 15. Assets have been defined as coercive, utilitarian and normative. Coercive assets are weapons, installations and manpower of military, police and similar coercive agencies. Utilitarian assets are economic possessions, technical and administrative capabilities and manpower. Normative assets are symbols, values and sentiments.

^{41/} See Etzioni, supra., Chap. 13, "Power as a societal force". Barraclough has observed that "There is a tendency to assume that social mobilization can be carried through without leaving any major groups worse off than they were before This is nonsense. Even for the strictly economic sphere it would require as a minimum a wise, powerful and incorruptible government and, above all, a commonly accepted value system so that groups forced to sacrifice present wealth and consumption could be compensated by promises of returns to future generations. When it comes to compensating for losses in social status and political power the problem appears insolvable, even theoretically". Solon Barraclough, Comments on Concepts of Agricultural Development and Strategy Implications for Behavioral Change, Conference at Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., January, 1968, p. 11.

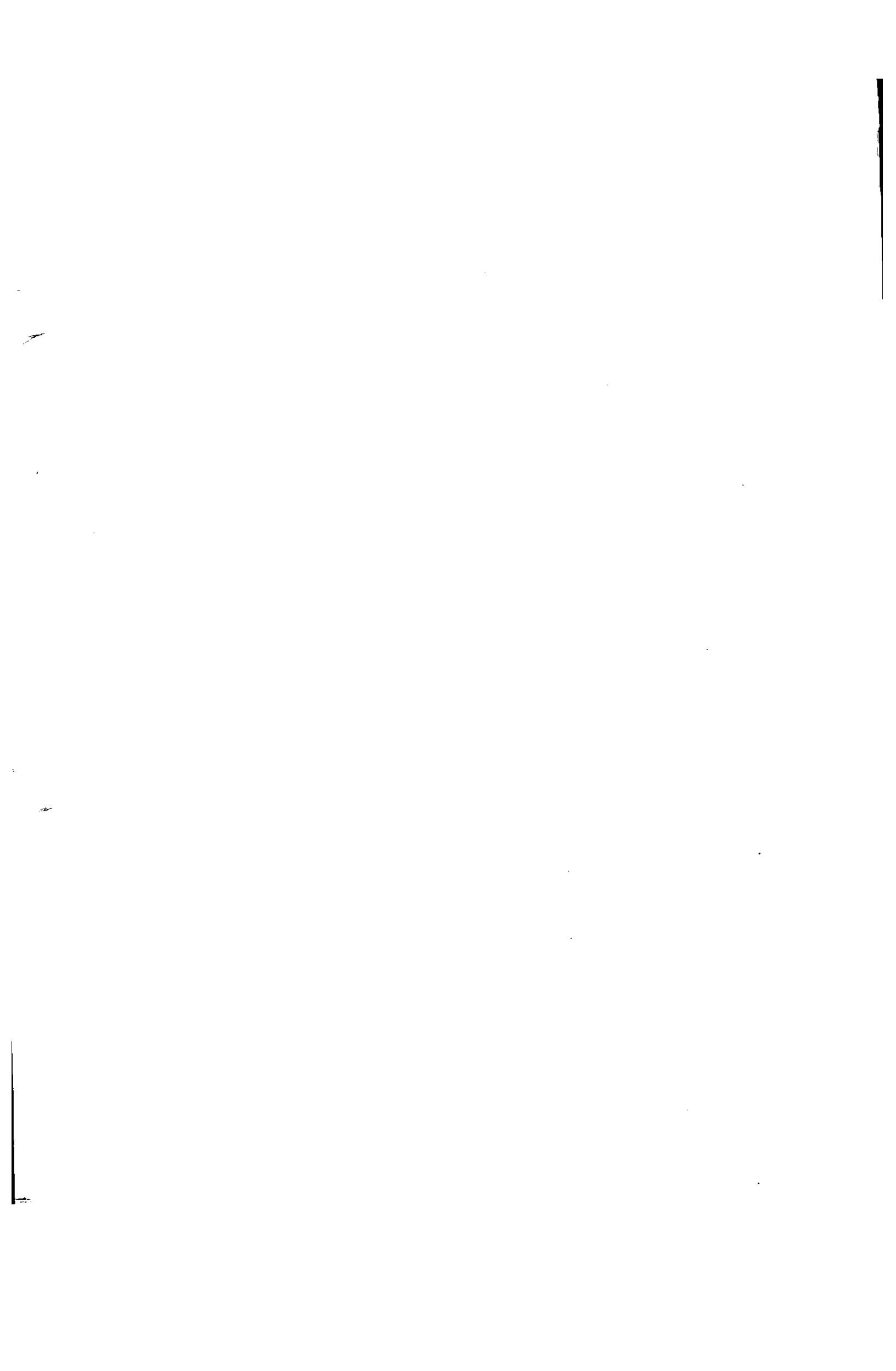
(mobilizers) to act in their own behalf against the powerful interests already well-established and accustomed to contending for power. To overcome these handicaps the popular groups that are unable to participate effectively in politics and social action require not only motivation, but training and organization as well. The fundamental tasks of the community and rural development programmes should not be aimed at providing only the services of village improvement -- important as these are -- so much as to provide these groups at the local and area level with mobilizers from inside and outside the community.

Community development theorists and practitioners alike have overlooked the question of conflict and the need to form strong area-wide collectivities that are capable of effectively confronting the existing power structure, both in its regional (rural) and national (urban) dimensions. It is often assumed that the basic problem of creating movements or promoting change can be reduced to motivation of peasant groups and structuring the relations of local groups with official agencies and planning bodies. ^{42/}

Although regions and areas may not themselves be considered viable social units, they should include within their boundaries the structures and institutions that provide a foundation for wider community cohesion. These ties cannot be created by the activities of public agencies, but they can certainly be encouraged. When the programming area has been defined so that it is congruent with a political unit - a county, district or a parish - the system of joining programmes acting in unison can reinforce and reorient this existing sense of community by helping local groups to identify themselves more closely with it through common interests, objectives and actions. These forms of identification can be further enhanced if organizational networks can be created within the area or region that provide a basis for direct representation of popular

^{42/} See, for example, United Nations, 1965 Report on the World Social Situation, op.cit., which discusses motivation for change at the local level without considering societal mobilization, and United Nations, Local Participation in Development Planning, ST/SOA/77, New York, 1967, which emphasizes the channelling of local views to planning bodies as a process of "planning from below".

groups and associations in the preparation and review of plans before they are finalized, and in the subsequent process of confrontation and defense of these plans before higher authorities in the national capital.



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