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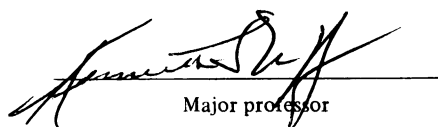
The Role of Non-Formal Education In Alternate
Rural Development Models; A Critical Analysis.

presented by

Garvin A. M. Karunaratne

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of the requirements for

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THE ROLE OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN ALTERNATE
RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS : A CRITICAL ANALYSIS.

By

Garvin A.M.Karunaratne.

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN ALTERNATE RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS : A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

by

Garvin A.M.Karunaratne

Yeoman attempts have been made by Governments in the Third World as well as by international organizations aimed at bringing about rural development at a colossal cost. Successes are very few, while failures loom large.

The study looks into this problem in rural development from the point of view of non-formal education. It has been found necessary to look into the current definitions of rural development and to put forth a definition comprising the core elements that have to be invariably present in rural development. Similarly, a definition of non-formal education had to be identified, in relevance to the educational content that goes into the making of a rural development program. Non-formal education processes that have to be used in planning and implementing rural development have been identified. These processes, viz., community development, extension, conscientization, discussion and deliberation, self-help, leadership development, sequences of decision making, non-directive communication, functional literacy and participation are shown as fundamentally important in planning and implementing any program of rural development. Organized non-formal education courses can play an important and

and complementary role in bringing about rural development, but there has to be concentration on the processes if the development of the responsibility in people is sought in development.

Rural development models that are in vogue have been classified into integrated, semi-integrated and unintegrated categories. The following countries/projects were selected for detailed study.

<u>Integrated</u>	China, the kibbutz and moshav in Israel, the ujamaa in Tanzania.
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<u>Semi-integrated</u>	Comilla (Bangladesh), India, the Philippines.
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<u>Unintegrated</u>	CADU (Ethiopia), Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Kenya.
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In each, the reasons as to why they were categorized into the particular administrative model have been detailed. The achievement in rural development and finally the extent to which non-formal education processes have been used, has been critically evaluated.

Flowing from this, the administrative strengths and weaknesses of each administrative model have been evaluated from the point of view of the developed nature of the administrative structure, viz., the extent of integration, the use of village level institutions, the horizontal communication prevalent as opposed to vertical communication and the extent of decentralization. This has then been related to the extent non-formal education processes have been used in rural development in each model.

It emerges from this study that the use of non-formal education processes for rural development is a fundamental necessity, as development has to be marked with the advancement of the people.

Here, the people don the mantle of development, get activized on a spontaneous basis and get self-propelled into action. Instances where development has been brought about without concentration on non-formal education processes have been found to necessitate a massive effort, with a tremendous flow of foreign investment and aid, which is unlikely to offer adaptability for the typical Third World country. It has also been shown that administrative structures have to be developed for the effective use of non-formal education processes.

The findings are to the effect that non-formal education processes are more likely to be effectively used to achieve the goals of rural development if: the administrative structure is more integrated; a single village level institution is used; there is more horizontal communication as opposed to vertical communication and there is more decentralization. The findings also indicate that the use of non-formal education processes lead to the people becoming partners in development.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will help those concerned with rural development in Third World countries to have a fresh look at the role of education in development and consider changes in administrative structures to enable non-formal education processes to be used for achieving the goals of development.

DEDICATION.

TO

my wife, Bimba,

and our children,

Arjuna, Hiran & Kanchi,

for the love, encouragement & sacrifice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Professor Kenneth L. Neff, chairman of the doctoral committee for the guidance and advice offered throughout my studies, for the painstaking care and encouragement shown and for the depth of critical thought on non-formal education and rural development that has enriched this Dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One strategy being explored to accelerate rural development relates to the role that education should take in the total effort. One area in education which has been neglected, possibly an offshoot of the past policy favoring industrialization and urbanization is the education and learning occurring outside of the formal school. This area of instruction has been referred to recently as non-formal education. Several international assistance donors... are financing investigations of this form of education because of the belief that this type of education 'will make more direct and less costly contributions to rural development'.¹

In ancient times, education in rural areas was imparted within the rural social system, where the children from their young days were trained by parents and elders to man the tasks that were expected of them for society to continue and prosper. With the spread of colonialism, formal academic schools were introduced into the Third World. The task of education was then generally accepted as being to equip children for life. This was done in schools. The acquisition of knowledge and skills in schools was relegated to the formative period of one's life and it was generally accepted that the students were trained to function as full grown men. At this stage, no direct connection was drawn between education and rural development. Instead, education was seen as something functional, something that enabled children to acquire competence and knowledge by which they fitted into society in adulthood. Education was propagated with this idea, but no essential

1. Rogelio V. Cuyno, 'Non-Formal Education for Rural Agricultural Development', in Case Studies in Non-Formal Education, ed. by Russell Kleis, Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1974, pp. 26,27.

link was brought about between education and development. It so happened that this type of school centered education, in itself, did not bring about development. Education acquired in schools, failed in many instances, to make the graduands contribute to development. In the Third World, the vast majority of the people live in rural areas and rural development has increasingly come into focus as a goal that is worthy of being achieved. When schooling of children was made compulsory, many have been amazed to find that schooling, instead of being contributive to rural development, has been found in many instances, to function counter to development interests.

In today's educational system, what has happened is that an education based on theoretical studies which was suitable for a small segment of the school population, has come to be imparted to the majority. Consequently, a very large number of school leavers have been found to have acquired alien attitudes and ideas. Very few complete their education and pass the examinations. Even those who complete the education imparted, do not always contribute to development. This was the education that was doled out to the elite in western European countries about a century ago. Meaningful changes have been made in the curriculum in western countries to make this education suitable for an industrially developed context. However, very few changes have been made in developing countries to make education contribute to the making of the rural areas. In the words of William K. Medlin,

The design of formal schooling is such that learners are conditioned to become primarily consumers of culture rather than producers. This leads to their becoming actual or potential liabilities on society as a whole; there is no evidence that formal schools in rural areas can generate production oriented programs, whose influence will alter agricultural productivity or promote healthy nutritional practices even when a vocational model is followed. 1

Malcolm Adiseshiah is of the opinion that today, education has become dysfunctional. He relates to the role of education in India.

Gandhi chartered the idea of making hand-work an integral part of our education, the medium of instruction for boys and girls upto the age of 14. Zakir Husain followed him and declared that educationally productive work as the principal means of education will run through our future educational system from the basic school to the University. We have nevertheless, successfully developed the world's most unproductive educational system-- boys and girls who drop out of school and college, who repeat their classes and who are nearly totally unemployable. 2

This is often due to the fact that what is taught in schools is divorced from the reality of life. Even in instances where the curriculum has been changed, it has been found that meaningful results have not always been achieved. Even the vocational and practical education has been imparted in a theoretic and academic manner, far remote from the reality of life. What happens as a result can be quoted in the words of Nyerere, who described the aims and purposes of education as 'to prepare young people to live in and serve the society and to transmit knowledge, skills and values and attitudes of the society. Whenever education fails in any of these fields, then the

1. William K. Medlin, Problems in Planning Rural Education for Agricultural and Nutritional Development, A Review of relevant findings for Communications Research, Occasional Paper, University of Michigan, 1976, p.8. Emphasis added.

2. Malcolm Adiseshiah, 'Education and Productive Work in India', in Prospects, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1974, p. 143.

society falters in its progress, or there is social unrest, as people find that their education has prepared them for a future which is not open to them'.¹ Certain Third World governments were spending as much as 25% of their total national budgets on education. The problem was that school education tended to take children away from the rural environment; it was found to imbibe urban and white collar attitudes into the rural children. Even a sizeable number of those who completed schooling successfully did not seek work within or intend to develop their own rural areas. Instead, they looked away from their culture and preferred to be unemployed or underemployed in the urban areas.

On the other hand, within the rural social system that existed in the rural areas, there was a system of informal education, which pervaded the lives of the people, involving their vocations and livelihood. George H. Axinn, identifies seven essential functions that persist simultaneously within any rural within any rural social system. These functions are: supplies, production, marketing, personal maintenance, health care, governance and learning.² In this social system there was intense informal education to fit the children into the rural economy. This education system enabled the young to acquire the cultural attitudes as well as the economic skills that were required for them to function as full fledged members of society. This is the core of non-formal education, that education which is of fundamental

1. Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, Dar Es Salaam The Government Printer, 1967, p.2.

2. George H. Axinn, Non-Formal Education and Rural Development, Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1976, pp. 7-11.

concern to the cause of rural development.

This Dissertation is devoted to a full scale study of the utilization of non-formal education processes for the task of rural development. Here, rural development specifically comprises the total development of the rural areas, including the vocations of the people and the development programs implemented by the governments and various agencies. Various governments have resorted to alter their administrative structures in order to achieve rural development. The role that non-formal education processes have played in these alternative rural development models is the subject of this study.

THE PROBLEM.

In the words of Philip Coombs, Roy Prosser and Manzoor Ahmed,

It has become clear that national development up to now in most countries has been decidedly lopsided, as witnessed by the perpetuation and even the worsening of mass poverty in many rural areas, by the ominously widening economic and social disparities between urban and rural populations and by the worrisome gap between rural employment opportunities and the burgeoning youth problem. 1

Despite yeoman attempts made at growth during the U.N. Development Decade and attempts made subsequently at growth with distribution by various governments and international agencies, rural development on a national basis is yet a mirage that has deluded developers. It has been estimated that about 800 millions live today within absolute poverty limits.² There is widespread unemployment, with as much as

1. Philip H. Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed and Roy Prosser, New Paths to Learning, International Council for Education & Development, 1973, p.1.

2. World Development Report, 1978, The World Bank, 1978, p.1.

15% or more of the total workforce unemployed in many countries. The 1974 World Food Conference estimated that approximately 500 million people are inadequately fed.¹

There is inequality of a severe order in many Third World countries. The poorest 10% of the world's population in 1962/63 accounted for less than 2% of world consumption, whereas the top 10% enjoyed as much as 35%.² Montek S. Ahluwalia says,

about half of the underdeveloped countries fall in the high inequality range, with another third displaying moderate inequality. The average income share for the lowest 40% in all underdeveloped countries amounts to about 12.5%, but there is considerable variation around this average. Those of the underdeveloped countries classified in the low inequality category have income shares for the lowest 40% averaging 18%, as is the case with the most egalitarian of the developed countries. Against this however, half the underdeveloped countries show income shares of the lowest 40%, averaging only 9%.³

It has been estimated that in 1969, in Third World countries in Asia, 36.1% of the total population and 30.5% of the population of the Third World countries in Africa obtain an income of less than \$ 50 g.n.p. per capita.⁴

The fact remains that many attempts have been made to bring about rural development and alleviate rural poverty, unemployment and malnutrition in these countries. International agencies like the

1. World Food Conference, Assessment of the World Food Situation, Present and Future, Item 8 of the Provisional Agenda, United Nations, 1974, p.66.

2. Richard Jolly, 'International Dimensions' in Redistribution with Growth, ed. by H.Chenery et. al., Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 159.

3. Montek S. Ahluwalia, 'Income Inequality: Some Dimensions of the Problem' in Redistribution with Growth, op. cit., p.7.

4. Ibid., p.12.

World Bank and the United Nations have spent billions of dollars to bring about development. The current programs of the World Bank aimed at bringing about agricultural and rural development alone amounts to \$ 1.75 billion and since 1946, the World Bank has spent a total of \$ 16 billions.¹ However, Robert McNamara himself states that 'current development programs are seriously inadequate because they are failing to achieve development's most fundamental goal: ending the human deprivation in hundreds of millions of individual lives throughout the developing world'.²

The attempts at rural development have been many, as could be expected and are really of diverse types. Various rural development administration models have been deployed. These range from the highly integrated type followed in China to the highly departmentalized and unintegrated type followed in Sri Lanka and Kenya. Between these two polarized models a number of types can be identified. These vary from the semi integrated model followed in India to the less integrated model followed in the Philippines. In each case, different degrees of success have been achieved. Each rural development administration model was based on a different strategy. In a number of cases, administrative reforms formed an essential part of the strategy. The aims and targets were laid down and the methods of achieving them were

1. August Schumacher, 'World Bank Policies for Rural Development' in Report on Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, ed. by Richard O. Niehoff, Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1977, p. 31.

2. Robert McNamara, Address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank Group, Washington D.C., September 25, 1972.

spelled out in each case, with due regard to the educational processes or directive administrative strategies that were deployed. Yeoman attempts have been made employing thousands of workers, specialists etc., at a colossal cost. Yet development is far from being achieved.

THE PURPOSE.

The purpose of the study is to make an indepth exploration of the role of non-formal education in realizing the goals of rural development. This necessitates the identification of different types of rural development administration models that have been developed and an assessment of the achievements associated with them. It also requires the identification of a definition of non-formal education placing focus on rural development and a study of non-formal education processes. Then, in each rural development administration model, the development strategy that was used in implementation has to be ascertained, with due place being given to the effect of horizontal communication networks, administrative and political reforms and other factors that were deployed and within this entire administrative framework, the role that was played by non-formal education has to be critically evaluated.

This analysis can eventually lead to the development of a set of essential non-formal education processes that can be used to bring about effective rural development and also to identify the core elements of a rural development administration model which can enable the full utilization of non-formal education processes for the realization of rural development goals.



Thus, the objectives of the study are:

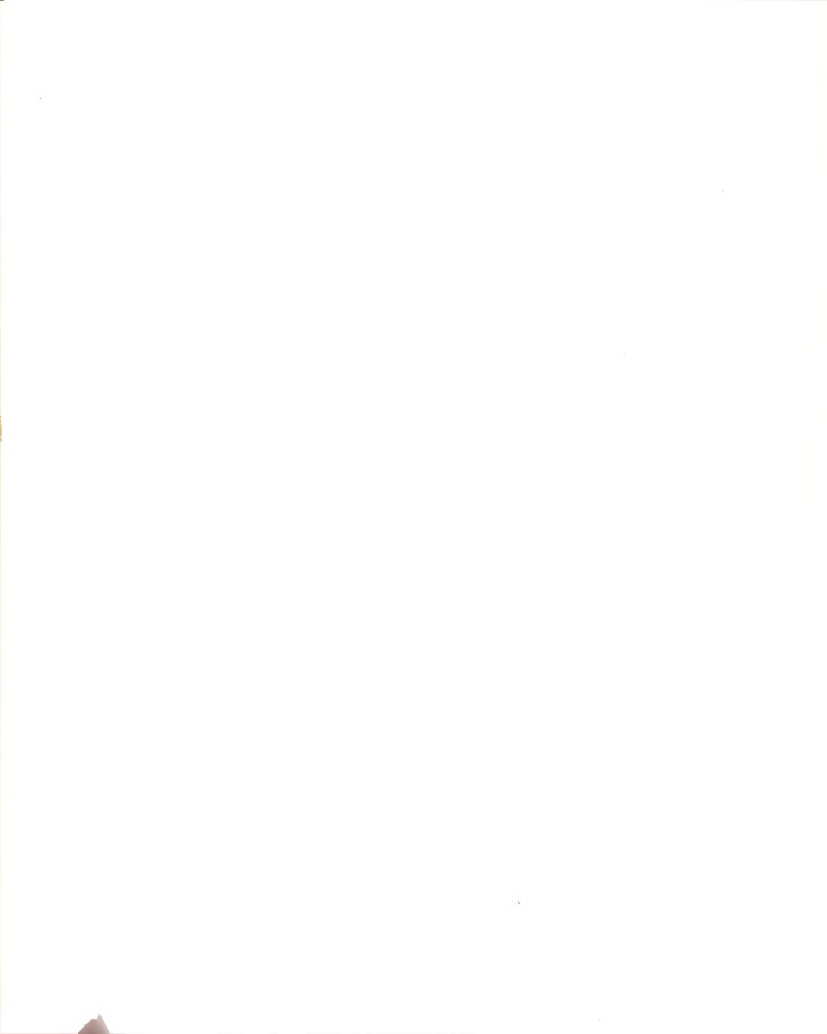
1. to propose a definition of non-formal education in relation to rural development.
2. to identify non-formal education processes.
3. to specifically identify rural development administration models and assess the extent to which non-formal education processes have been used in each model.
4. to identify the major functional and operational demands that must be served by administrative and program structures in order to make effective use of non-formal education for rural development.
5. to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the alternate rural development administration models for meeting these functional and operational demands.
6. to contribute to the present level knowledge of non-formal education and rural development administration.

It is suggested that the repeated failure of many rural development programs flows from the non-utilization or inadequate utilization of non-formal education processes. Rural development models of administration have not been fully developed and their strengths and weaknesses have not been understood. Further, it is also suggested that non-formal education processes have hitherto been sparingly used or not used at all in many rural development models and that their effective use holds potential for bringing about success in rural development programs.

The basic premise of this study is that the utilization of non-formal education processes tends to bring about success in rural development programs and significant non-formal education processes tend not to be used in rural development programs that have not achieved a high degree of success.

In this study, the following research questions will be pursued.

1. Does integration in the administrative structure tend to enable the effective use of non-formal education processes for rural development?
2. Does an administrative structure with a single village level institution tend to enable the effective utilization of non-formal education processes for rural development? If so, does the simultaneous existence of a number of village level institutions tend to splinter the rural development stimulation effort and minimize the intensive use of non-formal education processes for rural development?
3. Does an administrative structure that has intensive horizontal communication at the village level tend to enable the effective use of non-formal education processes for rural development? If so, this implies that the lack of horizontal communication and the dominance of vertical communication in an administrative structure does not enable the effective use of non-formal education processes for rural development.
4. Does a decentralized administrative structure enable a more effective use of non-formal education processes for rural development?



DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS.

Administration- the governmental organization which enforces law and order and plans and implements programs aimed at bringing about development.

Administrative model- a particular system of administration that has been used to enforce law and order and bring about development.

Administrative structure- the hierarchical organization in ministries and departments within the government, that functions to enforce law and order and bring about development.

Centralization- the retention of power and authority at the higher levels of the administrative structure.

Commitment- a continued endeavour to achieve a particular goal.

Community Development-"the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress". 1

Cooperative society- a village level institution, where people cooperate for a developmental purpose.

Coordination- the bringing together the activities of various government organizations, stimulation systems or institutions through cooperation or governmental regulation.

Decentralization- comprises the delegation of responsibility to lower levels of authority (deconcentration) and allowing people sufficient power to exercise responsibility in decision making (devolution).

Development- the advancement in the economic, social, cultural and political spheres, including economic growth, increases in income and advancement as far as the vast majority of the people are concerned.

Effort- an attempt to achieve a goal.

1. U.N. Economic and Social Council, Official Records of the 24 th Session, Annexes, Agenda Item 4; 20 th Report of the Administrative Committee on Coordination to the Council, E/2931, Annex III, Page 14, 1956.

Formal Education- the structured, organized and institutionalized education system used in schools and Colleges of learning.

Horizontal communication- the communication processes that exist between the various organizations, stimulation systems or institutions at the village level or at the local level.

Institution- an organization established by the people or for the people for a developmental objective.

Integration- the welding together or the complete mergence of governmental administrative organizations, stimulation systems and institutions.

Non-Formal Education- the method of assessing the needs and interests of adults and out of school youth in developing countries and of communicating with them, motivating them to participate, helping them to acquire the necessary skills, to adopt behavioral patterns and related activities, which will increase their productivity and improve their living standards, and in the process lead to the development of their initiatives, responsibility and self reliance.

Rural Development- rural transformation involving the totality of rural life, including specifically the economic, social and cultural aspects. This brings about the elevation of rural conditions and rural life, leading to increases in income for the rural people, increased employment, ensuring nutritional standards, housing, health and other basic facilities for the rural people and investing in the people a participatory awakening, causing the development of their initiatives, leading to the flowering of human personality and self-reliance.

Village level- the lowest level of administration in rural areas, closest to the village at which a village level officer functions.

Vertical communication- communication that exists between the village level administration and the hierarchical organization to which it belongs.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

There is a wealth of literature on non-formal education and rural development. This ranges from books by various authorities to case studies and articles published in journals, reports written by government departments and evaluative studies made by various international organizations. These are not directly focussed on the role of non-formal education in rural development, but they contain details about the utilization of non-formal education for rural development, though this has not been their main concern. There are a few books like New Paths to Learning and Education for Rural Development, which deal with non-formal education being used for rural development, but these books have been concentrated on a limited view of non-formal education, that focuses on organized and instructional types of courses imparted to an out-of-school clientele. They do not deal with linking the totality of non-formal education to rural development programs in their actual functioning.

James R. Sheffield and Victor P. Diejomach, have in their pioneer study, Non-Formal Education in African Development (1972) made a complete assessment of non-formal education programs. The authors have included only the organized and instructional type of courses held on an out-of-school basis. The educational courses and programs have been underlined in detail. Rolland G. Paulston has edited an Annotated Bibliography on Non-Formal Education (1972),

which details the literature. Here too only the organized and instructional out-of-school education has been included and this study is not directly related to rural development.

New Strategies for Educational Development (1973), edited by Cole Brembeck and Timothy Thompson contains a number of articles on non-formal education on a conceptual basis. Here non-formal education has been accepted to specifically include informal education, which is of importance to rural development. Brembeck has explained the rationale for non-formal education in detail in his article, 'The Strategic Uses of Formal and Non-Formal Education'. His contribution lies in connection with emphasizing the relationship between non-formal education and rural life in its natural setting.

New Paths to Learning (1973) by Philip H. Coombs, Roy Prosser and Manzoor Ahmed, is a conceptual study of non-formal education. Here, a definition of non-formal education was developed to refer to 'any organized educational activity outside the established formal(school) system'.¹ This work also distinguishes the areas of informal and incidental learning, in addition to this type of organized educational activity. In Attacking Rural Poverty(1974) by Philip H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed, a number of case studies have been presented. In 1975, a major work, Education for Rural Development, was published, edited by Manzoor Ahmed and Philip H. Coombs, which studied non-formal education in Jamaica, Kenya, Mali, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Upper Volta, Afghanistan, Colombia, India, Korea, Philippines and Tanzania.

1. Philip H. Coombs, Roy Prosser and Manzoor Ahmed, New Paths to Learning, op. cit., p. 11.



These studies have tended to concentrate on the organized and instructional type of non-formal education courses aimed at imparting skills and knowledge to out-of-school youth, though some details are provided of the cooperative and rural development programs, which have utilized non-formal education.

Non-formal education has come in for detailed study in the Program of Studies of Non-Formal Education by the Institute of International Studies in Education at the Michigan State University. Marvin Grandstaff has in Alternatives in Education: A Summary View of Research and Analysis on the Concept of Non-Formal Education (1974) provided a comprehensive overview of the entire field of non-formal education on a conceptual basis. This work deals with the relationship of non-formal education, to all aspects of education, such as formal, academic and vocational. The importance of this study to rural development lies in the attention it focuses on the role of non-formal education in a rural setting.

Practice in non-formal education points toward a number of characteristic applications. Some of the most important applications are to: situations in which education is a response to a demand originating in the context of the learners; comprehensive development schemes, especially those that are designed for rural settings; education addressed to the need and life situations of the poor, occupational education, situation of rapid change; situations in which viable structures for education already exist and situations in which educational services are needed in support of other activities. 1

The Case Studies in Non-Formal Education (1974) edited by Russell Kleis have dealt with non-formal education programs in health, literacy,

1. Marvin Grandstaff, Alternatives in Education: A Summary View of Research and Analysis on the Concept of Non-Formal Education, Institute of International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1974, p.81.

family planning and agriculture. Richard O. Niehoff and Bernard D. Wilder in Non-Formal Education in Ethiopia (1974), have provided an account of all aspects of non-formal education and have compared it to formal education as an alternative. They have also dealt with the C.A.D.U. Program of rural development.

George H. Axinn has written Non-Formal Education and Rural Development (1976), which relates non-formal education to rural development. Here, he has identified the rural social system and has dealt with it in detail, giving the importance of the educational component in rural life.

In an investigation of learning and its contribution to a 'better' life for the rural poor, all the activity in the community may be considered as potential learning resources. 1

This work describes the detailed functioning of the rural social system and the rural development stimulation system--'the organizations of the outside world, designed to stimulate change and to interact with the rural social system'.² The importance of this work lies in the fact that it emphasizes that non-formal education components play a fundamental role in rural development. In Toward a Strategy of Interaction in Non-Formal Education (1976), Axinn has developed a conceptual study of non-formal education. He has related non-formal education to rural development, developed a number of hypotheses and has also dealt with non-formal education as a process.

1. George H. Axinn, Non-Formal Education and Rural Development, op. cit., p. 26.

2. Ibid., p. 30.



Thomas J. La Belle has written Non-Formal Education and Social Change in Latin America (1976). Here, he has made a critical evaluation of certain rural development programs, where non-formal education has been used. He has emphasized the question of participation of the people. He has repeatedly pointed out that there is no true participation in cooperatives and such institutions. For example, of the cooperatives in Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, he says that "they were most often mechanisms of adjustment for rural peasants to the existing social order, which in itself was in need of structural reforms." He quotes Fals Borda, "Regardless of sponsorship or type, the cooperatives as a rule did not broaden the political or civic consciousness of their members, nor did they stimulate enough self-determination, autonomy and creativity among the peasantry as to lead to significant political, economic and social transformation".¹

The Report on the Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor (1977), edited by Richard O. Niehoff, documents a wide variety of non-formal education programs on a global basis. The main aim of the conference was to document efforts at using non-formal education methods for rural development.

The use of non-formal education methods to increase agricultural productivity, foster rural development and improve the living standards of the rural poor is not new. ... These efforts will continue to extend the participation of the rural poor in the improvement of their living standards. But as successful methods have been found to work, there is also room for more massive efforts of Governments and International Agencies, commensurate with the needs of the rural poor to build on these methods and experience.

1. Thomas J. La Belle, Non-Formal Education and Social Change in Latin America, U.C.L.A., 1976, p. 148.



These efforts are needed to quicken the pace of development for the long neglected masses of the world's poor. The statements which follow spell out some of the bold new policies which are currently fostered by the Agency for International Development and the World Bank to achieve these programs. 1

Today, this is the major work which has attempted to bring together writings pertaining to linking non-formal education to rural development. It highlights the use of non-formal education in development, in particular rural development programs. Special mention is due of the following articles appearing in this volume:

- (1) Syed A. Rahim's "Non-Formal Education Aspects of the Comilla (Bangladesh) Program", gives details of the non-formal education processes that have been used to involve and exercise the mental faculties of the people within the program.
- (2) Thomas J. La Belle's "Liberation, Development and Rural Non-Formal Education" is especially important for the emphasis it places on informal education in actual rural development.

This study pertains to the role of non-formal education in alternate rural development models. Thus the effectiveness of each rural development administrative model, especially regarding the characteristics of the systems that enable or thwart the attempt at using non-formal education for rural development comes into focus. From this point of view a few books come into importance. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman's Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience (1974) provides an assessment of the functioning of local organizations in several countries for rural

1. Richard O. Niehoff, ed. Report on Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, op. cit., pp. 29,30.

development. Uma Lele's The Design of Rural Development(1975) provides a wealth of material about rural development programs in Africa.

On the whole the review of literature indicates that there is scope and a need for a study of the role of non-formal education in alternate rural development models, involving a comparison of how non-formal education processes have been utilized for rural development.

CHAPTER III

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY.

The design is historical, descriptive and essentially analytical in nature. Russell Kleis has said,

It is logical for a new research field like non-formal education to first undertake a descriptive research. Descriptive research is a necessary step before one proceeds to a type of research that yields explanation and prediction. Through this intensive work, one can generate variables, which can be operationalized, their relationships assumed and finally verified through further investigation. 1

The aims and objectives laid down in this study can be achieved by a descriptive study that is comparative in nature. The study is also global in character as it has to involve a significant sample of the major attempts made at rural development in the Third World. It is hoped that such a comprehensive study will identify some general criteria to be used for ascertaining the role that can be played by non-formal education in development. It should further lead to the identification of administrative, institutional and other essential ingredients in each rural development model that are functional and conducive for the effective utilization of non-formal education.

The study design involves an indepth analysis of the concept of non-formal education, particularly as it applies to rural development. Non-formal education processes are identified and described, with a conceptualization of the unique characteristics of each. Rural development is defined and alternative rural development models are

1. Russell Kleis, Case Studies in Non-Formal Education, op. cit., p.1.

identified based on a careful consideration of the following factors:

1. the developed nature of the administrative structure.
2. the extent of integration.
3. the degree to which institutions have been developed.
4. the degree of horizontal communication prevalent in the administrative structure.
5. the degree of decentralization.

The results and the achievements of the rural development programs are assessed in the country and the project studies that are dealt with according to the rural development model to which they belong. In assessing the success and achievement of the rural development models the following factors have come in for scrutiny:

1. the amelioration of poverty, including the reduction of inequalities and ensuring nutritional standards.
2. the creation of employment opportunities and the extent of unemployment.
3. increases in the incomes of the people as a whole.
4. the extent to which the people were involved and participated in the rural development program on an active basis, leading to the development of their initiatives and responsibility.
5. increased production in agricultural or industrial pursuits.
6. social and cultural advancement.

In the economic sphere, development is taken to be reflected in any of the following: a growth in annual per capita incomes, lower unemployment rates, increased membership of cooperatives, higher repayment rates of cooperative loans, in agriculture-- increases in yields, the degree of adoption of technological innovations and improved techniques of cultivation, increases in the quantum of fertilizer used and low rates of rural indebtedness. In the social and cultural spheres, development is accepted to be reflected in any one or more of the

following: the active participation shown by the people in their own development, their active interest in working for their own benefit on programs of mutual cooperation, better housing facilities, higher literacy and functional literacy rates, decreased disparities in income distribution, less malnutrition, better health standards as reflected in lower infant mortality rates, increases in life expectancy rates, increased savings, decreases in the number of landless persons, low crime rates, evidence of increased social cohesion, easy access to education and any other factors pointing out the development of initiative, responsibility and self-reliance among the people.

In a study of this type, it is difficult to find evidence regarding all the above criteria in each case. Thus the available facts have been comparatively assessed, with corroborative evidence, to enable the degree of success to be subjected to summative evaluation. It is also noted that to reflect success in rural development in the real sense, the economic development must be matched or at least accompanied by a social or cultural achievement, indicating specifically that an improvement has been made in the lives of a broad spectrum of the people.

The extent to which non-formal education processes have been utilized has been assessed by a careful consideration of the development processes and strategies that have been planned and adopted to bring about rural development in each case and by identifying to the maximum possible extent the non-formal education processes that have been utilized. The following criteria has been used in this assessment.

1. that an effort has been made to utilize non-formal education processes.
2. that a commitment has been made to utilize non-formal education processes.
3. that non-formal education processes have been unsuccessfully utilized.
4. that non-formal education processes have been successfully utilized.

In the above, an effort refers to an attempt while commitment refers to a continued endeavour.

The success or failure of each country and or each project dealt with in each model, will be systematically related to the utilization of non-formal education processes for the purpose of rural development. In each case an attempt will be made to study the detailed factors involved and the unique characteristics that would seem to indicate the strengths and weaknesses or show really what went wrong with the program. Through this analytical method, the role that non-formal education processes played in each alternative model will be described, leading to an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of each of the rural development models.

In this design, the countries and the projects studied are grouped according to three rural development models-- the integrated, the semi-integrated or the unintegrated. In the integrated category, China, the Kibbutz and moshav settlements in Israel and the ujamaa settlements in Tanzania have come in for detailed study. In the semi-integrated category, are the Comilla(Bangladesh) Project, India and the Philippines. C.A.D.U. Project(Ethiopia), Sri Lanka, Taiwan and Kenya have been categorized as representing the unintegrated model.

The administrative criteria which necessitated the categorization of the particular rural development administration system to the particular rural development model will be dealt with in detail for each country or project. This will be followed by an assessment of the success or failure and finally by an evaluation of the role played by non-formal education processes for rural development. After all the country or project studies have been reviewed, a major evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of all three rural rural development models is attempted. The basic premise of the study and the research questions are addressed, referring to the development of each country or project concerned, showing the strengths or weaknesses of each country or project, as far as the research question is concerned. Thus evidence from all the case studies in relevance to the research question at issue are summarized. Subsequently, evidence regarding the basic premise of the study. viz. that the utilization of non-formal education processes tend to bring about success in rural development programs and significant non-formal education processes tend not to be used in rural development programs that have not achieved a high degree of success, will be summarized and conclusions regarding the coincidence of the use of non-formal education and success in rural development will be drawn.



CHAPTER IV

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

Non-Formal Education consists of educational processes that are particularly relevant to bringing about rural development on an accelerated basis. Concepts of non-formal education came into focus only in this decade and are yet being developed. For the purpose of this study it is found necessary to assess the various concepts of non-formal education on a comparative basis, relate them to rural development and to identify a relevant definition. It is also essential to identify non-formal education processes, since it is necessary to ascertain the extent to which each non-formal education process has been utilized for rural development. A definition of rural development is also required, in view of conflicting ideas expressed by various authorities.

1. DEFINITION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

In the words of the United Nations,

Rural Development is a complex phenomena. It implies a quantitative concept that might be understood as economic growth and a qualitative concept rendered fairly accurately by the idea of well being. Economic growth is a phenomenon measurable in terms of increasing national income or per capita income, while the well being of the population indicates a higher standard of living-- a complex notion difficult to quantify, which encompasses such various factors as the level of satisfaction of the needs of the population, in terms of food and nutrition, housing, health, education, recreation, security, spiritual satisfaction etc.

Rural Development in the light of the foregoing is the outcome of a series of quantitative and qualitative changes occurring among a given rural population and whose converging effects indicate, in time, a rise in the standard of living and favorable changes in the way of life of the people concerned. It does not mean isolated programs of community development, rural animation, mass education, agricultural extension or any other terms

applied to sectoral programs which are carried out in the rural area or within the rural community. It means, rather a comprehensive development of the rural area. 1

Rural development is essentially a broad concept and the U.N. definition has brought out a number of important factors. It has emphasized the essential relationship between the economic and social factors and at the same time it has pointed out that rural development is not to be confused with particular programs that are aimed at bringing about rural development in a limited sense. The latter point is of importance when considering the fact that in many areas, limited programs have been identified as rural development. The U.N. Report adds:

Its (rural development's) complexity is testified to by the multiplicity of forms that rural development programs have taken in many parts of the world: mass action, mass education, popular action, rural reconstruction, communal action, community development, animation rurale, agricultural extension and the like. Rural development, frequently, is also confused with agricultural development or with the mechanization of the countryside. 2

It is very necessary that rural development is identified as the broad field of development of the people, including their economic, social and cultural well being. In order to achieve this end, mass education, community development or animation rurale can each be identified as a strategy for action. What happened was that the tremendous focus that was placed on certain concepts like community development, with even separate departments and ministries of community development being created confused the difference between community development and rural development. In actual fact many developers lost track of the

1. Integrated Approach to Rural Development in Africa, Social Welfare Series in Africa, No. 8, July 1971, Economic Commission for Africa, U.N., 1971, p.1.

2. Ibid., p. 51.

fundamental educational content in community development.

Within the broader definition of rural development, there are different shades of opinion as to what a rural development program consists of and how it can be achieved. Philip H. Coombs, Roy Prosser and Manzoor Ahmed prescribe a wide approach to achieve rural development.

Broadly conceived, rural development means rural transformation, change not only of the methods of production and of economic institutions, but of social and political infrastructures as well as transformation of human relationships and opportunities.

Seen in this framework, the paramount goals of rural development, along with increased production and income, include the equitable distribution of income, increased employment, land reform, better health, nutrition and housing for all rural dwellers, expanded educational opportunities for all, the strengthening of local means of community self government and cooperation, the eradication of poverty and the promotion of social justice. 1

It is evident that Coombs and Ahmed have included various aspects of importance, such as land reform and the distribution of income, which imply a revolutionary rural transformation. On the other hand there are definitions of rural development that do not envisage a rural transformation. A.T.Mosher gives such a limited definition:

It is the objective of rural development to increase satisfaction, economic and non-economic of rural living. 2

In order to decide between these two polarized definitions of rural development, it would appear to be necessary to find what is meant by development. The Unesco definition of development is,

1. Philip H. Coombs et. al. New Paths to Learning, op. cit., pp. 22,23.

2. A.T.Mosher, "Prospects of Integrated Rural Development", Paper read at a Symposium held in Rome, June 21-28, 1971.

The concept of development should include economic and social factors as well as the moral and cultural values on which depend the full development of the human personality and the dignity of man in society. 1

Development essentially includes all aspects, as expressed by the United Nations:

Development is growth plus change; change in turn is social and cultural as well as economic and quantitative as well as qualitative. 2

The Development Decade was based on bringing about growth. Its objective was to:

accelerate progress towards self sustaining growth of the economy of the individual nations and their social advancement, so as to attain in each underdeveloped country a substantial increase in the rate of growth, with each country setting its own target, taking as the objective a minimum rate of growth or aggregate national income of 5% at the end of the decade. 3

It would be observed that the emphasis was really on the economic aspect. In the sixties, the U.N. considered a country underdeveloped if the per capita income was less than \$ 300 annually.⁴

Development refers to advancement, but evidently this has to be read into the context of the people. Herein come the social and cultural aspects. It was found on an assessment of the growth in the Development Decade that many countries had achieved the target of 5% growth, but this did not mean that any difference had been brought about in the livelihood of the majority of the people. The growth was caused by the investment made by the rich and the increased incomes too went to them and not to the people at large. Ahluwalia shows how

1 Quoted by Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, "Development as People: The Total Approach", in Kurukshetra, 11-16-1970. p.2.

2. The U.N. Development Decade, U.N., N.Y., 1962, p.3.

3. Ibid., p.7.

4. Annual Per Capita National Income 1956-58, Statistics Office, U.N., N.Y., 1960.

in most Third World countries, the poorest group of people, i.e. the bottom 40% of the people enjoyed only 12.0% of the total income. In Mexico, this group enjoyed only 10.5% of the total income (1969). The corresponding statistics for India was only 13.0%(1964).¹

James E.Kocher adopts the following definition:

Development will mean the process of 1) a general improvement in levels of living, together with 2) decreasing inequality of income distribution and 3) the capacity to sustain continuous improvements over time. The components of socio economic well being are the substance of development. Inevitably there must be a certain arbitrariness in choosing the components to be included and their relative importance. A minimal though not inclusive set would consist of a) income, b) employment, c) education, d) health and nutrition and e) consumption, including food, housing and such services as water supply, electricity, transportation, entertainment, police, fire, protection etc. 2

Relating the above ideas about development to rural development, it is evident that if rural development is to imply development in the true sense, it should relate to the development not only of the economic sector, but to the totality, including the social and cultural aspects. In the words of Dumett and Brainard,

The failures of government planning during the so called 'first development decade' have prompted second thoughts by economists, social scientists and public administrators on the applicability of earlier theories and assumptions.

Closely related to these revisions was the shift in focus in rural development studies in the early 1970s from a narrow economic approach, to a multi-disciplinary approach involving several of the social sciences. As the inadequacies of the single discipline approach of the previous decade became more apparent, it also became clear that in future planning, far greater attention would have to be given to social and political variables. 3

1. M.S.Ahluwalia, "Income Inequality: Some Dimensions of the Problem", op. cit., pp. 8,9.

2. James E. Kocher, Rural Development, Income Distribution and Fertility Decline, The Population Council, 1973, p.4

3. Raymond E. Dumett and Lawrence Brainard, Problems of Rural Development, Case Studies and Multidisciplinary Perspective, E.J.Brill, 1975, pp. 2,3.

Development should have a broad effect on the masses and from this point of view Mosher's definition is hardly adequate. On the other hand, the definition given by Coombs et. al. takes rural development into the revolutionary category, when they say that 'the paramount goals of rural development include the equitable distribution of income, increased employment, land reform...'¹.

Rural development essentially means rural transformation, but the details as to whether land reform and equitable distribution of income have to be included and as to what degree of equity or reform is necessary would depend on the extent of exploitation prevalent in the context. In the case of Comilla (Bangladesh), it has been found that rural development on an accelerated basis could be brought about without either land reform or equitable distribution of income. There is a tendency to believe that in the rural areas in the Third World, exploitation is rampant, and that the rural areas teem with a class struggle, where the poor are downtrodden and exploited and the rich aggrandize themselves. The following comment by Helge Kjekshus about the situation in Tanzania is revealing:

The discovery of antagonistic class contradictions in the Tanzanian countryside is a later development spearheaded by a number of western researchers who, applying the Maoist formulae of dividing the peasantry into rich, middle and poor peasants-- have advocated the principle of the cultural revolution in the implementation of ujamaa strategy. This would involve the release of class violence, with the poorer strata engaged on the side of the collectivist features of the villagization plan. 2

In the Third World, the peace and amity that had prevailed at the village level has ceased due to the introduction of party politics,

1. Philip H. Coombs et al., New Paths to Learning, op. cit., p. 11.

2. Helge Kjekshus, The Villagization Panacea: A Review of Tanzania's Ujamaa Policy, 1977, p.9.

which in reality has meant that the people divide themselves into factions. L.G.Hewage says of the situation in Sri Lanka:

Peaceful villages, united and contented traditionally, but torn asunder within the last two decades into lazy, aggressive, corrupt, warring groups due to party politics and its after effects..... 1

In any country there are differences between the rich and the poor. There are inequalities. Earlier, the feudal families and the landlords held power. As their power waned, middlemen, managers of cooperatives and traders came to the forefront. The scene of power in the rural village is eternally changing. This is a dynamic process and it is accepted that even in socialist countries like China, where landlords had to bow out of power, commune leaders and members of the Communist Party have come to the forefront. Rural development programs have to be implemented in the context of the live rural power structure in the village. It is important to note that though there is inequality in the rural areas in the Third World, traditional institutions like the extended family still hold sway and self-help is a principle in which the rural people believe. Rural development has to evoke the participation of the people within this real setting in life. In this context, assuming that the rural areas are full of exploitation and therefore planning to include land reform and equitable distribution of income in all cases appears imprudent.

It is important to note that development programs which have tried to implement land reform and income distribution without the backing of a revolution like in China and Cuba, have generally failed.

1. L.G.Hewage in Metta, Step 7,28, p.110, Colombo.



Andrew Pearse says of the situation in Bolivia:

The Bolivian land reform was a great victory over an unjust and antiquated system of subjection and it freed the service tenants of the estates from the servile duty of delivering the best of his labor to the landlord. But it did not increase the land cultivated by the peasant or the yield from the land. ¹

Philip M. Raup has pointed out that in the case of Bolivia, even with a revolution by the people, "it was 10 years before agricultural output returned to the pre 1953 levels, and then only with the help of production of the new land opened for settlement".² In Sri Lanka, under the village expansion scheme productive land has been purchased and distributed, but the productivity of these lands amounting to as much as 663,869 acres, has dropped markedly, which made the Short-Term Implementation Program of 1962 refer to this scheme as one where the investment "is largely of a social service nature".³ In India, where land reform has been implemented on a non-revolutionary basis, the experience has been that the landlords have evicted the tenants. Thus the tenants have even lost what they had. A case study in two villages, Chanalou and Santa Majra in the Punjab, shows how the number of tenant cultivators declined from 9.7% to 2.4%. On the other hand, the number of owner cultivators increased from 35.8% to 40.1%. It is also important to note that the number of agricultural laborers for the corresponding period increased from 9.3% of the total families in 1950 to 29.4% in 1966. Landlords were found renting out their land for one year periods with the purpose of avoiding the tenant becoming

1. Andrew Pearse, "Subsistence Farming is not dead", in Ceres, F.A.O., July 1969, p.40.

2. Philip M. Raup, "Land Reform and Agricultural Output" in Development Digest, Vol. 8, No. 2, April 1970, p. 11.

3. Short Term Implementation Program, Government of Sri Lanka, 1962, Pg. 119.



entitled to his rights. It was also found that as much as 75.8% of the total land was tenanted on an annual basis.¹ In Andhra, in the period 1951 to 1958, over two thirds of the protected tenants were evicted.² In Hyderabad, according to a survey by A.M.Khusro, of the 600,000 legally protected tenants, by 1955 only 45% remained. Only 2.5% had been evicted legally. As much as 22.14% had been thrown out illegally and 17.83% had surrendered their rights voluntarily as happens under duress and threats.³ Hyla Myint says that "these reforms have induced the hitherto absentee landlords to become active cultivators of their lands".⁴ What really happened can be substantiated in the words of S.K.Dey:

Each State introduced a ceiling contingent on the dependence of the powers that were of the landlords in the State. Before even such ceilings were enacted, ample time was allowed to pass, so that phoney transfers of landholdings could take place between relatives and friends, totally nullifying in effect whatever ceilings ultimately were resolved to be imposed.

It will be seen from the above that had there been no land reforms whatsoever, nor any talk of it, at least the old state of artificial equilibrium between tenants and landlord would have remained and there would have been a regular flow of investment from the landlords into the lands and to the tenants. With land reforms introduced as a slogan, but not taken seriously to be enforced, the land and the tiller stand between the devil and the deep sea. ⁵

This evidence suggests that land reform and such distributive policies can hardly be enforced without the backing of a revolution, or similar conducive factors.

1. J.S.Uppala, "Attitudes of Farming Families Towards Land Reform", in Journal of Developing Areas, Vol.4, Oct.69-July 70, p.62.

2. "Seventeenth Round of the National Sample Survey" in Kurukshetra, October 1, 1972, p. 19.

3. Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, Gerald Duckworth, 1961, p.60

4. Hyla Myint, The Economics of the Developing Countries, Hutchinson University Library, 1973, p. 135.

5. S.K.Dey, Power to the People, Orient Longmans, 1969, p.135.

Galbraith has said,

Unfortunately some of our current discussion on land reform in the underdeveloped countries proceeds as though this reform were something that a government proclaims on any fine morning-- that it gives land to the tenants as it might give pensions to old soldiers or it might reform the administration of justice. In fact a land reform is a revolutionary step; it passes power, property and status from one group in the community to another.¹

The inclusion of land reform without the backing of a revolution in a rural development program is likely to cause the failure of the program.

What is necessary in a rural development program, implemented in a non-revolutionary setting, is instead, an attempt to seek the cooperation and the participation of the total population. Thus land reform may not be an essential ingredient for rural development. As to whether land reform has to be included as a strategy, depends on the characteristics of the clientele and the conditions that preclude development. It also depends on the political backing that such a program can secure. If there is total exploitation by landlords and if the land tenure system precludes development, then land reforms seem necessary. Similarly, if the disparity in income levels is wide and this precludes any attempt on the part of the poor to earn a reasonable wage, then equitable distribution of income may be considered necessary. These are strategies that may or may not be included to achieve success in a rural development program.

It appears therefore necessary to differentiate between strategies that are employed to bring about rural development and the essential core of factors that go into the building of a rural development program. This core of factors has to be accommodated in any

1. J.K.Galbraith, "Conditions for Economic Change in the Underdeveloped Countries", in Journal of Farm Economics, Vol. 33, 1951, pp. 695, 696.



rural development program. From this point of view, the following definition of rural development is adopted for the purposes of this study:

Rural development could be defined as rural transformation, involving the totality of rural life, including specifically the economic, social and cultural aspects. This also includes the elevation of rural conditions and rural life, leading to increases in income for the rural people, increased employment, ensuring nutritional standards, housing, health and other basic facilities for the rural people, particularly including the rural poor. This involves educating the people and investing in the people a participatory awakening, causing the development of their initiatives, leading to the flowering of human personality and self reliance.

Here, it will be observed that emphasis has been placed on the full development of the human personality, as evident in the Unesco definition of development.¹ The involvement of the people has been emphasized. This includes the people coming together, working cooperatively and corroboratively, becoming motivated to function actively for the cause of their own development.

The development of this definition, in this basic manner does not preclude the utilization of any particular strategy to bring about rural development. The guideline followed was to include only the essential characteristics that go into the making of a rural development program.

1. "The concept of development should include economic and social factors as well as the moral and cultural values on which depend the full development of the human personality and the dignity of man in society".

Quoted by Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, in "Development as People: The Total Approach" in Kurukshetra, 11-16-1970, p.2.

2. DEFINITION OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION.

Non-formal education has been defined with different emphases. To certain authorities, all out-of-school education appears within the category of non-formal education. Richard Niehoff has emphasized the informal education aspects within non-formal education, while Russell Kleis, Philip H. Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed and Roy Prosser tend to emphasize the systematized and deliberately delivered instructional type of non-formal education. In view of the fact that the role of non-formal education processes in rural development come in for study, it is necessary to identify a definition that would be relevant.

Russell Kleis says,

Non-formal education is any intentional and systematic educational enterprise (usually outside of traditional schooling) in which content, media, time units, admission criteria, staff facilities and other system components are selected and or adapted for particular students in order to maximize attainment of the learning mission and minimize maintenance constraints of the system. 1

Here, non-formal education is referred to as any "intentional and systematic educational enterprise". Kleis refers to out-of-school organized and systematized educational activities. Manzoor Ahmed says,

To avoid possible confusion, it should be asserted that non-formal education as it is generally understood refers to all purposeful and systematic learning activities, with specified target groups and specified learning objectives, but organized outside the familiar institution based, age specific, chronologically and sequentially graded diploma oriented formal system, which is mostly within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Non-formal education also excludes accidental, incidental and unplanned learning which may be described as informal education and which, though a very large component of human learning is not susceptible to a process of planning and management. 2

1. Russell Kleis, Case Studies in Non-Formal Education, op. cit., p. 8.

2. Manzoor Ahmed, "The School of Social Life" in Ceres, F.A.O., July-August 1977, p. 49.



The distinction that Ahmed has sharply drawn between non-formal education and informal education appears of great importance as far as rural development is concerned. Here, he states that informal education comprises unplanned learning. Philip H. Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed and Roy Prosser say in New Paths to Learning,

For the purposes of this study, we define non-formal education as any organized educational activity outside the established formal system-- whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives. 1

It is observed that this definition would include all the organized instructional type of courses held on an out-of-school basis as well as the organized educational activities of change agents used in extension work or in community development programs. However, the activities of extension agents and rural development stimulators would not always be organized. There are informal education activities held in informal groups such as cooperatives, rural development societies etc., which can be categorized under the heading of informal education, which does not come within the instructional type of systematized and organized course.

George H. Axinn refers to intent in deriving a distinction between formal, non-formal and informal education. He says,

The most practical base we have been able to develop for categorizing thus far is that of the intent of the learners and teachers. For any particular educational activity, if the learners are involved because they intend to learn something and if the teachers are involved because they intend to help the learners learn something, then we would call it formal or non-formal education. Formal education would refer to the education gained in the structural school setting of any particular

1. Philip H. Coombs et. al., New Paths to Learning, op.cit., p. 11.



country. Non-formal education would be the education gained in any organized setting which took place apart from the specified school program. If either the teachers or the learners are participating for some other reason other than the intention of teaching or learning, we call it informal education. If neither the teachers nor the learners are involved by intent, then we call it the batic (incidental). 1

As far as rural development is concerned, the informal learning activities within non-formal education are of prime importance. This refers to the education that people acquire informally, intentionally or unintentionally throughout life, when they participate in their normal activities in their homes or attending to their own vocations. Philip H. Coombs, Ahmed and Prosser have laid down the following definition of informal education:

The truly lifelong process, whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in his or her environment--from family and neighbours, from work and play, from the market place, the library and the mass media.... For the most part, this process is relatively unorganized and unsystematic. 2

Education in a rural social system happens informally. "Whole clusters of related activities are learned at a time, without the knowledge that they are being learned at all or that there are patterns or rules governing them. Entire systems of behavior, made up of hundreds of thousands of details are passed from generation to generation and nobody can give the rules for what is happening".³

It is the augmentation of this system of informal education that is of importance in the cause of rural development. Philip H. Coombs et. al. have said that, "people learn primarily from day to

1. George H. Axinn, Toward a Strategy of Interaction in Non-Formal Education, Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1976, pp.8,9.

2. Philip H. Coombs et. al., New Paths to Learning, op. cit., pp. 10,11.

3. Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language, Fawcett Publications Inc., 1959, p.70.

day experiences and from the multitude of educative forces in their environment, from family and neighbours, work and play, religious activities, the market place, newspapers, books, broadcasts and other media".¹ In a rural setting, religious activities, the market place, newspapers, books, broadcasts can all be organized, though not on a systematic basis, to have a definite effect on the people. It is possible to bring information to the people in such a way that it would convert them to a particular point of view or make them think subjectively on particular lines and arrive at a decision. In either case, the situation can be carefully structured. There is no instruction involved. The informal learning processes are left to take place on a spontaneous basis. Philip H. Coombs has said that broadcasts, newspapers, market day exhibits, wall newspapers can be utilized to strengthen informal learning opportunities as a "multi media approach to saturating the informal learning environment of rural areas with the stuff of learning".² Non-formal education processes can be used to support and strengthen informal learning in the rural sector.

It is important to note that Philip H. Coombs et. al., after a full scale survey of non-formal education programs in Africa, have concluded that, "most of the non-formal education programs we surveyed accomodate at most a few hundred people in a limited geographic area. Thus, whatever the value to participants, these programs even in their aggregate, scarcely scratch the surface of the essential educational needs of millions of rural young people".³

1. Philip H. Coombs with Manzoor Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, The John Hopkins University Press, 1974, p. 232.

2. Philip H. Coombs, "Should one develop Non-Formal Education" in Prospects, Vol.3, No.2, Autumn 1973, Unesco., pp. 303,304.

3. Philip H. Coombs et. al., New Paths to Learning, op. cit., pp. 55,56.

This refers to the instructional type of non-formal education programs. They have added that it is only in the club type of program like 4H, that there is a wide clientele. Non-formal education in a club or association type of activity develops an informal learning character. This is the non-formal education that takes place in extension work as well as in community development. Here, non-formal education can be used to emphasize informal learning in the rural context. This comprises informal learning that people experience when they participate in learning situations within the process of development. This is a primary form of learning. Here people go through learning situations in the work that they attend to in connection with their agricultural or other vocations, working in cooperatives or associations, cooperatively, engaging in deliberation, discussion and making decisions. These decisions would involve compromise and consensus in the day to day functions in a rural setting, comprising numerous learning situations, which offer the participants a live and absorbing experience. These constitute purely informal education settings that go into making the most important learning experiences that enable the members of a society to get used to the art of thinking, deliberating on a particular problem and arriving at a pragmatic decision. Cole S. Brembeck has given the fundamental simple process of non-formal education that involves a young learner in a rural setting.

This boy (a shepherd) grew up in his vocation and was probably never aware that he was learning it. When he was small, his father or older brothers took him along as they tended the flock. To protect him from the sun, they put him down in the shade of the bush. From there he watched and listened. As he grew older, he ran after the sheep, assisting his father in rounding up the strays.... Here, then is a learning situation where the young learn what they need to know, first by observing their elders

carry on significant tasks in which they are skilled. Then by taking part, first in simpler tasks and later in more complex ones, they are finally prepared to train others. The training cycle is complete. 1

Informal and incidental learning are essential components of a rural social system. Thomas J. La Belle has also emphasized the importance of informal education in the field of development education in the rural setting.

As discrete entities.... we have viewed non-formal education as including only the instructional aspects associated with micro social change efforts, rather than including the informal learning which occurs from simple participation in the efforts. As an example, the student of non-formal education interested in producer cooperatives or community development projects is constrained by the definition of non-formal education to look only at the technical assistance process, the role of the change agent or the instructional products used in fostering the success of the project. What we may be failing to include are the informal learnings which take place as individuals come together in the cooperative or the community development process. These are the informal education experiences associated with learning from each other and from the process rather than from deliberate non-formal education instruction. 2

Richard O. Niehoff has also adopted a similar broader view of non-formal education.

Non-formal education is defined for our purposes as the method of assessing the needs and interests of adults and out-of-school youth in developing countries and of communicating with them, motivating them to participate, helping them to acquire necessary skills, to adopt behavioral patterns and related activities, which will increase their productivity and improve their living standards. 3

Here too informal education for development finds a definite place within non-formal education. It is informal education that comprises

1. Cole S. Brembeck, "The Strategic Uses of Formal and Non-Formal Education", in New Strategies for Educational Development, ed. by Brembeck and Thompson, op. cit., p. 24.

2. Thomas J. La Belle, "Liberation, Development and Rural Non-Formal Education", in Report on Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, ed. by Richard O. Niehoff, op. cit., p. 212.

3. Richard O. Niehoff, "Some Key Operational Generalizations and Issues in the Use of Non-Formal Education" in Report on Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, op. cit., p. 8.

most of the activities listed in the definition.

It is necessary for the purposes of this study that a definition of non-formal education relevant to rural development is identified and adopted. The definition of non-formal education adopted at the Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor appears most appropriate, as it emphasizes those aspects of non-formal education that are most essential for rural development. However, a small addition, culled out of the fundamental concept of community development appears necessary. The addition that has been made has been underlined.

Non-formal education is defined as the method of assessing the needs and interests of adults and out-of-school youth in developing countries and of communicating with them, motivating them to participate, helping them to acquire the necessary skills, to adopt behavioral patterns and related activities which will increase their productivity and improve their living standards, and in the process lead to the development of their initiative, responsibility and self reliance.

This definition of non-formal education includes within its fold the organized and structured instructional type of course as well as the informal aspects of education. The latter is of prime concern for rural development. It paves the way for heightened informal learning in the rural setting and comprises the core of non-formal education as far as rural development is concerned.

3. NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PROCESSES.

Non-formal education comprises of a number of processes that function simultaneously and complementarily to cause learning. The impact of learning depends on the type of process used and the intensity.

Edgar Faure has said that "every educational act is a part of a process directed towards an end".¹ This process would consist of various learning situations that take place almost continuously, when participants meet in groups and discuss their problems and developmental matters in an essentially informal manner. A process refers to "a mixture of events and relationships which is constantly in motion, constantly changing, constantly interacting and continuous".²

Frederick H. Harbison also stresses the process in non-formal education when he says that, "in the broadest sense, non-formal education and training encompasses the entire range of learning processes and experiences outside the regular graded school system".³

For a process to function, there should be repeated learning experiences that absorb the interests of the participants in a continuous manner as they function. Such learning opportunities can be found in the activities of cooperative societies, rural development societies and other such village level institutions, where people meet to discuss, deliberate, arrive at decisions etc., as would be necessary when they have to function in a participatory manner in a development program. These processes can draw the people in a spontaneous manner, hold their imagination and attention and in this process the new comers learn from the elders, the art of discussing a problem, deliberating, deciding and finally the art of cooperating

1. Edgar Faure, Learning to Be, Unesco., 1972, p. 145.

2. George H. Axinn, Toward a Strategy of Interaction in Non-Formal Education, op. cit., p. 7.

3. Frederick H. Harbison, Education Sector Planning for Development of Nation-wide Learning Systems, American Council on Education, 1973, p. 24.

mutually in implementation. As Philip H. Coombs et. al. say, "the process of development itself, as shown by some of our case studies, can be a powerful teacher of young people, a teacher not only of useful skills, but also constructive human attitudes." ¹

Any program of work has to be implemented, either in an authoritative manner, by directing the people to attend to tasks or by obtaining the people's active participation. In the latter task of actual participation, the people are repeatedly proceeding through learning experiences. This process is of great importance for the cause of bringing about rural development. The following non-formal education processes are specially relevant for rural development.

- Community Development
- Extension
- Conscientization
- Discussion and Deliberation
- Self-help
- Leadership development
- Sequences of decision making
- Non-directive communication
- Functional Literacy
- Participation

1. Philip H. Coombs et. al., New Paths to Learning, op. cit., p. 92.

Community Development

The United Nations definition of community development is:

The term community development has come into international usage to connote the process by which the efforts of the people themselves, are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements-- the participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and make them more effective. 1

It is important to note that community development refers to the total process of development, involving the people, building up their initiatives and making them responsible within the programs.

The U.N. Report, Social Progress through Community Development, says,

Community Development can be tentatively defined as a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance upon the community's initiative. 2

These definitions suggest that the active participation of the people and their education within participation is an essential ingredient. The emphasis is on the process. Murray Ross says that the people are involved in the "process that by which the community identifies its needs and objectives, develops the will to work at the needs or objectives, finds the resources to deal with these needs or objectives, takes action to get them done and in doing so develop cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community³."

1. U.N., Economic and Social Council, Official Records of the 24 th Session, op. cit., p. 14

2. U.N., Social Progress through Community Development, U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs, 1955, Para 11, p.6.

3. Murray Ross, Community Organization, Theory and Practice, Harper and Row, 1967, p. 40.

The fundamental idea behind this educational process is that as the people participate, they acquire knowledge and develop their initiative and become activated, dynamic and responsible. Ross has also provided details of what happens when the people are involved in the process:

As the process evolves and progresses the people in the community will come to understand, accept and work with one another, that in the process of identifying and dealing with a common problem, sub groups and their leaders will become disposed to cooperate with other sub groups in common endeavours and will develop skill in overcoming the inevitable conflicts which emerge in such collective tasks. 1

Here, it is important that the people should play a positive role in the needs assessment, in the plan formulation, in finding resources and in contributing their mite for the program, managing the program with full responsibility and working cooperatively and collaboratively with others. This entire continuum of action is one educational process, leading to the development of the initiative and the responsibility in the people. Richard O. Niehoff has detailed the process that takes place:

Thus the process of determining the starting point of a non-formal education process leading to development may be expressed as the interaction between those closest to their own needs and problems and anyone outside of the inner group who is trained in eliciting information from villagers, organizing it in useful form, formulating programs on the basis of the information obtained and at stimulating villagers and village groups to make changes which combine their wisdom and insight and that of development workers.

This process may take varying amounts of time and utilize various techniques, from holding 'camps' for villagers to discuss needs, the use of 'consciousness raising' techniques and games, agronomic surveys or more elaborate base line studies. 2

1. Murray Ross, Community Organization, Theory and Practice, op. cit., p. 49.

2. Richard O. Niehoff, ed., Report on the Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, op. cit., pp.10,11.

This entire process is within community development.

It is important to note in this connection that the effects of community development is discounted today by many authorities due to the failure of community development programs. Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw state that, "by the mid 1960s... traditional community development was on the wane, because no country using it was making rapid progress.."¹ Community Development as has been indicated above is essentially an educational process, but in implementation, it was identified as a physical program. In many countries it would be found that community development became a rural development program of welfare or rural infrastructure works. It was with the idea of giving prominence to community development that governments created separate ministries of community development, but with the identification of particular programs with such ministries, and the quantification of such programs in evaluation, very little attention was attached to the process. In the celebrated Indian Community Development Program, the people were not active participants. To start with the program did not include agriculture, the mainstay of the rural economy. Even if it did, it would not have made much of a difference, as even within the limited area which came under it, the people were never actively involved. The Rural Works Program became in the words of the Balawan-tray Mehta Report, " an officially controlled bricks and mortar program of public works, devoid of almost any popular dynamic".²

1. Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw, Development Reconsidered, Lexington Books, 1971, p. 21.

2. Hugh Tinker, "Authority and Community in Village India" in Journal of African Administration, Vol. 12, No. 4, Oct. 1960,p.201.

The Rural Works Program actually dwindled to a forced labor campaign which did not involve the people in any educational process that would enhance their abilities. Further, in the accelerated expansion that took place, the bureaucracy lost sight of the essentially educational value of community development. It was thought of as another government program, carried out on a directive basis.¹ Mukherjee says that, "not enough thought was devoted to the processes of community development and to relating the program activities to the community development objectives".²

In the Philippines and other countries too, the educational component was similarly lost sight of and this contributed to the failure of community development.³ Thus the failure of community development programs only serves to indicate the importance of identifying community development as an educational process, which should have immersed the participants in the development process of education. Community development is a non-formal education process which builds up the initiatives of the people as they attend to their own development, participating in programs of mutual concern, cooperating with others, leading to enhance their own abilities and responsibility.

1. Garvin Karunaratne, "The Failure of the Community Development Program in India", in Community Development Journal, Vol.11, No.2.

2. B. Mukherjee, Community Development in India, Longmans, 1961, p. 33.

3. Please see country/ project studies in chapters 7 & 8.

Extension.

Arthur Dunham says,

Extension is a continuous educational process in which both the learner and teacher contribute and receive. Extension brings scientific information to the village people and it also takes the problems of the village to the scientific institutes for solution. Extension is the development of individuals in their day to day living, development of their leaders, their society and their world as a whole. 1

Extension is an educational process of introducing scientific information to the people and to help them to adopt the innovations. It includes convincing the people. As a process extension concentrates on the communication aspects. It is interesting to note that in emphasizing the task for conscientization, Paulo Freire says,

In order to discuss any kind of technical question with peasants, they must see this question as a 'distinct perception'. If it is not this, it must become this. Whether it is a 'distinct perception' or not, the peasants still must in both cases apprehend the interplay of relations between the 'distinct perception' and other dimensions of reality.

The effort required is not one of extension, but of conscientization. If it is successfully carried out, it allows individuals to assume critically the position they have in relation to the rest of the world. The critical taking up of this position brings them to assume the true role incumbent on them as men. This is the role of being subjects in the transformation of the world which humanizes them. 2

Paulo Freire has said that what is required in convincing peasants is conscientization and not extension. Importance has to be attached to conscientization in convincing peasants. However, extension refers to the process of dissemination of knowledge and convincing the peasants to adopt innovations. It is a communication process which belongs to non-formal education, but it falls far short of the process

1. Arthur Dunham, "Some Principles of Community Development" in International Review of Community Development, No. 11, 1963, p. 145.

2. Paulo Freire, "Knowledge is a Critical Appraisal of the World", in Ceres, Vol.4, No.3, May-June 1971, p.51.

of community development as it does not provide for the people to work cooperatively and collaboratively, leading positively to the development of their initiatives and making them responsible.

Conscientization.

Conscientization, so ably propounded by Paulo Freire, refers to intensive thinking, which leads to a heightened awareness of a problem, a mental exploration for a solution, eventually leading to action and liberation. To Freire, conscientization involves self-reflection and critical thought. This leads to intense education. Freire emphasizes liberation.

Authentic liberation-- the process of humanization is not another deposit to be made in men. Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it. 1

Praxis refers to the linking between theory and practice. This is important in that the realm of practice belongs to the field of community development. Conscientization leads to realization, severe and intense and leads to action. According to Freire, conscientization is essential for any type of development, be it agriculture or industry.

We are convinced that any attempt at mass education, whether associated or not with professional training, whether in the agricultural sphere or in the urban and industrial field, must possess a basic aim; to make it possible for men, through the problematizing of the unity man world, or of man in his relations with the world and with other men to penetrate deeply into their consciousness, their perception of the reality in which they exist."²

Freire is of the opinion that the banking concept of education does not

1. Paulo Freire, The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Sheed & Ward, 1972, p. 67.

2. Paulo Freire, "Knowledge is a Critical Appraisal of the World", op. cit., p. 50.

lead to real development and he looks to conscientization as being the path to liberation. The banking concept of education refers to the system of depositing ideas into learners without involving their faculties of critical thought. Applying Freire's concept of conscientization to non-formal education, it would be found that education that is doled out in the organized and structured instructional type of course, where the people are taken out of their real life setting and made to acquire skills conforms to the banking type of education. On the other hand, in real life situations in the process of rural development, conscientization, exercising the critical thinking faculties of the people who participate in development programs, is of fundamental concern.

Critical understanding, leading to conscientization is an important factor in real education. Nyerere too, is of the opinion that critical understanding is of extreme importance. Freire states of Nyerere's stand point regarding critical thinking and understanding,

For Nyerere, preparation for life consists of a critical understanding of the life actually lived; only thus is it possible to create new ways of living. His thought which is both pedagogical and political is nourished by what is real, concrete and based on experience, the transformation of which is the central educational activity. 1

It is evident that critical understanding of a heightened order is conscientization. Such understanding comes due to a keen awareness and true realization. It leads to an awakening of the dormant critical faculties in man, leads to conviction and thereby brings about a change in attitudes. Thus conscientization is an important non-formal education process.)

1. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea Bissau, Seabury Press, 1978, p. 123.

Discussion and Deliberation.

The art of discussion and deliberation is a process that can lead to developing the initiatives of the individual. The importance lies in the fact that, "most human beings learn better in a social context as members of a group, rather than as isolated persons and the interplay of minds that take place in discussion often spark off new ideas, new trains of thought and understanding... discussion periods help him in the development of the greater degree of social coherence likely to help assimilation".¹ Discussion can pave the way for analytical thinking and therein lies its importance. When people address themselves to problems, deliberate and grope for solutions, an educational awareness is brought about. Informal discussions could ensue within the family group or among close associates or even within a rural institution.

Human beings learn better in a social context as members of a group rather than as isolated persons. As discussions proceed, new ideas and new trends of thought are suggested by participants, discussed among the group, involving thinking and this leads to an awakening, which is the core of conscientization. Discussion enables individuals to correct their views without feeling humiliated and also tends to bring about social coherence. Discussion can be used in group settings, both in the formal as well as non-formal education. The groupings in the case of formal education are structured within the classroom or the institution. A practical program, though it involves activity is also a structured situation. However, in the case of

1. C.D.Legge, "Discussion Methods" in Teaching Techniques in Adult Education, ed. by Michael D. Stevens & Gordon W.Roderick, David & Charles: Newton Abbott, 1971, p. 77.

non-formal education, the groups can consist of family groups and institutional groups, related to cooperatives and such other institutions, which are in the setting of real life and therefore have an absorbing and an intensive effect on the individual.

Self-help.

Self-help refers to people contributing their mite for the sake of society. It literally means helping themselves. It invests a sense of participation to the people as they have a stake in their own development. It also motivates the people to get involved in the management as their own capital is involved. Here, local contributions could be found from the people in the form of donations of materials, cash or labor, to match a portion of the grant given by the State. Sometimes there may be no grant. As much as the contribution of the people is important, what is of greater value is the interest and commitment that the people develop in the program of work. Management leads them to become responsible.

Self-help consists of two elements, the contribution of the people and the contribution of the State. There are instances where, due to administrative inefficiency, the organization of the self-help program gets clogged with corruption. On the other hand, there are instances where self-help has been successfully used. What is important in this connection is the involvement of the people. Otherwise the program would be entirely imported from outside. Any development program which is not based on self-help and does not contain any element of contribution is likely to bear results only on a short term basis. Once the resources that have been poured in stop, the entire development program comes to a halt.

From this point of view, it is apparent that self-help is a key process that can be used for rural development. It is educational in that it leads the participants to develop a commitment, finally leading to their being involved in management and thereby developing their abilities and responsibility.

Leadership Development.

Leadership development within a community as the people participate in a development program is a non-formal education process. When the people get involved in the management of any program, certain people stand out as leaders. In any group, certain people are early adopters and innovators. Enlisting their support enables the easy spread of innovations and paves the way for accelerated rural development. The entirety of non-formal education, with its group processes is perhaps, an ideal arena where leadership can be nurtured and developed to enable the emergence of able leaders.

Sequences of Decision Making.

Ensuring that decision making is done in a sequential manner is another process that can be used to good purpose in a rural development program. Here, the discussion takes place in stages. The information inputs will be provided to the people in a manner that will offer them ample time to get involved in discussion with fellow dwellers. This process uses the horizontal pattern of interaction and communication. This horizontal communication pattern takes place in any community and by sequencing the decision making, people have more time to think and deliberate in their own circles.

In extension work today, it is quite common for an officer to address the people and force them to arrive at a decision. Instead of forcing such a decision, it would be better to allow the people time to decide. It is true that this process takes more time. But, when the people are given time they can find out details. The first meeting should stimulate the people to seek details and information. This makes informal groups discuss the question at issue, going into the pros and cons of each case and in this process the people become more aware of the options and the potential repercussions of following each course of action. Each discussion is a learning experience. Intense activity on this basis leads to conscientization and enables the community development process to function more intensively.

Non-directive communication.

Non-directive methods of communication are processes that can be effectively used in implementing rural development programs. Here, the fundamental concept is to communicate one's idea in an essentially non-directive manner. The agents do not use any authority or give direction as happens in the case of a normal program. Instead, the agent offers ideas and information and this stimulates the people to think and arrive at their own decisions. This process aids the proper functioning of the community development process. No compulsion or coercion is used. The information provided would include what is available in innovative technology, will explain the benefits of the adoption and may include details of the situation of underdevelopment and what can be achieved and what the achievement means in terms of economic gains. It could also include information from other communities that had successfully adopted the innovation

and the results achieved. These processes are aimed at making the people think about their present situation, deliberate and gradually come to take action on their own.

It is for the worker to get the people to look critically at any idea he is suggesting; both in order to get them to assess the full extent of all its potential advantages for them; and equally on the other hand to identify any disadvantages they think might also be involved. Then if they do foresee any disadvantages, to promote realistic discussion in the light of all of the available facts in order to get the people think out whether and if so just how any such disadvantages can be avoided or reduced.

The worker's purpose is throughout to help people to come to an informed and therefore realistic decision. Thus he does not want them to accept an idea, however well intentioned, unless and until they are sure it has a favorable balance of advantage for them. 1

This process almost totally belongs to non-formal education though it can be used to stimulate students in formal institutions of learning.

Functional Literacy.

Functional Literacy is a non-formal education process which can be considered fairly prerequisite for growth. A literate was defined in terms of a person who can with understanding read and write. But the failure of literacy to bring about development, led to the emergence of the concept of functional literacy, where literacy was completely correlated to development. Here, the literacy, in terms of the acquisition of the art of reading and writing was functional to rural life.

The term functional literacy when it was first used, perhaps 20 years ago, generally meant literacy at a sufficient advanced level, to be used for practical purposes, such as reading newspapers, extension literature, instructions etc.,

1. T.R.Batten, "The Major Issues and Future Direction of Community Development" in Community Development Journal, Vol.9, No. 2, April 1974, p.100.

It now tends to imply not simply a level of literacy that is useful, but literacy that is actually used to acquire useful knowledge and skills. 1

Functional literacy is not only the acquisition of useful knowledge and skills, but "brings to the people the definite ability and skill of participating actively and effectively in their own development".² Herein lies the importance of functional literacy. It not only imparts the skills, as was done earlier in literacy, but also guides the people in the use and application of the newly acquired skills. The latter is a process akin to apprenticeship. In functional literacy programs, the skills are imparted in this process of attending to the tasks themselves. Here, experiential learning comes to the forefront.

Functional literacy programs have been implemented on a pilot basis in many countries. It is observed that in this connection, peasants, though they may not know how to read or write, can understand complicated facts regarding their vocations and can arrive at correct decisions with ease. They can act very responsibly. In fact, Richard O. Niehoff has said in The Report on the Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, that "literacy may be thought of as more of a 'convenience' or 'need' of development workers to get their message across than of the needs of villagers".³

Thus non-formal education processes include functional literacy as a fundamental method which may be used to accelerate rural development.

1. The Evaluation of Functional Literacy Projects, Unesco Workshop, London, August 1969, Unesco., 1969, p.20.

2. Garvin Karunaratne, "Developing a Functional Literacy Program", in Literacy Work, Winter 1976-77, p.46.

3. Richard O. Niehoff, Ed. Report on Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, op. cit., p.19.

Participation.

Participation, active and intense, is a key process to bring about rural development. As has been stated earlier, the true and active participation of the people can develop the latent and innate initiatives of the people and make them responsible. In the words of Thomas Balogh,

the execution of any plan can be effective only with the participation, indeed enthusiasm, not merely of the policy makers in the government executive organs, but also of those broad masses which it effects personally. ¹

The characteristics of participation appear important. It is generally a group phenomenon, when a group is involved, but it could also be participation only by an individual. In the case of rural development programs, it is participation in the group sense that comes into focus. Here, there could be primary groups of individuals or secondary groups of individuals and participation will take place within these groups as the people become involved of their own accord. The more active the participation, the more experience the participants will likely gain in the process.

There can be degrees of participation. It could be pure quantitative participation. At one end we have simple participation, where the people are paternalistically guided in their development. There can be structural participation, where by regulation and the imposition of rules, it is laid down that a percentage of the people have to be present. Compliance does not always mean active participation. Next, we would have the voices of the people being considered

1. Thomas Balogh, The Economics of Poverty, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966, p. 176.

either directly or through feedback. A further stage would be the idea of the people sharing the benefits of development, followed by the stage where the people are invested with the authority to control the management process at elections only. Finally we have local autonomy and decentralized institutions, allowing the people to participate actively, arriving at their own decisions and also having the power to implement them, leading to the development of their initiatives, responsibility and self-reliance. Between these different types, any suitable pattern could be strategically decided on, depending on the political systems in vogue and the extent to which the bureaucracy is willing to cede authority.

It is observed that in many instances, participatory institutions like cooperatives, farmers' associations etc., all involve the participation of the people only in electing the office bearers. This is structural participation that could be ensured by regulation. This passive orientation is unfortunately the manner in which participation has been hitherto conceived of in development programs. Active participation, instead, refers to involving the people in a dynamic and absorbing manner, so that the people not only get fully immersed in the thinking process that ensues, but also get thoroughly involved in the major action process of community development. This is the intense experience that makes them convinced; successive intensive participation contributes greatly to enhanced learning experiences in which other processes like conscientization too play a major role. The culmination is a cumulative effect that brings about a change in attitude.

Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman state,

We did not find a strong association between participation as measured and agricultural productivity, though in some cases such as Israel and Yugoslavia, participation has contributed substantially to their productive gains. We conclude that participation may make a positive contribution to raising productivity and we found no evidence of its impact being negative, but as analysed in this study, it does not appear to be a necessary or a sufficient condition for agricultural improvement. 1

However, it is observed that there seems to be a direct relationship between participation and development, in the lasting and enduring sense in a few programs. This will be elaborated later in the analysis of the use of non-formal education in rural development models, in this study.² In the case of the other programs, the problem appears to be that the type of participation evoked was not participation in the true and enduring sense. In most cases, instead, the participation used was what the U.N. Report Popular Participation in Development calls an 'action technique'.

Participation is considered a voluntary contribution by the people to one or another of the public programs supposed to contribute to national development, but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the program or criticizing its contents. The organization of the agrarian reform settlements and cooperatives, the building of houses and community infrastructure through self-help etc., are seen as separate public initiatives in which popular participation is an action technique rather than a basic objective implying structural changes in the society. 3

Here, participation is not true and active. Instead, participation is evoked to get a task attended to in the most economical

1. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, Cornell University, 1974, p. xvii.

2. Please see chapters 6,7 and 8.

3 U.N., "Popular Participation in Development", in Community Development Journal, Vol. 8, No. 2, April 1973, p. 87.

manner. This is similar to the banking concept of education, where education is viewed as depositing some ideas for a purpose. On the contrary, in true participation, the attempt is to get the participant thoroughly absorbed in the process, to get him to use his powers of critical thought, arrive at decisions and implement them in a cooperative manner, working mutually with others. Participation is a process that enables the community development process to function in an absorbing and intensive manner. Thus it is important that the type of participation in each program is looked into.

The U.N. Document, Popular Participation in Development, says,

Intensive popular mobilization for a cause so general and abstract as development can come about only under crisis conditions and can hardly be very long sustained. For the most part, people interest themselves and participate actively in relation to more concrete goals and symbols.their participation requires a symbolic frame of reference meaningful to them, which may take various forms (the advancement of the nation, of the 'people', of their social class or their community) certain concrete tasks through which they can relate themselves to wider processes as a perception of convincing reasons why present efforts and sacrifices should lead to future gains. Universal active participation may be a worthy ideal to strive towards, but it is an ideal that has not been fully realized by any known society. In relation to many aspects of the development process and for a good deal of time, passive participation in the sense of accomplishment of normal occupational and social roles, reception of certain benefits from public social action and conditional acceptance of the main lines of public policy may be all that is needed. 1

A crisis may bring about the mobilization of the people, but this participation, brought about through crisis conditions is unlikely to bring about permanent or lasting results. It is likely to be a short term phenomenon and once the crisis is over, the participation of the people will cease. What is important to note in this connection is that

1. Ibid., pp. 80,81.

essential ingredients for the creation of a participatory framework have not been followed except in rare instances. Suitable administrative models have not been provided. Most public grassroots level institutions have involved the people only structurally, in electing committees to manage their affairs. The people are no longer involved in the management, as once the committee or council is elected, all the affairs have been managed by the elected few. This is far from active participation and it is likely that herein lies the problem of development today. Even though the institutions have been successfully worked and have proved viable, generally they have not involved the people and this perhaps explains why people's attitudes have had little occasion to change, why there are yet subsistence farmers on the brink of starvation and why development is yet a hazy mirage on the far horizon. In the words of Garland P. Wood, "farmers respond positively to a project, to the extent of their involvement in its formulation and implementation".¹ In the words of Edgar Faure,

Any system according educational services to a passive population and any reform which fails to arouse active personal participation among the mass of learners can achieve at best only marginal results. 2

The concept of participation has not been understood by many authorities. Participation is not only involvement, but active and intense involvement. In development, participation is of great importance. In the words of Douglas Enseminger,

1. Garland P. Wood, Studying Agricultural Institutions: A Modular Approach, Michigan State University, 1974, p.35.

2. Edgar Faure, Learning to Be, op. cit., p.222.

One, if not the most profound of the lessons to be learned from the past 25 years of rural/community development experience is that the people expected to benefit from development, must themselves be involved in development. No amount of money spent on rural development, nor all the might of government can do for people, what people can do for themselves. 1

Active participation, especially in the context of the Third World countries is related to consensus. In the implementation of rural development programs of any type in a village, it would be observed that all the people have to cooperate, because in almost every field of development, mutual action is necessary. In irrigation, every farmer who has land in the tract, will benefit by the supply of water. The water does not flow directly from the channel to each field. The channel takes water to the tract and thereafter the water is fed from field to field. Thus every farmer has to cooperate. In agricultural production, farmers have to cultivate together and cultivation depends on the rain; cattle have to be kept tethered during the period of cultivation; in case of an irrigation scheme, all the farmers must decide on a common date for water issues, for fencing and clearing of channels etc., as natural forces necessitate that all farmers have to act at the same time.

Consensus is essential even for a developed urban or industrial context. But here, consensus is couched in the form of obedience to rules and regulations, with all transgressors being prosecuted by the police. In the context of the rural village, where it is not possible to have rules and regulations enforced regarding every detailed item, a system of consensus had been developed in

1. Douglas Enseminger, Rural Development, What is it; its contribution to Nation Building, Paper delivered at the East West Center, Conference on Integrated Communication for Rural Development, December 1974, p.19.

ancient times, which yet persists in certain areas. It means that whenever a decision is reached, it has to be made by consensus. This implies that the dissenters have to agree. It is not a question of their subjugation, but their being convinced of the rationality of the decision. In a certain sense, this appears highly democratic, as in the case of dissent, the discussions continue till everyone agree on a particular course of action. In the case of the narrow definition of democracy, what happens is that a vote of hands is taken and a decision is reached by the majority. The dissenters then do not cooperate in the program. Thus consensus leads to unity and amity. Akhter Hamid Khan's comment when asked whether in Comilla, he followed the one man-one vote Scandinavian principle, is revealing:

Yes, according to the law. But what really happens in these village groups is that there is never any voting. How the farmers arrive at a decision is a complicated process. They don't do it by voting and I think some sociologist will have to examine how they arrive at their decisions at the consensus. 1

Consensus is a further step in participation. It is the alternative to a one man-one vote type of decision making which leads to enmity and friction. In a study of rural development in Andhra, G. Ram Reddy says,

It is generally believed that electoral contests disturb the village harmony and creates tensions in the small communities. In some villages there was a genuine desire to avoid a contest for fear of group conflicts. 2

Consensus is an advanced form of decision making which is essential for participation in development programs.

1. Akhter Hamid Khan, "Rural Development Program at Comilla", in Rural Development in East Pakistan, Speeches by Akhter Hamid Khan, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1964, p. 54.

2. G. Ram Reddy, Panchayati Raj and Rural Development in Andhra Pradesh, Cornell University, 1974, p. 150.

Thus participation is a non-formal education process of inestimable value for the cause of rural development.

4. STRATEGIES.

A strategy is a blue print of methods to be utilized in the planning and implementation of a policy. Once the policy is decided and the goals to be achieved are known, then a strategy has to be decided upon, based on which a plan of action can be drawn up. Thus, the role that strategies can play in the planning or the implementation of a program is crucial. It can make or mar the program.

There could be administrative strategies. Administration is the organization that enforces law and order in the country and also attends to the development of the economy in the area of its command. The administrative strategies depend on the aim and the policy followed by the government. In the case of a colonial government or a colonial type of government, the main idea would be to maintain law and order and the strategies adopted would be suitable for such a context. In this case, the administration tends to be top-down, a coercive type and maintaining vertical communication on a directive basis would be a key strategy that is deployed. This strategy may bring about efficiency and enables quick action. Here, what is necessary to get any job of work done is effective communication and strength in implementation. A key strategy in this case would be to use directive powers to get things done.

On the other hand, in the case of a democratic country, which wants to develop the resources of the nation, the strategies that have to be deployed would be different and diametrically opposed to the

strategies detailed earlier. Here, an essential criteria for the selection of strategies would be the ability of such strategies to bring about the development of the resources of the country, including the people who have to be transformed to be an asset. In this connection, there are various administrative strategies that can be used. It depends on the role to be played by the people. Questions such as 'is the development to be brought about with the participation of the people?' come to the forefront. Is it a pure question of deploying a massive bureaucracy to inform the people of what has to be done and to tell the people to act in a particular way, offering rewards to coax them. It follows that people who disagree and disobey would have to be dealt with in courts of law. Another strategy would be to allow the people to participate. Here, it will be observed, that people being socially oriented human beings need some institutions at village level to enable group processes to function, and to enable the people to work together on tasks of development. For this, a strategy would be to relax vertical communication within different organizations and to emphasize horizontal communication.

Yet another strategy would be to make people partners in development. Here, it will be necessary, not only to overtly involve the people, but also to develop the initiatives and the responsibility in the people. The village level institutions should enable the people to gain experiential education in management, which would lead to the development of their dormant abilities. For this, the people have to make their own decisions and requires that administrative structures be decentralized. People will then be in a position to be invested with decision making power.

It is in the latter context that the non-formal education processes that have been identified in this study come into focus. In order to achieve goals of rural development, especially in the context where the goals of rural development include the well being of the people and their advancement, it would be necessary for the strategy to detail the type of non-formal education processes that have to be used in planning and implementing the program of work. If the abilities of the people are to be developed, leading to the acquisition of responsibility, then the strategy will have to include significant non-formal education processes such as discussion, conscientization, participation and community development, all of which have to be deployed in learning situations as the people function in the development process, on an informal basis. In this case too, the non-formal education processes should be used carefully, more intensive processes like conscientization being introduced later, when necessary. The overall strategy could include all these details.

Here, people are looked upon as a human resource. Their transformation from being a burdensome mass of apathetic subsistence farmers to be an asset, an activated mass of farmers, depends on the deployment of non-formal education processes. This in turn, is dependent upon the use of suitable administrative strategies.

These details have been quoted in order to explain the importance of the strategy that is deployed in a development program. It is important to note that in the implementation of a rural development program, a great deal of thought has to be devoted to the selection of particular administrative strategies in order to enable the successful use of non-formal education processes.

CHAPTER V

RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS.

Administrative models of different types have been utilized to plan and implement rural development programs by various governments. The situation and circumstances of each country differ, not to mention the wide disparity in administrative structures they have inherited. A recent study by the World Bank lists the following organizational prerequisites for a successful rural development program:

1. A national plan or program of action for rural development, together with supporting national and regional policies and adequate center-local financing arrangements.
2. A strong organization at the national level to coordinate vertically organized central government sectoral departments.
3. Greater decentralization with effective machinery at the regional and local level to coordinate the sectoral activities of national departments operating in the region and regional and local departments.
4. Participation by the rural poor in the planning and implementation processes through local government, project advisory committees, cooperatives and other forms of group organizations. 1

The administrative characteristics of a rural development model influence, can enable or preclude the utilization of non-formal education.

When one considers the viability of the administrative structures, the degree of integration or coordination present, the extent of horizontal or vertical communication, the decentralization that has been carried out and the degree to which institutions have been developed within the administrative systems used to plan and

1. I.B.R.D., Rural Development, Sector Policy Paper, The World Bank, 1975, pp. 33,34.

and implement rural development programs, it is possible to classify rural development administrative systems into three models, the integrated, the semi-integrated and the unintegrated.

A number of countries and programs that fall into each rural development model have been selected for special study, especially regarding the extent to which non-formal education processes have been used. Reasons have been quoted for their categorization and the success achieved has been documented, leading to assess the effectiveness of the non-formal education component. Leading from the above facts, the essential strengths and weaknesses of each rural development model has been deduced as they relate to the maximum utilization of non-formal education processes.

Criteria for Classification.

The following criteria have been used to categorize the rural development models:

1. developed administrative structures,
2. extent of integration,
3. extent to which institutions have been developed,
4. degree of horizontal communication,
5. degree of decentralization.

Each criteria will be briefly dealt with.

1. Developed Administrative Structures.

In any program of rural development, the administrative structure should be fully developed to give a full place for the people to freely participate, actively and intensely, so as to enable the total development of the resources of the country. In the case of

the Third World, what happened was that either the countries belonged to despotic monarchs that believed in paternalistic rule or they belonged to colonial empires. In the case of the former, the monarchs had developed an administrative system which was meant to keep the people contented; it was developed at the center and at the provincial level and allowed self government for the rural areas. The typical colonial administration had imposed an alien administrative structure, designed to suppress the people and maintain law and order. Arthur Livingstone says that the colonial administrative systems have to be altered.

For most developing countries, the attainment of independence from colonial rule and the subsequent establishment of formal development plans, have made imperative a fresh look at their public administrative systems. Administrative structures that served the purpose of imperial hegemonies must be reappraised in the light of national independence. Administrative tasks for the fulfilment of national plans will often be different and certainly more specialized than hitherto. 1

When administrative structures are developed, the integration of different functions within an administration is possible. It is then that the development of viable institutions can take place, that would be conducive for the functioning of group processes, as would in turn enable the effective use of non-formal education processes when the people participate in the development process. In the words of the U.N. Group of Experts on Community Development,

Some of the newly independent countries have found it necessary to reorient entire administrations, to engender more sympathetic and creative attitudes towards the capacity of the people to contribute. Former preoccupation with law and order was expanded to the development of national and local institutions;

1. Arthur Livingstone, Social Policy in Developing Countries, Routledge, 1969, p.91.

through its emphasis on education and organization, community development can both mobilize and channel newly awakened and dynamic attitudes and values necessary for development at all levels. 1

The administrative structure of a country is of great importance in the planning and implementation of a rural development program. If the administrative structure has not been fully altered and has merely been expanded by the addition of departments and ministries, there may be duplication of functions, leading to a wastage of effort and the rural development stimulating system will be splintered, having a number of competing institutions and officers at the village level, vying for power and prestige, thereby precluding the full participation of the people. Thus the effect that non-formal education processes will have in bringing about rural development is likely to directly depend on the type of administrative structure through which it has to work.

2. Integration.

Integration in the administrative structure tends to enable the effective use of non-formal education processes for rural development. Integration, here refers to the degree of fusion of rural development stimulation systems. The agencies working at the base, the village level in the case of a rural area would be welded together in the integrated structure. On the other hand there is the non-integrated administrative structure, where the different functions are handled by different agencies and institutions, without any coordination. Akhter Hamid Khan comments on the problems of coordination in East Pakistan, which is typical of the situation in many developing countries.

1. Report of the Ad-hoc Group of Experts on Community Development, U.N., 1963, p. 17.

The first big defect was that there was an utter lack of coordination among the Departments. There were Thana (divisional) officers of agriculture, plant protection, animal husbandry, fisheries and so on, but they never sat at the same place. They did not meet even once a year. There was no coordination at all. The Thana agricultural officer would be talking with the sub-divisional officer or the district officer or the deputy director and so would the plant protection officer. There was no coordination at the Thana level. Each of these departments was trying very hard to get its own village level worker. That seemed to be to them, the most important thing. For example, the plant protection people said, 'If you want us to be effective, give us village level workers in every village'. And the fisheries people were saying, 'If you want the farmers to breed fish and feed them in a proper manner, give us village level workers'. But they never discussed their problems among themselves. 1

This would be the situation in the case of the unintegrated administrative structure. That integration is necessary for the success of a rural development program is evident in the words of the Working Group of Experts of the ECAFE,

Generally in most countries the responsibility for the performance of the normal and development functions of government was entrusted to a number of Ministries and Departments. A major organizational problem which arose from that condition was the lack of coordination in program areas where two or more agencies were involved, or where certain common functions had to be performed. The need for coordination was emphasized to prevent duplication of effort and wastage of resources and to maximize results. 2

The lack of integration in a program of rural development tends to confuse the people as all the agencies handling different aspects have the same clientele. Peter du Sautoy illustrates this.

1. Akhter Hamid Khan, "The Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, East Pakistan", in Rural Development in East Pakistan, Speeches of Akhter Hamid Khan, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1964, p. 39.

2. ECAFE, "Asian Administrative Problems by a Working Group of Experts of ECAFE", in Philippine Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 10, 1966, p. 55.

A community does not divide its way of life into neat bureaucratic compartments to deal with each specialized organization which is trying to help it. It tends to be confused by the uncoordinated descent upon it of a multiplicity of different specialists, however benevolent their intentions. 1

In both quotations the word coordination has been used. Coordination refers to bringing together the different administrative organs, so that the implementation can be organized systematically, where the role that each agency will play could be laid down. This can generally be brought about by having committees consisting of the officers of the different organizations, but in many cases it has been found difficult to get these officers to function together. As illustrated above, the fact that an administrative structure has a number of different agencies to work with the same clientele, leads only to a waste of effort and the clients cannot understand as to why they should be attending separate meetings for each aspect. This can also lead to fragmentation of the unity in the village setting.

Rene Dumont says of the situation in Africa,

The Departments themselves-- Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry and Agricultural Engineering, will have to coordinate action on the local level, in order to stop pulling the peasant in different directions. The most natural way to coordinate functions is to fuse all these technical departments into one organization of rural development. 2

Fusing of functions is integration.

In this connection it is important to note that the tendency in present day administrative development is to increase the number of ministries and departments. This type of expansion at the center

1. Peter du Sautoy, Organization of a Community Development Program, Oxford University Press, 1962, p.3.

2. Rene Dumont, False Start in Africa, Praeger, 1966, p.204.

may be suitable for countries that have very little public work to attend to, like in the western capitalist countries, where the role of the government is to foster various private and voluntary organizations to attend to the development of the country. On the other hand in the Third World, the governments have to attend to a host of functions as the entire range of development depends on government activity. In this context, the more ministries there are, the greater the tendency for there to be vertical branches right down to the village level and for these organizations to compete for power. Coordination is insufficient as it leaves room for the different organizations to yet move separate. Linkages are insufficient. "Linkages are clusters of channels which connect one major component with another major component".¹ Coordination or linkages in themselves do not enable coordinated action as the different agencies yet control their units at the lower levels and their cooperation depends upon their disposition. What is necessary appears to be integration, where the different functions of administration have been forged together.

Thus the extent to which integration is present in an administrative structure is an important criterion that has an impact on the effects that non-formal education processes can have in bringing about rural development.

1. George H. Axinn, New Strategies for Rural Development, Rural Life Associates, 1978, p. 170.

3. Institutions.

An administration with a single village level institution tends to enable the effective utilization of non-formal education processes for rural development. Conversely, this implies that the simultaneous existence of a number of village level institutions tends to splinter the rural development stimulation effort and thereby precludes the intensive use of non-formal education processes in rural development.

The role that institutions can play in developing the capacity of the people has been stressed by Edgar Faure,

The future of education lies in devising educational institutions which combine industrial or technological efficiency, centered on the acquisition of knowledge with the vitality of creative groups whose action will enable human relations to evolve.¹

Institutions enable a viable forum for educational processes to take place. These institutions include cooperatives, agricultural associations, development societies and such organizations belonging to the people. In fact the development of institutions is so crucial a matter that in the Third World, governments have had to take a positive hand in establishing suitable institutions. Akhter Hamid Khan regards institution building as essential for rural development.

Rural development primarily consists in building strong institutions and securing responsibility and resources for these for these institutions. The nature of these institutions can be administrative, educational or economic. They have to be right at the village level; the village has to be bound together in institutions. There has to be a system of tiers, one above the other and one supporting the other, each encouraging and stimulating the other. ²

1. Edgar Faure, Learning to Be, op. cit., p. 144.

2. Akhter Hamid Khan, "The Comilla Approach and some problems encountered", in Community and Agricultural Development in Pakistan-Speeches of Akhter Hamid Khan, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1969, p. 24.



Grassroots level institutions with responsibility enable the people to function in management capacities. This leads to the development of their initiatives. Herein lie the important role that institutions play in non-formal education processes. These processes function in a group setting and rural institutions afford an admirable arena, where the people can discuss, debate and arrive at decisions. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman refer to local organizations as a precondition for rural development.¹

Thus village level institutions play a fundamental role in educating the people in responsibility. The ability of the administrative structure to develop viable institutions is an important criterion for the classification of rural development administrations.

4. Horizontal Communication.

Horizontal communication refers to the communication that is present between the different sectors of development in a local setting. An administrative structure which has intensive horizontal communication at the village level, tends to enable the effective use of non-formal education for rural development. Conversely this implies that the lack of horizontal communication and the alternative persistence of vertical communication in an administrative structure does not tend to enable the effective use of non-formal education processes for rural development.

Unless there is horizontal communication, it tends to happen that there will be no effective linkages between different sectors. When institutions belong to different ministries or departments, it

1. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p. xi.

has been generally found that there is a marked degree of vertical communication. The local institutions and the local officers are controlled by their hierarchical organizations to such an extent that they are unable to have any links with the rest. Due to the inter-connection that exists between all aspects of life in a village setting, people tend to function actively in a situation where all aspects of development are handled together on a mutual basis. When there is marked vertical communication, it follows that even if there is an institution, the people have to function only in that activity. Life to a villager is an integral whole and it is possible for people to involve themselves fully and intensively in group education, only when they can actively participate in a number of important areas that impinge on their real life. Thus significant non-formal education processes like discussion, conscientization, community development tend to take place intensely when there is a high level of horizontal communication within a community and in the administrative structure.

5. Decentralization.

Decentralization refers to deconcentration, i.e., the delegation of responsibility to lower levels as well as to devolution, which refers to allowing the people institutions and sufficient power to exercise responsibility in decision making.

It has been generally found that the more decentralized the administrative structure, the more effective is the use of non-formal education for rural development. The degree of decentralization within an administrative structure is one of the criteria used for the classification of rural development models.

Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw state,

The State can be conserved only if the people believe they belong to it, that because of their own personal interest, they have a stake in their survival. If the State is to create a sense of belonging among the great mass of people, then it must decentralize the decision making process, not just in politics, but in an array of human endeavour. 1

Unfortunately Third World governments have been mostly viewing decentralization as a loss of power and control. Instead, decentralizing can lead to make the people partners in development, where the development programs will be worked by the people, with an inflow of resources from the community to supplement what the government can make available. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman state,

Another aspect of institutionalization is its effectiveness. While farmers do not expect miracles from local organizations, they will not continue to participate unless they see that the organizations command enough resources to make a difference in their lives. 2

Decentralization has therefore to bestow on the people sufficient power within development programs, so that the people can get involved in making decisions which can make a difference in their lives. It is necessary that power has to be extracted from officials and given to institutions, where the people will exercise that power and become responsible in the process.

Thus decentralization is an important criterion that has been used to classify rural development administration models.

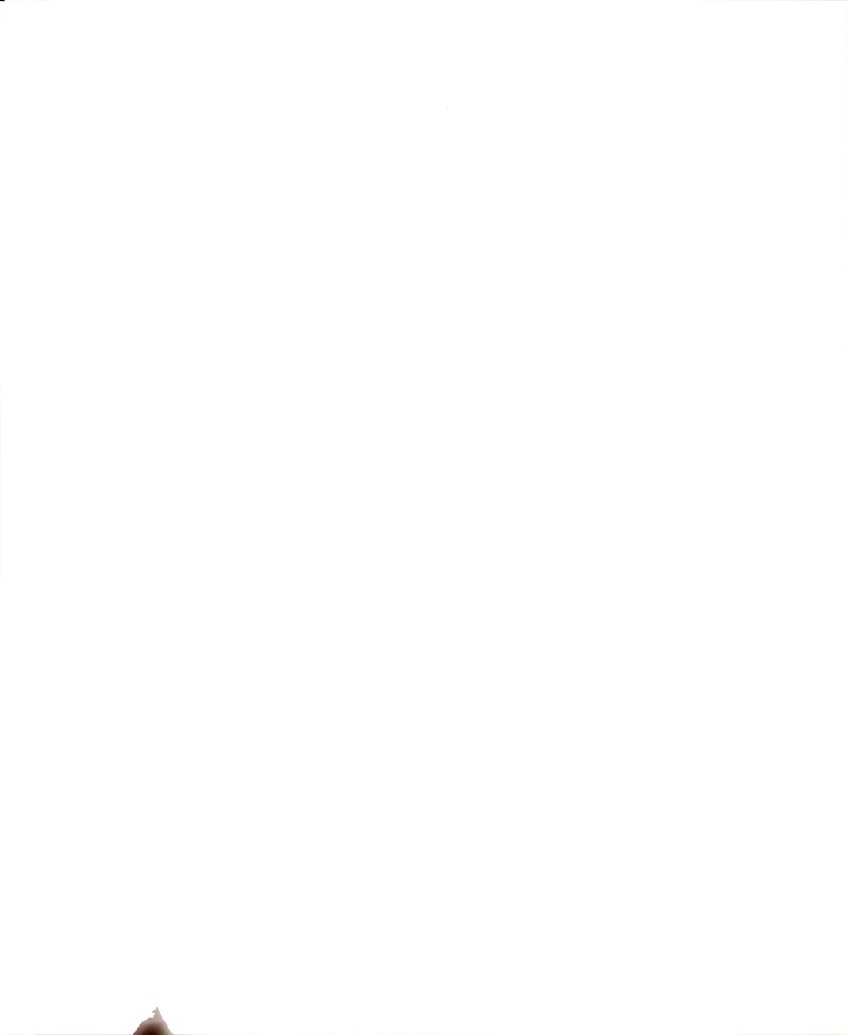
1. Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw, Development Reconsidered, op. cit., p.18.

2. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p. 98.

Based on the above criteria, rural development administrative structures used in countries and projects can be classified into three groups- integrated, semi-integrated and unintegrated. These administrative models with their unique characteristics can be summarized in the following modular presentation:

Characteristics of Administrative Models.

<u>Principles & Characteristics</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	<u>Semi-integrated</u>	<u>Unintegrated</u>
Village level institution.	A single village level institution.	Few village level institutions.	Many village level institutions.
Village level Agents for extension.	One agent for extension.	Few agents for extension.	Many agents for extension.
Integration.	Integration of functions.	Coordination of functions.	Coordination of functions attempted; never successful.
Horizontal & Vertical	High degree of horizontal communication.	Horizontal & vertical communication equalises.	High degree of vertical communication.
Decentralization.	High degree of decentralization.	Incomplete decentralization.	High degree of centralization.



CHAPTER VI

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS.

The integrated rural development model, with its unique characteristics, such as the implementation of programs by a single village level institution, very low level of duplication of functions among agencies, a high degree of decentralization, integration of functions and a marked extent of horizontal communication, can be seen in China, the Kibbutz and Moshav in Israel and the Ujamaa settlements in Tanzania.

CHINA.

China till 1958, followed the semi-integrated model of rural development. Instead of totally integrating all functions in rural administration, China tried out cooperatives as a strategy for rural development. By 1957, the vast majority of China's rural population were organized into 650,000 cooperatives. In order to accelerate the process of development, China turned to establishing communes, an institution that incorporated all functions of development. Six to seven cooperatives were merged to form a commune, each having 30,000 persons on the average. E. Stuart Kirby quotes Liu Shao Chi,

'Everyone knows that People's Communes are no longer merely organizers of production among the people. The communes have mobilized to the utmost the crude socially necessary mass labor power of 650 million people on an enlarged scale and in a highly disciplined form, which gives extreme mobility for shifting it from one task to another at will from farm work to road making or railway works, or river works or industry or anything else.' It is at the same time an extensive scheme of military mobilization as has been abundantly stressed in the internal propaganda on the lines that 'every commune member is indeed

a people's militia man'. It puts civilian life into barracks, transforming what was left of the old family and clan basis of society into a pattern of communal living which approaches to a Chinese version of the Orwellian 1984. 1

There is complete integration of all functions in the commune. The Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on August 29, 1958 makes this amply clear.

The establishment of people's Communes with all round management of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery, where industry(the worker), agriculture (the peasants), exchange(the trader), culture and education (the student) and military affairs(militiamen), merge into one is the fundamental policy to guide the peasants to accelerate socialist construction, complete the building of socialism ahead of time and carry out the gradual transition to communism.²

The mergence of agriculture and industry is very important. It is well known that agriculture requires labor at particular times when agricultural work is at a peak. At other times there is under-employment. The integration of functions, like livestock, industry and rural works enable ample recognition to be given to surplus labor, which can be transformed to be an asset. David F. Roth says,

Structural change was accompanied by functional change. The development of rural industries to enable Communes to become self supporting was also commenced. This policy envisioned the maximization of several values, efficient labor utilization, industrialization and the emergence of a communist society. Thus off season labor could be used for infrastructure development, dams, irrigation systems and rural industrialization. 3

1. E. Stuart Kirby, "The Enigma of the Chinese Communes" in Contemporary China, 1958- 59, Hongkong University Press, 1960, p. 157.

2. Chao Kuo Chun, "The Organization and the Function of the People's Communes" in Contemporary China, 1960, Hongkong University Press, p. 133.

3. David F. Roth, "Towards a Multi-Dimensional Approach to Rural Policy Optimization: The Case of Rural Change Strategies in Asia" in The Philippine Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 15, 1971, p. 192.



Here, the unutilized manpower had been transformed to be an asset. This was possible because the commune handled all aspects of development. The high degree of integration enabled the Chinese to take a total view of development, and this is made clear by Benedict Stavis,

The Chinese leadership never believed that agriculture would be transformed simply by doing scientific research and making new seeds and fertilizer available. ... a comprehensive program was undertaken touching on many sectors of society. Political and administrative restructuring were needed, industry had to be reoriented, scientific resources had to be mobilized, extension services had to be provided, commercial networks and banking practices had to be changed, education had to be redirected and local leadership had to be provided. 1

All these different functions could be attended to due to integration within the commune. The entire administration had been altered to bring this about. Each commune covering 30,000 persons was too large and was divided into 5 to 15 brigades and each brigade was divided into a number of teams. There was no division into separate functions. The commune assumed full responsibility for all the functions.

In the Chinese model of rural development, it is also important to note that integration was so complete that it included the Communist Party cadres and the liberation army. Agriculture, industry and the working of all functions came under the supervision of the Communist Party. M.Rejai says,

... the governmental and military bureaucracies come under minute Party Control. The Party is in itself, an elitist and pyramidal organization dictating policy in every office, factory, school, farm and trade union throughout the country. 2

1. Benedict Stavis, Making Green Revolution- The Politics of Agricultural Development in China, Cornell University, 1974, p. vi.

2. M.Rejai, Re Mao Tse-tung on Revolution and War, Doubleday & Co., Anchor Books ed., 1971, p. 20.

Revolutionary Committees were formed in every organization and these were held responsible for the work. The people, the Communist Party members and the liberation army were effectively brought together.

Alexander Eckstein says,

... the commune assumed a multiplicity of functions. It became the unit of local government, the local militia unit and the local political party unit. At the same time it took charge of all local economic planning functions.

The highest governing organ of a commune was supposed to be a congress of all its members. This congress was composed of representatives of production teams and brigades as well as delegates of various functional and social groups, such as youth and women. The congress elected an administrative committee that included the director and deputy director of the commune. However, in practice, these directors and their deputies were selected by higher level organs with the congress in effect, ratifying this choice. This administrative committee can be regarded as the top management organ of the commune. Since the Cultural Revolution, this function has been performed by the Revolutionary Committees of the communes, with a chairman or one or more vice-chairmen performing the key management roles. Under the Revolutionary Committee there are a number of departments taking charge of different aspects of commune activities. 1

The communes were elected by the people. All the functions at the commune level were handled by the commune members. Functions on an area basis were handed over to the brigade level and finally to the team level. Each level handled all aspects. The brigade operated a militia company, primary schools, medical stations, industries and agriculture among other functions. The members made their own decisions at the commune, the brigade and the team levels. Thus there was decentralization through the people's institutions.

As all the functions were handled in an integrated manner at the commune, the brigade and the team levels, there was horizontal coordination. The communes were developed administrative units that

1. Alexander Eckstein, China's Economic Revolution, Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 80,81.



handled all aspects of development.

Thus, on the whole the evidence indicates that in all fields, integration, institutional development, decentralization and horizontal communication, the administrative structure of the commune that was adopted in China was developed.

The Achievement.

The development of Communist China took place in two stages, upto 1957 and after 1958. Till 1957 the Chinese tried out cooperatives. In 1958, the communes were established with its integrated administrative organization and collectivization policies. During the period when the Chinese attempted development through cooperatives, they established 650,000 cooperatives. In the words of Mao Tse tung,

More than 80% of the existing 650,000 agricultural producers' cooperatives have increased their output. ... Since more than 80% of all the cooperatives have increased their output (by anything from 10 to 30%) since over 10% have shown neither an increase nor a decrease in their first year, but may show an increase in their second year after having had a check up, and since the less than 10% registering a fall in output may also show an increase in their second year or at least the position where output is neither increasing nor decreasing after the check up, it can be said that on the whole our progress in cooperation is healthy and that generally we can ensure increased production and avoid falling yields. 1

During this period, i.e., 1951 to 1957, grain production is estimated to have grown at about 3.7% per annum.²

In order to accelerate development on socialist lines, the Chinese adopted communes. The results are remarkable. By the end of the sixties, the Chinese achieved self sufficiency in food grains such as rice. In wheat, however, they have a shortfall. They import

1. Mao Tse tung on the Question of Agricultural Cooperation, Foreign Language Press, Pekin, 1966, pp. 23,24.

2. Benedict Stavis, "Agricultural Research and Extension Services in China", in World Development, Vol. 6, p. 633.

wheat but export rice. Norman Macrae says, " the best estimates now put China's rice production at an erratic average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons per hectare- twice what it was before 1949. This compares with around 1.7 tons per hectare in the Philippines and 6 tons in Japan".¹

In the case of all cereals, the yield had increased from 1857 kg/ha in 1969/71 to 2061 kg/ha in 1977.² The yield of 2061 kg/ha is a substantial increase when compared to the yield in countries like India (1286 kg/ha) and the Philippines (1436 kg/ha).³

In the case of rice in 1948/52 the yield of rice was only 2170 kg/ha.⁴ By 1961 the yield of rice was 3223 kg/ha and this increased to 3546 kg/ha in 1977.⁵ This is a remarkable achievement compared to countries like India, the Philippines and Sri Lanka where the yields in 1977 were 1837 kg/ha, 1959 kg/ha and 2269 kg/ha respectively.⁶

The increase in the total production was significant. In 1969/71, the total cereal production per year was 208.3 million tons. By 1977, it was at 242.4 million tons.⁷ This amounts to an increase of 16-17% in 7 years. During this period the population increased from 787 millions in 1971,⁸ to 835 millions in 1976- an increase of about 8 %.⁹ Thus the growth in food production during this period was

1. Norman Macrae, "Two Billion People" in The Economist, 7-5-77, p. 16.

2. 1977 FAO Production Year Book, FAO, 1978, p.92.

3. Ibid., p. 92.

4. FAO Production Year Book 1958, FAO, 1958, p. 48.

5. 1977 FAO Production Year Book, op. cit., p. 96.

6. Ibid., pp. 96,97.

7. Ibid., p. 92.

8. U.N. Statistical Year Book 1972, Table 19.

9. 1978 World Bank Atlas, The World Bank, 1978, p. 8.

larger than the growth of the population. The compound annual growth rate in grain production has been 7.5% for 1949-52, 2.3% for 1952-57, 0.3% for 1957-63, 6% for 1963-67 and 1.4% for 1967-73.¹ Thus the evidence is to the effect that the increase in food production is significant.

In the field of irrigation, the achievement is remarkable. In 1949 only 16.3% of the acreage was irrigated.² In 1971, as much as 31% of the total cultivated area was irrigated.³ In this connection, it is important to note that in the meantime the acreage under cultivation had also increased. Thus the increase in the irrigated area is remarkable.

Benedict Stavis says that by 1960/69, 10% of the cultivated area had modernized agriculture in terms of mechanical irrigation, new seed technology, chemical fertilizer and use of tractors.⁴

The use of fertilizer is also significant, 38 kilograms of nutrients being used per hectare of cultivated land in 1972.⁵

The Chinese have also developed small and medium scale industry. They are self sufficient in all consumer and machinery goods.

Rural incomes have doubled from ¥ 70 to ¥ 150 per capita from the early 1950s to the late 1960s.⁶ There is equality built into

1. Benedict Stavis, Making Green Revolution- The Politics of Agricultural Development in China, op. cit., p. 12.

2. Leslie T.C.Kuo, "Mainland China Technical Transformation" in Agrarian Policies and Problems in Communist and Non-Communist Countries, ed. by W.A.Douglas Jackson, University of Washington Press, Seattle, p. 66.

3. Norman T. Uphoff et. al., Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p. 9.

4. B. Stavis, Making Green Revolution- The Politics of Agricultural Development in China, op. cit., p.1.

5. Ibid., p. 42.

6. Ibid., p. 54.

the system, through the collective nature of the communes and the fact that the State takes care of all welfare aspects.

Jan S. Prybyla indicates the achievement in Chinese rural development:

It is plausible to assume that in the past 10 years, the agricultural output in China has grown at an average annual rate of over 2%, probably nearer 3%. This has been achieved through increases in crop yields and the more widespread adoption of the practice of double cropping or triple cropping. Both have been made possible by large supplies of chemical fertilizer and electric power. .. A large volume of production capital and irrigation drainage ditches, canals, ponds, reservoirs, embankments, retaining walls and so on have been accumulated in the last decade, lessening agriculture's vulnerability to changes in weather. In recent years (1972 excepted), output of grain, mainly rice and wheat has been in excess of 250 million tons a year and stocks appear ample. ... The overall impression is one of solid achievement. 1

China's g.n.p. per capita is \$ 370 and the reported real growth rate for the period 1960-76 was 5.2%, with 4.3% for the period 1970-76.²

The literacy rate is at 57%, with life expectancy at 53.4 years.³

In terms of unemployment too, China's record is remarkable. Except for the years 1960 and 1963, when a crisis was faced, China did not face open unemployment. Uphoff and Esman have stated that in the case of China, "economic organization creates universal employment".⁴

It is also important to note that China implemented a food rationing scheme that ensured a minimum supply of food to all.

1. Jan S. Prybyla, "The Chinese Economic Model" in Current History, Sept. 1975, p. 81.

2. World Bank Atlas 1978, op. cit., p. 6

3. Norman T. Uphoff et al., Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p. 43.

4. Ibid., p. 54.

Land Reform was a success. This happened with the revolution where there was mass expropriation of property and the land was distributed among the people. This land finally came into the ownership of the communes.

This evidence indicates that China's success was significant. Its success cannot be attributed to any one cause. The integrated nature of the functions in administration could be said to have helped. This integration enabled the surplus labor to be used for the construction of rural infrastructure works and even for industries, all of which was handled by the commune. The commune even took care of the welfare services. This helped the adoption of innovations, as if there was a risk of crop failure, the commune in its social functions ensured that the basic necessities of the member were taken care of. Thus it could be said that the integrated nature of the administration of the commune and the developed nature of the administrative structure was highly contributive to the success in rural development.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

Education has been repeatedly emphasized in the Chinese rural development program.

The dominant feature throughout these decades of the Chinese Revolution has been Mao Tse tung's emphasis on the importance of ideological work, of political education, incessant, practical and thorough. The necessity of constantly shifting and assessing the political maturity of the cadres and of imparting Marxist knowledge to the masses of the people, elevating their level of understanding and making them participate, in other words, of constant repeated, incessant education which cannot be imposed by arbitrary dictates, but must in large parts be self education, self practice, by people made aware-self reliant. This can only be realized by incessant debate and study at all levels and by putting into practice what is debated. 1

1. Han Suyin, Asia Today, Two Outlooks, McGill Queen's University Press, 1969, p. 49.

In addition to numerous short training courses held for the youth and adults on the organized and instructional basis of non-formal education, a complete educational process, directed towards the utilization of local governance for rural development, mobilizing the total participation of the people in ways that would develop their initiatives and responsibility was adopted. This is akin to the community development process, with a great deal of emphasis being placed on ideological education processes that comprise conscientization and participation.

To gain knowledge, people must be awakened from their half slumber, encouraged to mobilize themselves and to take conscious action to elevate and liberate themselves. When they actively participate in decision making, when they take on interest in State affairs, when they dare to do new things, when they become good at presenting facts and reasoning out things, then 'the socialist initiative latent in the masses (will) burst out with volcanic force and a rapid change will take place in production'.¹

In the planning and implementation of programs the people made their own decisions. There was a great deal of horizontal communication among the people and between the team leaders and the people.

Every once in a while the masses do not want to do something that the leaders(team leaders and other leaders above) think should be done. In that situation, we leaders wait, delay and try to convince the masses. For example, the brigade leadership thinks we have to expand the capacity of water wells so that we have enough water to irrigate more land. At first the masses opposed this project, so we delay it. The masses thought it would be better to increase water storage capacity so that we could more efficiently use the existing water supplies. So we did that. We enlarged the storage area. We could increase irrigation somewhat, but not enough. The masses were convinced with these facts and now the great majority of commune members think that an additional well is necessary. We will sink it this fall.

All decisions are adopted through this process; first, active leadership, then patient waiting. There is broad democracy and reasonable centralism. 2

1. Quoted by John W. Gurley in "Capitalist Maoist Economic Development", in Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, April/July 1970, Vol.2, No.3, p.40. Quoted from the Peking Review, 2-24-67, p.22.

2. B.Stavis, Making Green Revolution-The Politics of Agricultural Development in China, op. cit., p. 137.



It is evident that the decision making was sequential, to give time for the people to think. The Chinese strategy was based on critical thinking and developing the thinking power of the masses through participatory processes under the guidance of peers and village leaders. Han Suyin says,

Not physical liquidation; not order imposed from above; not commands from official party members whose position of command would be the seed of moral destruction and political transformation into an authoritarian bureaucracy, but the mass line, self education, self reliance, thinking things out based on correct principles and their testing by action; mass movements on an ideological front, the ample use of criticism, self-criticism, and remoulding by dedicated party members, but not of physical extermination; a clear and solid knowledge of what is the aim, the goal, the methods, what socialism is all about; and the widest propagation of these lessons, with the greatest initiative left to the masses to each individual, to remould his thinking, to integrate himself, to do the work of abolishing his own selfishness and errors and to re-educate himself in the practice of revolution by his actions. 1

Non-formal education has evidently been used to the maximum. The emphasis has been on thinking, conscientization and to enable these processes to take place the commune enables the full exercise of the person's responsibility in decision making on a group basis. In Mao Tse tung's words, "in building up the country... we... unlike modern revisionists who onesidedly stress the material factor-mechanization and modernization.., pay chief attention to the revolutionizing of man's thinking and through this command, guide and promote the work of mechanization and modernization". 2 Enabling and encouraging the people to think was the cornerstone on which rural development was built up in China. The essence of the Chinese process

1. Han Suyin, Asia Today, Two Outlooks, op. cit., p. 49.

2. Peking Review, No. 11, 1966, pp. 19,20.

was experiential learning. Here, the education came in an informal manner through intense participation and interaction with fellow commune members, with party cadres and intense peer education.

In the words of Mao Tse tung,

If you want to know a certain thing or a certain class of things directly, you must personally participate in the practical struggle to change reality, to change that thing or class of things, for only thus can you come into contact with them as phenomena; only through personal participation in the practical struggle to change reality can you uncover the essence of that thing or class of things and comprehend them... There can be no knowledge apart from practice. 1

Experiential knowledge comes through intense and active participation, which is a significant non-formal education process. The people were invested with full participatory power to make them decide on their own and get motivated in the process. It is only then that people come to be aware of their ability.

While selflessness is necessary to imbue man with energy and the willingness to work hard, Maoists believe that this is not sufficient; man must also have the ability as well. And such ability comes from active participation, from seeing and doing. To gain knowledge, people must be awakened from their half slumber, encouraged to mobilize themselves and to take conscious action to elevate and liberate themselves. 2

The Chinese strategy of participation in an experiential manner was a process of intense education and definite procedures were adopted in the administration of the commune to ensure that this education process was followed. The following account by Gargi Dutt indicates the details:

1. Mao Tse tung, On Practice, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 299.

2. John W. Gurley, "Maoist Economic Development: The New Man in China", in The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment, ed. by Charles K. Wilber, Random House, 1973, p. 311.

The implementation of democratic centralism in the communes was said to consist first of all in the 'proper convocation' of the members' general meetings and the members' representative meetings. The authorities at the lower echelons were advised that it was necessary to convene a number of regular representative meetings and members' meetings each year. The leading role of the Party was to be maintained and even reaffirmed and the party committees in the communes, the brigades and teams were asked to establish a 'firm nucleus of leadership' and the party committee secretary to act as 'the leader' to direct work in the villages. But the purpose in calling these representative meetings was to get the opinion of the peasants' aired and to secure their assistance in facing the agricultural crisis... Through these meetings a large number of peasants were sought to be involved in the making and implementation of decisions with regard to problems of production and distribution in the communes. This involvement, beside giving the peasantry a sense of participation was believed to be an effective way of overcoming peasant resistance and ensuring his interest in the plans and programs of the communes. 1

Here, it is evident that procedures had been detailed to ensure that the participation of the people was evoked for the cause of development.

Active participation, leading to the practice of consensus was also followed. This was the cumulative effect of the use of non-formal education processes.

Moreover, the masses could also influence the policy by their decisions about specification or implementation. Because the masses could participate in the policy process through discussions formal voting would be unnecessary. A process of this sort could be described as the politics of consensus.

We commonly use the word consensus in two different senses. It can refer to a situation in which, relatively clear agreement exists or emerges readily. In such cases the decision process is unproblematical. But we also speak of consensus as something which has to be sought or 'hammered out'. In this case consensus is a principle of decision making, rather than a description of group agreement. 2

The use of consensus brings about mass mobilization, where all the dissenters are convinced through intense education. "Consensus is an important principle of collective decision making in the Chinese

1. Gargi Dutt, Rural Communes of China, Asia Publishing House, 1967, p. 135.

2. Marc Blecher, "Consensual Politics in Rural Chinese Communities, The Mass Line in Theory and Practice" in Modern China Vol. 5, No. 1, Jan. 1979, pp. 109, 110.

production teams". 1

Thus the evidence indicates that significant non-formal education processes like community development, conscientization, discussion and participation have been effectively used in implementing rural development programs in China. The effect of this intensive use of non-formal education processes was to bring about active participation, causing the village level institution, the team, the brigade and the commune to develop a high level of identity with the people.

Summary of Evidence.

It is evident from the above details that non-formal education processes have been used intensively to bring about rural development in China. The Chinese method was to enable the people to participate in development and within this they emphasized critical thinking, i.e., conscientization in an experiential setting, as they attended to the tasks. Thus the process of informal education used by the Chinese, which directly led to the development of the initiatives and the responsibility in the people was closely akin to the non-formal education process of community development. The people were encouraged to come to their own decisions after close discussion and education was closely incorporated into the programs through peers and party cadres, who participated side by side with the masses.

What is also important to note in this connection is that the use of non-formal education processes could take place due to the fact that there was a complete decentralization of functions at the commune

1. Ibid., p. 118.

level and below to the brigade and team levels. The commune as an institution was admirably suited to be a viable organization. It was sufficiently large in terms of people, acreage under cultivation, etc., to enable efficient functioning with experienced and able cadres. It was also in charge of agricultural research and all activities, so that it could draft and implement plans for the maximum utilization of all resources, taking into account off seasons and lean periods of work. Its power flowed from its political base and its size endowed it with an economic strength which made it a viable institution. This was also due to the fact that the commune as a local institution had sufficient power to make a difference in the lives of the people.

Thus the developed nature of the administrative structure in China, the sheer integration of all functions that has been brought about in the commune and the broad participatory framework deployed in administrative organization enabled the use of non-formal education processes which in turn brought about true and enduring rural development.

THE KIBBUTZ & MOSHAV SETTLEMENTS IN ISRAEL.

The kibbutz and moshav settlements in Israel can be categorized into the integrated rural development model. Being a country where new settlements were the order of the day, it was easy to bring about the integration of functions. The kibbutz and the moshav were attending to self government as well as the functions of development in their own areas. The government supported these institutions and all government work was handled by the kibbutz and the moshav in their domain. This brought about complete integration.

The major functions of local authorities may be categorized as local services, local enterprises, state services and administration. Local services are those managed wholly by local government, such as sanitation, construction and maintenance of public buildings, parks and roads and in the case of rural areas- agricultural services. Local enterprises are those operated entirely by local government, such as water works, housing departments and markets. State services are those services financed partly by grants of the national government and administered for the latter, such as education, health, religious affairs and social welfare. Administration includes activities of the local legislative council, chief executive officers and town clerks and include tax administration, licensing and other administrative functions. 1

It is clear that the various aspects of work have been integrated.

This has been possible due to the structure, where the State did not develop different organizations for particular functions and hold powers of vertical communication to maintain central control.

The moshav is described as follows:

A moshav is primarily a multi-purpose cooperative society with limited liability, established to promote farming as the sole occupation and source of living of its members. ... Besides being an agricultural cooperative and upholding a specific way of life, a moshav constitutes a unit of local government with municipal duties. The authority over this and the cooperative is alike vested in the general assembly of the adult members which decides upon matters of principle and lays down the general policy. 2

In the moshav every aspect of work was integrated, agriculture, industry, marketing, education, military affairs etc. Agriculture and other functions are done in a non-collective, but democratic manner. The difference between the kibbutz and the moshav lies in

1. Oscar Kraines, Government and Politics in Israel, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961, p. 220.

2. Dov Weintraub, "Rural cooperation, local government and social structure: A comparative study of village organization in different types of community in Israel", in Two Blades of Grass, ed. by Peter Worsley, Manchester University Press, 1971, p.84.

the fact that the moshav allows the members to enjoy family life.

Maurice Konopnick says of the moshav,

It is designed to combine the benefits of egalitarianism, collectivism and mutual aid with those of family life on the individual farm. Purchase and sale of farm produce are effected collectively, but the scope is left for the individual initiative in work matters and the education of children. 1

On the other hand, the kibbutz goes further in attending to the various aspects of development. Here, all the requirements of life are included like in the Chinese commune.

A characteristic of kibbutz society is the sense of identification with it, which the individual member feels. The kibbutz furnishes him not merely with his material wants, but with a social framework and looks after his moral and spiritual welfare. Thus it may be claimed that the kibbutz supplies its members with more than does any other society of our age. 2

Thus integration is an essential element in the kibbutz as well as in the moshav settlements. The State accepts the kibbutz and the moshav as having supreme authority in their own areas of command and allows them to implement national plans, for which grants are given by the national ministries. This tends to bring about integration at the local level. All the functions are handled by elected members and this leads to effective decentralization. Horizontal coordination is also present as all functions are handled together. The evidence indicates therefore that the administrative structures are developed.

1. Maurice Konopnick, "The Public and Cooperative Sectors in Israel" in Annals of Public and Cooperative Economy, Vol.42, 1971, pp.48,71.

2. Naftali Golomb, "Kibbutz Administration" in Public Administration in Israel and Abroad, 1963, Jerusalem, 1964, p.54.

The Achievement.

In the 25 years since Israel achieved independence, phenomenal progress was made. The average annual increase in total g.n.p. was 10% and in g.n.p. per capita- 5.5%. ¹

Israel's exports grew from \$ 30 millions in 1949 to almost \$ 600 millions in 1962, and to \$2,100 million in 1972. ²

In the field of agriculture, the record is highly commendable.

Israel's average yield for cereal production is 1,873 kg/ha, which is higher than most developing countries. ³ The progress in production in agriculture is reflected in the increase in per capita food production between 1962/64 and 1970/72 from 159 to 205, on the basis of 1952/56 = 100. ⁴ The total cereal production has increased from 200,000 metric tons in 1969/71 to 278,000 metric tons in 1977. ⁵

In terms of employment, Israel has perhaps achieved the best recorded in the non-socialist world. Rural as well as urban unemployment is very low. In 1960, the percent unemployed was as low as 5. In 1970 this was at 4%. ⁶ This very low level could be due to the fact that Israel has to maintain a large army.

Equality is another area where Israel has achieved a great deal. In this the kibbutz is unique, due to its collective nature which ensures the distribution of income. In Israel, the percent

1. Moshe Sanbar, "Israel's Development Formula" in Economic Growth in Developing Countries-Material and Human Resources, Praeger, 1975, p. 11.

2. Ibid., p. 11.

3. Norman T. Uphoff et. al., Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p.33.

4. Ibid., p. 35.

5. 1977 FAO Production Year Book, op. cit., p. 92.

6. World Tables 1976, The World Bank, 1976, p. 516.

of national income received by the lowest 10% was at 7% in 1960 and had improved to 8% by 1970. Comparatively the percentage of national income received by the top 5% was as low as 13% both in 1960 as well as in 1970.¹

Many details are not available about the productivity of the kibbutz and the moshav. In the field of industrial development, it is accepted that between 1969 and 1973, in the kibbutz, industrial sales have increased three fold, exports two fold and investment almost three fold.²

The moshav and the kibbutz cultivated almost 67% of the agricultural land in 1967.³ Thus it could be said that the moshav and the kibbutz have heavily contributed to agricultural development in Israel. It is observed that separate statistics regarding the use of innovations, use of credit, etc. are not available. However, the details quoted of the overall performance is indicative of the achievement.

In 1964, a total of 90,000 people lived in kibbutz.⁴ In the early seventies, the population was approximately 100,000, living in 234 settlements. The number amounted to 3.5% of the total population.⁵ The progress that has been made is indicative of the commitment of the people.

1. Ibid., p. 515

2. Yehudan Paz, "The Kibbutz after 25 years", in Kidma, Israel Journal of Development, Vol.2, No.1, 1974, p.34.

3. Howard Pack, Structural Change and Economic Policy in Israel, Yale University Press, 1971, p.114.

4. Naftali Golomb, "Kibbutz Administration", op. cit., p.53.

5. Yehudan Paz, "The Kibbutz after 25 years" op. cit., p.32.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

The far reaching democracy in the kibbutz organization and especially the extraordinary decentralization of management tasks, the principle of rotation in management, the free and democratic decision about the use of the common income for the different purposes, all these are not only aims in themselves. They serve at the same time to ensure the maximum active participation of the members and in this way to strengthen his bonds with the kibbutz. Responsibility is a sure method of identification. 1

Frequent general meetings with the active involvement and the participation of the people was a characteristic of the kibbutz. This is an important feature and it is one of the main areas where the kibbutz rural development model stands out from other models followed in Third World countries.

Democracy in the kibbutz is true democracy. The frequent general meetings are occasions for animated discussion. They constitute a Parliament in which each member by simple virtue of membership has equal right to state his view and cast his vote. Duties are democratically assigned and in most cases, the principle of rotation is firmly observed, ensuring a maximum share of members in all kibbutz activities. 2

Discussion and deliberation is the keynote that has been followed to bring about the cooperation of the people in all development activities. This led to active participation. The frequency of the meetings of the general body of members led to this. At times the meetings were very frequent, even once a week.³ The development activities were also implemented through the membership participating in sub-committees. It is said that at any one time

1. Joseph E. Shatel, "On the Validity of Kibbutz Experiences" in Annals of Public and Cooperative Economy, 1968, p. 167.

2. Naftali Golomb, "Kibbutz Administration", op.cit., P.54.

3. Ibid., p. 55.

"between one-third to one-fourth of all kibbutz members are on them"¹. The sub-committees are designed in such a way that half of the members of each sub-committee have to be elected every year. This enables continuous activity in reviewing the work of the sub-committee as would happen whenever elections are held. Each sub-committee is in charge of a particular aspect of work. In each kibbutz, on the average, there are about 15 to 20 sub-committees, of which about 8 are concerned with economic aspects and the rest are concerned with the social aspects. This structure of sub-committees enable the members to be closely involved in the working of the different functions. In its working, the kibbutz offers the maximum participation to the members.

Thus the significant non-formal education processes that have been used to the maximum in the kibbutz in Israel are conscientization, discussion, deliberation and participation, every process leading to the development of the initiatives of the people.

Summary of Evidence.

The kibbutz and the moshav are forms of integrated rural development administration, which have had a positive record of success. Their total integration characteristics, stemming from the fact that they were new settlements, enabled them to take a total view of development without any of the constraints that normal administrative systems have. An administrative system inherits a structure, which it has to amend or totally alter and in each case problems have to be faced when changes are made. In the case of the

1. Naftali Golomb, "Kibbutz Administration", op. cit., p.55.



new settlements in Israel, the administration was totally new and a participatory structure was built up which enabled the involvement of the people. The achievement of Israel, in most fields is highly creditable, and the achievement in the kibbutz contributed a great deal to national success. The process adopted for the involvement of the people in the tasks of development indicate beyond doubt that significant non-formal education processes have been used to enable the total mobilization of the people for rural development.

The strength of the kibbutz as a viable organization is summarized as follows:

The economic success of the kibbutz is closely related to its adaptability and power of innovation. Because it is a planned economy and can retrain and reemploy workers with relatively little dislocation, it can respond flexibly to changes in economic emphasis. ... The generally high level of education in the kibbutz and its ability to mobilize resources, make it ideal for the development of science based industry for example. On both levels, then, the kibbutz continues to lead in pioneering development. 1

THE UJAMAA SETTLEMENTS IN TANZANIA.

The ujamaa settlement pattern and its administrative system arose in order to bring about integration of functions in rural development.

Ujamaa vijinini is an overall development strategy and not merely one of several rural development projects. ... In these regions the various agencies at regional and district level now have the opportunity to formulate fully integrated plans for the transformation of agricultural production towards ujamaa forms. 2

1. Yehudan Paz, "The Kibbutz after 25 years", op. cit., p.35.

2. P.R.Lawrence, P.L.Raikes, R.G.Saylor and D.Warner, "Regional Planning in Tanzania: Some Institutional Problems", in African Journal of Rural Development, Vol.7, Nos. 1&2, p.22.

The earlier system of administration was the colonial pattern, where the maintenance of law and order was the prime concern. Various ministries and departments were added to the administrative structure that was inherited and this led to a situation where there is "lack of cooperation and coordination between the different Ministries".¹ In fact the effect of the lack of integration and coordination was such that though in the sixties, a Rural Development Fund was established, much headway could not be made. Paul Collins says,

A major factor inhibiting the institutionalization of the Rural Development Fund, is that with the present machinery, it has remained peripheral to the local institutional structures. Many of those involved in allocating and administering the Rural Development Fund have no direct interest in its productive employment either because they do not bear the costs themselves or because they are not in a position to enjoy the returns. ²

He specifically alludes to the lack of integration, when he says, "in sum, the nature of local institutions imposed a fragmented pattern on Rural Development Fund decision making". ³

Uma Lele has given the situation of integration in the administration in the country as a whole and specifies the changes made. She says that in 1971,

.. there was little horizontal integration, i.e., programs for villagers were prepared, priorities worked out, budgets allocated and personnel deployed by the several Ministries in Dar es Salaam. The field staff were responsible to their parent agencies and rarely acted as members of a unified development

1. Ibid., p. 42.

2. Paul Collins, "The Working of Tanzania's Rural Development Fund: A Problem in Decentralization", in East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol.5, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 154.

3. Ibid., p. 156.

team. Second, the vertical set up was weighted in favor of the central bureaucracies with too little lower echelon input. Decisions took an inordinately long time... Consequently farmer initiative and cooperation were often strangled. ...

In 1972, the Government responded to these concerns by decentralizing the administration of its rural development program. The result of this action was a) to reduce the authority of sectoral Ministries, b) to grant TANU wider power to implement its policies and c) to give the Prime Minister's office an important role in coordinating the overall ujamaa strategy. 1

It is in this background of an uncoordinated administrative structure that the ujamaa settlements were introduced. Nyerere says of the ujamaa,

A group of families will live together in a village and will work together on a common farm for their common benefit. Their houses will be the ones they build for themselves out of their own resources; their farm will be owned jointly and its produce will be their joint property. The activities of the village and the type of production they undertake as well as the distribution of crops and other goods they produce will be determined by the village members themselves. In other words, we shall have an up-to-date and larger version of the traditional African family. 2

Thus the entirety of development in the area is handed over to the ujamaa organization. "The Government's role is to help people to make a success of their work and their decisions".³ There was thus effective decentralization of functions.

The ministries and departments had to entrust their work in the area to the ujamaa; this ensured the integration of functions.

The development of the ujamaa as an institution for integrated rural development enabled action in all functions to

1. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, John Hopkins University Press, 1975, p. 152.

2. J.K.Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development" in L.Cliffe et. al., Rural Cooperation in Tanzania, Tanzania Publishing House, 1975, p.15.

3. Ibid., p. 25.

be centered within it. The ujamaa was the single institution in the entire area. It was registered as an agricultural association as well as a cooperative. Powers were decentralized to this institution.

Further, the ujamaa was also given a political base.

Throughout our discussion, politicization has appeared to be an important aspect of the solution to many problems of the development front and it is also clear that the political party must be the major vehicle of that politicization. ...

There is a parallel need for a further institutional creativity, with respect in particular to consolidating and clarifying Tanu's role as an agency with responsibilities for education, planning and implementation, as a force for socialism and as a framework for political participation, and as a core around which a more effective front must be structured. There is a firm basis for such an evolution within the development front as it is presently constituted. But in the last analysis, the political task remains the most crucial dimension of the local development effort. 1

As in China, the political party had a supervisory control and direction over development. It is also important to note that the party had a base among the masses.

TANU is a mass party with a majority of poor peasant and worker members and a socialist majority on its central leadership. 2

The TANU membership extended to a million people.³ When considering a total workforce of 4.9 millions, this is a sizeable number. The ujamaa settlements had an administrative structure which was integrated, in that they handled every function, it was decentralized

1. L.Cliffe and J.S.Saul, "The District Development Front in Tanzania" in Socialism in Tanzania: An Interdisciplinary Reader, ed. by L.Cliffe and J.S.Saul, quoted in J.S.Saul, "The Reorganization of Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions" in Rural Cooperation in Tanzania, ed. by L.Cliffe and J.S.Saul, Tanzania Publishing House, 1975, pp. 214,215.

2. R.H.Green, "Redistribution with Growth and or Transition to Socialist Development. Some Jottings on Tanzania 1961-74" in I.D.S. Bulletin, 1975, Vol.7, No.2, p.26.

3. Gerritz Huizer, "The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania, New Forms of Rural Development" in Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol.8, No.2, Summer 1973, p. 186.

and equipped with a political base, which also bestowed it with power in its decision making.

The Achievement.

Beginning in the Arusha Declaration of 1967, Ujamaa villages came to be established from 1968 onwards. By 1972, a total of 850,000 people were in ujamaa settlements.¹ By 1974, there were 3 million people, amounting to over 30% of the population. They were settled in 7,500 villages.² R.H.Green says about the achievement.

On the governmental, communal, parastatal (Ujamaa village, market cooperative, district development corporation) and Party Governing Bodies (Ten Cell, Ward, District, Constituency) fronts, serious efforts are being made to eliminate capitalist and authoritarian bureaucratic office holders not committed to a transition to socialism, based on creative local effort. Results are mixed from area to area and cannot be viewed as totally successful anywhere, but there are tangible results, which suggest that the approach is capable of yielding significant gains. 3

The commitment of the people to the concept of the Ujamaa is evident in the rapid expansion of the settlements. Till 1973, it was a totally voluntary movement and in that earlier year, 1972 as much as 850,000 people had already settled on the ujamaa basis.

"On November 7, 1973, President Nyerere said that living together in villages was an order and had to be implemented in the next 3 years. This was a TANU decision."⁴ Thereafter there was a great deal of compulsion by party cadres and local influentials to get

local people to join the ujamaa settlements. HelgeKjekshus says

1. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p.17.

2. R.H.Green, "Toward Ujamaa and Kujitegama" in Income Distribution and Absolute Poverty, Educational Aspects of the Tanzanian Transition to Socialism, Govt. of Tanzania, 1974, p.5

3. Ibid., p.8, Annex A.

4. L.A.Msambichaka and Robert B.M.Mabele, Agricultural Credit in the Development of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania, Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974, p.29.

that coercion had been used to force the people.¹ In some areas where ujamaa settlements were created out of existing villages, there were instances of inequalities in land holdings. This was specially so in the ujamaa settlements in the Western Usambharas.² This situation is only to be expected in a program that did not have a revolutionary orientation. However, the ujamaa settlements, with its communal activity has been an attempt at egalitarianism. The entire country was moving towards egalitarianism;

The ratio of top public sector pre-tax salaries to minimum wages was reduced from 80 to 1 at independence in 1961 to about 15 to 1 in mid 1974 and the effective purchasing power ratio from about 50 to 1 to under 10 to 1. 3

Thus on the whole it could be said that the evidence suggests that certain progress had been recorded towards egalitarianism.

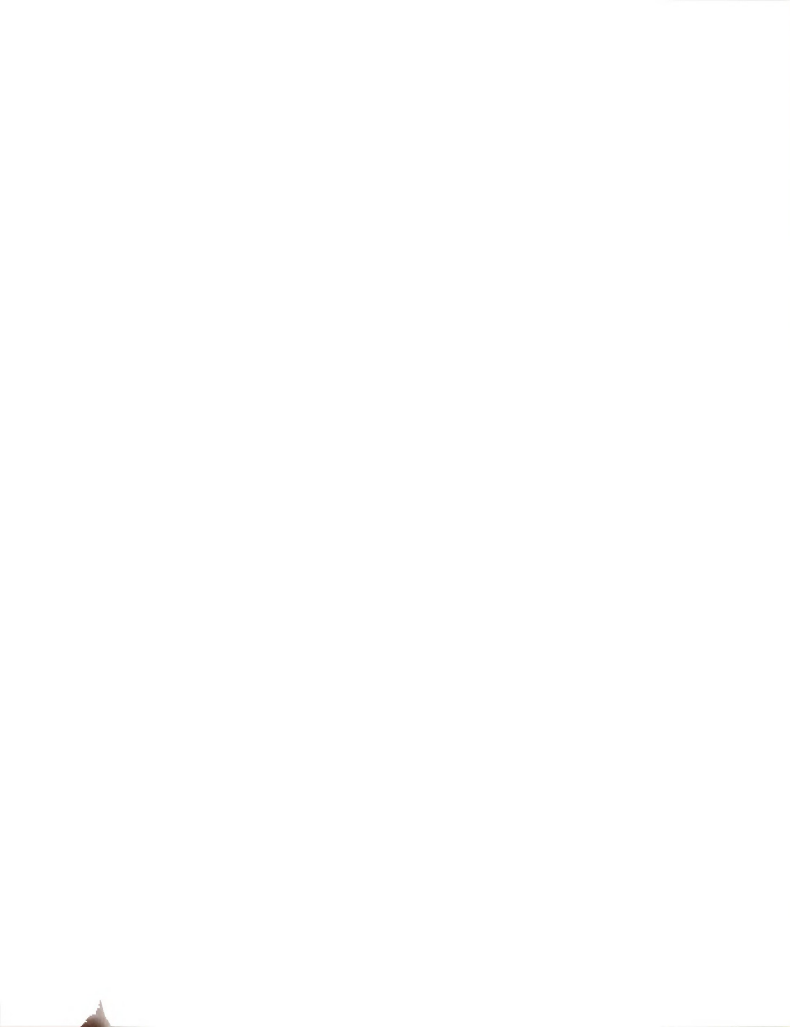
In Tanzania, though in 1961, the Agricultural Credit Agency was formed, the scheme was structured with heavy restrictions. The minimum loan that could be granted was $\text{£ } 5$. The per capita income of the farmers was very low, as low as $\text{£ } 1.5$ in 1967 in the Singida District.⁴ Thus no small farmers could obtain loans. In a subsistence economy, there is very little cash flow and this explains the very low income level that had been recorded in this instance. Subsequently loans were granted under a reorganized system

1. Helge Kjekshus, The Villagization Panacea: A Review of Tanzania's Ujamaa Policy, Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977, p.14.

2. John Sender, Preliminary Notes on the Political Economy of Rural Development based on a case study in the Western Usambharas, Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974, p.4.

3. R.H.Green, "Redistribution with Growth..." op. cit., p.22.

4. L.A. Msambichaka and Robert B.M. Mabele, Agricultural Credit in the Development....., op. cit., p. 8.



to ujamaa villages. In 1971/72, 29 ujamaa villages were given loans and in 1972/73, 54 ujamaa villages were give loans.¹ It is observed that only ujamaa villages classified in stage 3 were given loans. No evidence is available about repayment of loans or overdues.

The ujamaa settlements(villages) were classified into 3 stages according to progress. The first stage commenced with the movement of the people into the settlement. When the people are well established, they are reckoned to be in the second stage. Significant communal activity commences in this stage. It is only when there is a high degree of communal living that a ujamaa is accepted to have reached the third stage. This third stage commences with the ujamaa being registered as an agricultural association and as a multipurpose cooperative society.

It is important to note that in 1971, three years after the commencement of the program, 90% of the settled villages were classified as being in stage 1.² In 1972, out of a total of 2,410 settlements, only 241 settlements were at stage 2 and only 17 at stage 3.³ On the one hand it could be said that the progress was not quick. It is important to note that the ujamaa program commenced in 1968 and the bulk of the ujamaa settlements were established in the seventies. The fact that the villages had been established, but

1. Ibid., p.13.

2. The Economic Survey, Government of Tanzania, 1970/71. pp. 54,55.

3. Paul D. Collins, "Local Government and Community Development in Tanzania " in Community Development Journal, Vol.7, No. 3, Oct. 1972, p. 177.

had not been authorized for cooperative status speaks highly of the administration. Comparatively, in many parts of the Third World, cooperatives get formed with a dozen members who pay up their share capital, which is a nominal amount, and loans are doled out within the same season. Thus, though in the case of the ujamaa, the progress is not very rapid, it appears that action is being taken to consolidate the achievement before the grant of loans. This is creditable.

Communal cultivation was urged of ujamaa villages, but this was not compulsory. Sulaiman Sumara, in a study points out that in certain ujamaa villages the people cultivated communal plots, side by side with their individual plots. He found that the yields of the communal plots were far lower than the yields of the individually worked plots.¹

Yield of Maize

<u>Area</u>	<u>Yield in communal plots.</u>	<u>Yield in individual plots.</u>
Handeni Western	220	385 kg/ha.
Handeni Central	180	268
Handeni Eastern	130	310

Sulaiman Sumara comments on the reasons for the low yields,

Fluctuations in attendance leads to the problem of organizing agricultural operations properly. The number swells up when there is a food shortage in the area and famine relief is available. Attendance also fluctuates with the kinds of operations to be carried on. People attend to the clearing work on the communal plots after their own farms have been cleared. Data collection from one ujamaa village illustrates this. As soon as the rains fall, the number attending decreases considerably

1. Sulaiman Sumara, Problems of Agricultural Production in Ujamaa villages in Handeni District, Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam, 1975, p.8.

as work on their individual plots increase. There is always a conflict between work on communal farms and on individual plots. Unless there is famine relief provided, work on the individual plot is given preference. This attitude is mainly as a result of peasants being still unsure of obtaining sufficient production on the communal farms. As a result, important operations like weeding and guarding against vermin are not done properly. The overall result is that yields on communal plots are much lower than on the individual plots. 1

The problems about low yields tend to flow from flaws in policy. In a situation where the people also cultivated individual plots, it was only to be expected that they would pay more attention to their own plots. Further though plan and policy stipulated that there should be intense ideological education, this aspect seems to have failed. This aspect will be looked into in the section on non-formal education.

The ujamaa program, though planned on a progressive and conceptual basis seems to have faced a number of problems. The rapid expansion meant that there could not be concentration on all aspects, everywhere.

The failure of many ujamaa villages to use new farm management approaches, undertake economic infrastructure works, e.g. afforestation, especially with fruit or nut trees, simple wells, dairies, small scale workshops, build up communal services (e.g. first aid, building craft skills) or raise output much, seems to flow from inadequate knowledge of new approaches and opportunities. 2

It is significant that the documentary evidence generally does not record achievements in terms of crop yields or employment creation or increased incomes. The documents are full of policy that have been laid down. Ujamaa is a socialist concept based on collective

1. Ibid., pp.5,6.

2. R.H.Green, "Toward Ujamaa and Kujitegeme", op. cit., p.6.

cultivation and collective ownership to be achieved in stages. But the attempt in Tanzania is to establish the ujamaa villages on a non-revolutionary manner. The compulsion that has been used is of low keel compared to what goes into a peasant revolution. The rapid expansion of the ujamaa village settlements indicate popularity and the commitment on the part of the people in the initial attempt, but the consolidation seems to have lagged. In a mass program, especially implemented without a revolution, success of a high order cannot generally be expected within a short period.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

The non-formal education adopted in the ujamaa village settlements comprised of the community development process, aided intensely by conscientization and active participation. Discussions were also used to bring about critical thinking. Through the repeated learning experiences, the community development process was aimed at leading the people to become responsible and self-reliant. Community development as a process was followed in principle. The Government Paper No. 4 of 1967 says,

The guiding principles of rural development--self-help, self reliance have already been laid down in the Arusha Declaration. The organizational structure, therefore has to be one, which will further the aims of community development, based on self-help and self-reliance. The fundamental aims of community development has to be that the people in the villages are enabled through their efforts and in cooperation with one another to bring about improvements in all aspects of rural life and the rapid betterment of their standards of living, with the government assisting by providing the technical assistance. 1

1. United Republic of Tanzania- Government Paper No. 4,
The Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1967, p. 67.

It is evident that community development as a process has been adopted both in the ujamaa village settlements as well as in the other areas.

Community Development in Tanzania embraces various forms of rural cooperation of a developmental nature, encouraged and aided by government institutions. These range from self-help projects to more permanent forms of cooperative activity like communal farming groups and village settlements. 1

Active participation and the involvement of the people have been used as a key process. In the words of President Nyerere,

Tanzania is attempting to achieve change by deliberate policy, and to maintain order by involving all the people in both the direction and the process of change. 2

Participation is a key element in the strategy that has been used in the ujamaa settlements. The integrated administrative system along with its decentralization enable the people to be fully involved in decision making in all aspects of life. It is active participation.

Participation has been institutionalised from ujamaa villages through District and Regional Development Committees to parallel the highly decentralized structure for services of direct interest to rural areas. 3

Participation has been reinforced by decentralizing the decision making process.

... the principle that taking decisions affecting workers and peasants down (or out) to a level close to them and providing participatory bodies to have a direct influence on these decisions would at least make effective mass involvement possible and should over time make it nearly universal, has yet to be proven true or

1. Paul D. Collins, "Local Government and Community Development in Tanzania" op. cit., p. 176.

2. Quoted by R.H.Green, "Redistribution with Growth and or Transition to Socialist Development..." op. cit., p. 22.

3. R.H.Green, "Toward Ujamaa and Kujitegemea", op. cit., p.8, Annex A.

false. However enough cases of success exist to suggest that the real problems are of implementation and of practice, not of strategy and of principle. 1

The decision making process rested squarely on the shoulders of the people. In the words of President Nyerere,

All such decisions... how to share out as well as how much to grow must be made by the agreement of all the participants. A leader will have the opportunity to explain his ideas and to try to persuade the people that they are good, but it must be for the people themselves to accept or reject his suggestions. It does not matter if the discussion takes a long time; we are building a nation and this is not a short term thing. 2

Cooperative and collaborative processes were urged.

It is not enough for agricultural production to be increased. The cooperative movement in particular must be made more efficient, both in management and in its democratic machinery. Not only this, there must also be an efficient and democratic system of local government, so that our people make their own decisions on the things which affect them directly, and so that they are able to recognize their own control over community decisions and their own responsibility for carrying them out. 3

According to TANU guidelines, "If you do not involve the people in work plans, the result is to make them feel a national institution is not theirs and consequently to adopt the habits of hired employees." 4
Uma Lele says that though decentralization was carried out to initiate development plans at the ujamaa level, the powers given to the political authority, the TANU and the regional authorities were such that the true participation of the people was reduced.

1. Ibid., p.8.

2. K.E.Svendson and M.Teison, Self-Reliant Tanzania, Tanzania Publishing House, 1969, p. 266.

3. Julius K. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development", op. cit., p. 10.

4. TANU Guidelines, Dar es Salaam, 1971. para 13.

The decentralization which has allocated greater power to the regional authorities and the party may also subvert some of the basic tenets of the ujamaa, such as its emphasis on self-reliance of the rural people. There seems to be an inherent contradiction in the ujamaa philosophy of peasant voluntarism and spontaneity on the one hand and the official policy of central control and direction on the other. 1

She has however added,

Ujamaa vijinini is an innovative and potentially effective means of realizing broadly participatory economic growth and of improving the welfare of the rural masses. The decentralization of the rural development administration offers the hope that the ujamaa movement can become more viable through the building of a planning and implementation capacity that will be able to take account of diverse local constraints and potentials. 2

Though the opportunity to participate was available to the ujamaa settlers, it is also necessary that certain action has to be taken to ensure that these organizations do not fall into the hands of power structures that could effectively thwart the democratic development, as has happened in many village institutions all over the world. The ujamaa village settlements did not have developed leaders. It is perhaps for this purpose that regional authorities have been vested with some powers. Further, it is important to note that authority given to the TANU political party could be argued to be in keeping with democratic decision making. In Tanzania there is only one political party and it has already been shown how the TANU commands a mass membership of 1 million out of a total workforce of 4.9 millions.³ Political parties rarely have a mass base for the people to participate. Comparatively, in

1. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p.154.

2. Ibid., p. 161.

3. World Tables, 1976, op.cit., p.514.

China, the Communist Party which controls development to a greater extent has only a fraction of the people as members. In 1965, only 18 millions were members of the Communist Party.¹ Based on the adult population of 400 millions, only 1 in 22 would be members. Thus the grant of certain control and supervision to the TANU does not negate participation.

The TANU as a political party has also been given a participative structure.

In building up the TANU in rural areas, 'ten-house' cells were built up all over the country to bring the people together at the base level. These were united in TANU branches. The latter sent delegates to regional conferences which elected representatives to the national executive, where all trade unions, cooperatives, women, youth, elders and other groups were represented. The 20 member Central Committee of TANU was appointed by the President.

The purpose of the cell system was to mobilize members in an attempt to take the TANU party from the towns into the rural areas, involving local people in the decision making process.²

It is evident from the above details that the TANU party has been given a participatory framework and a broad base for the involvement of members. In actual practice, having such a democratically organized political party to exercise administrative control over local institutions like the ujamaa would be an effective check on mismanagement, lethargy and lack of progress. It appears better to have such powers of supervision and control vested in a democratic and participative organ of this type, rather than in a bureaucracy, as found in many countries. This dual system of participation available to the people, through the ujamaa settlements as well as

1. T.R.Treager, The Chinese, David & Charles: Newton Abbott, 1973, p.54.

2. Gerritz Huizer, "The Ujamaa Village Process in Tanzania, New Forms of Rural Development", op. cit., p. 187.



the TANU political party affords a novel method of administration, for a non-communist country.

Self-help is a non-formal education process that was followed in Tanzania. The Government Paper No.4 of 1967 says that, "the guiding principles of Rural Development, self-help, self-reliance, have already been laid down in the Arusha Declaration".¹ In the ujamaa settlements all the work was done by the people on a self-help basis. The TANU also played a major role in organizing this work. The construction of public capital by collective village labor is not a new concept. The ujamaa concept itself, as President Nyerere points out is "an up-to-date and larger version of the traditional African family".² The use of collective village labor for public works is self-help. The use of self-help is important as it involves the people in the management and offers them a partnership in development. This also paves the way for the development of their initiatives and the emergence of leadership within the villages. The village leadership was expected to take over the development of the village and work on their own initiative.

the President lays emphasis on the ten cell leaders in rural socialist development. Until now, the role of the ten cell system had been merely to bring involvement in the political process to the grassroots. The function of the ten cell leader has been to promote the political unity of the nation. Now his role has changed. He must take the lead in initiating actual changes in the lives of the people. If he is to be successful in assuming their increased responsibilities, they must be defined clearly for him. It is local leaders who stand most urgently in need of political education. 3

1. Government Paper No. 4 of 1967, op. cit., p. 67.

2. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development", op. cit., p.15.

3. Svendsen and Teison, Self-Reliant Tanzania, op. cit., pp. 278, 279.



The ideological emphasis has been to train leaders and to encourage them to take charge. However the details given of the achievement in certain villages quote doubts as to what extent this policy has universally succeeded. Though participation has been urged, it cannot be easily achieved. John Sender refers to the Kihitu Ngwelo ujamaa village, where the meetings were sparsely attended.¹ He also says that at the above ujamaa and at Kihitu, Mlesa and Mgwashi ujamaas, the membership was not aware of the income received from communal activities.² This is in the context of a well-knit rural village settlement and this indicates that there had been no participation whatsoever on the part of the mass membership. Sender also gives details of irregularities, where the ujamaa had been mismanaged. He has also quoted instances where the attendance varied from 11% to 37%.³ However, he adds,

It is important to emphasize at this stage, that the leadership motivations, the corruptions, the exploitation, the lack of democracy and the lack of participation described in this section may not be representative of the 5,556 ujamaa villages in Tanzania. ⁴

In any program of implementation, certain steps have to be taken to ensure that the plans go according to schedule and that action is taken administratively to avoid irregularities and also to ensure that educational activities are not overlooked. While in the case of the ujamaa, meticulous care has been taken in policy planning, it is evident that appropriate action has been failing at all stages

1. Sender, Preliminary Notes on the Political Economy...
op. cit., p. 29.

2. Ibid., p. 31.

3. Ibid., p. 36.

4. Ibid., p. 36.

to ensure that policy directives, especially regarding the development of the responsibility of the settlers in ujamaa, through the use of non-formal education were carried out in all cases.

Summary of Evidence.

Policywise, the administration of the ujamaa settlements had been based on the total integration of functions. Many changes have been made from the colonial administrative framework to enable the integration of functions in the case of the ujamaa and policy urges that decentralization should bestow power and authority to the people. Further, the TANU political party had been given a major role to play in ensuring that the administration functions with the participation of the people. It has been shown that non-formal education has been urged for full utilization, with the aim of bringing about the active participation of the people in development.

The evidence that is available, though recording instances of success in some cases, also indicates failure in policy implementation. The expansion of the program was too rapid for proper policy implementation. This explains why many ujamaa settlements lag behind in stages 1 and 2. The fact that the people had not been motivated sufficiently to devote attention and care on the communal plots cultivated cooperatively and collaboratively indicate that non-formal education processes have not, in those instances brought about the development of the initiatives and the responsibility within the settlers. Thus though administrative integration was carried out in policy, in actual fact, the ujamaa settlements could not show significant growth.



CHAPTER VII

SEMI-INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS.

The main characteristics that have emerged from the study indicate that in the semi-integrated rural development models, there is less integration of functions, the lack of decentralization, a few village level institutions handling development and less horizontal communication. However, at the outset, it has to be observed that this model approaches the integrated model and is actually far removed from the unintegrated rural development model, which is marked by a large number of village level institutions and a plethora of village level officers belonging to a number of departments.

In this semi-integrated model, the administrative structures that were inherited from the colonial authorities or from paternal monarchies have not been totally or basically altered, so as to make total integration possible. Certain changes have been made, but these changes in themselves have failed to bring about an integrated framework. There is less horizontal communication than the integrated model, due to the fact that the few institutions that function simultaneously and the few departments that extend branches to the village level maintain separate vertical communication channels.

Thus, the administrative structures have not been developed in an integrated sense, the decentralization is incomplete and the institutions have not been fully integrated to enable the full use of non-formal education processes for development with the full

participation of the people. Instead, they are used only in certain aspects and in some programs. Thus, here, the rural development system is fairly fragmented.

The countries/projects studied in this category are the Comilla Program (Bangladesh), India and the Philippines.

THE COMILLA PROGRAM (BANGLADESH).

The Comilla Program of rural development in Bangladesh can be classified as a semi-integrated program. This administrative model is very important to the student of rural development, because it was implemented without any indoctrination or political affiliation. An Academy for Rural Development was established at divisional level (Thana), with the purpose of imparting training to government officers. Subsequently, the Comilla Thana, comprising about 107 square miles was adopted as a laboratory area for accelerated rural development.

One of the main features of this program was that all government departments were brought under one roof at the Academy and this brought about effective coordination. As the extension arm, from the Academy downwards, model farmers were selected to represent each village and all the government departments had to use him as their agent in reaching the people. For extension purposes, a cooperative society was established with the full involvement of the people. The cooperative was used to provide inputs and served as an organizational framework for the mobilization of the people to work on agricultural development to evoke their participation and motivate them in achieving developmental goals. The model farmer had to report to the Academy once a week for training, and conveyed detailed

information, reporting difficulties. In return, he obtained guidance and feedback to enable him to function more effectively with the people. In the words of Akhter Hamid Khan,

The model that we have developed now is I think, fully comprehensive-- a training and development center in every Thana with the Thana Council at the core of it. Supporting the Thana Council is a powerful Cooperative Association, with all its institutions of training, of supervision, of banking, of marketing and of machines. Another addition to this model will be the School Board, which will bring members of the Union Councils, Government Officers and teachers together. 1

The attempt was at coordination by bringing the different departmental officers together. The Academy also played a major role in training and extension.

Officers of the so called nation building departments-- Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Health, Education etc., were housed together in a spacious new building. For intensive planning and coordination a local government council was created at the Thana level and also located at the center. Chairmen of the next lower tier, the Union Councils and the departmental officers were the constituent members. The assumptions were that the people should be mobilized through their elected leaders; that the officers should coordinate departmental activities with each other as well as with the councillors. The Thana Center was to be the focus not only of planning and coordination, but also of training. 2

It is evident that the attempt was at coordination and not at integration. Integration refers to the complete mergence of departments so that the different functions have to be attended together. The Comilla program did not aim at integration, though it was loosely called as such.

We next come to the integrated rural development program. This term was first used in East Pakistan. There it meant the working together within the framework of the Thana and the

1. Akhter Hamid Khan, Inauguration of Comilla District Integrated Rural Development Program, Address, June 27, 1965, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1965, p. 10.

2. Akhter Hamid Khan, Reflections on the Comilla Rural Development Projects, Overseas Liaison Council, 1974, p.11.

Union Councils of the Government and the elected representatives. After accomplishing this integration we could proceed easily with the rural works of roads, drainage and irrigation and provide employment to the landless laborers and very small farmers. After coordinating the existing services, the next step was to introduce a two tier cooperative system to reorganize the economic structure of the villages. 1

Coordination can be brought about through Coordinating Committees and by bringing officers to work together on a common program. At Comilla, the officers were brought together and housed at the Academy, but they did not shed their vertical communication links with the district and higher levels. In such circumstances, the coordination that can be brought about depends on the influence that can be wielded on the local officers. In fact, A.K.M. Mohsen said in 1962 that "activating the departmental officers seemed to be more difficult than mobilizing the people".² The coordination that had been brought about could not last long as the departments had not been welded together. In fact, Robert D.Stevens quotes the 1968/69 Report of the Pakistan Academy for Rural Development and says,

In Comilla Thana, major participation in Thana Council deliberations by the nation building department officers has been achieved with considerable effort. For the first time the Basic Democracy Order required these officers to report their activities to the Thana Council, as well as through the usual hierarchy to their departmental superiors. However despite the participation which was achieved the 1968/69 Report of P.A.R.D. concludes that attendance in the Thana Council by these officers leaves much to be desired and that upto June 1969, the Circle Officer had no administrative control over the departmental officers in the Thana. 3

1. Akhter Hamid Khan, "Some Thoughts on Rural Development Strategy", Rural Development Administration, Vol. 10, Nos. 1&2, Jan-March 1973, p. 24.

2. A.K.M.Mohsen, Report on a Rural Public Works Program, P.A.R.D., Comilla, 1962, p. 18.

3. R.D.Stevens, Rural Development Programs for Adaptation from Comilla, Michigan State University, 1972, p.26.

There were two institutions attending to development, the cooperative society and the local government unit, the Union Council, established under the Basic Democracy Program. It is to the credit of the Comilla Program that the cooperative attended to the entirety of agriculture and did not stop at providing inputs. It functioned as a development oriented institution.

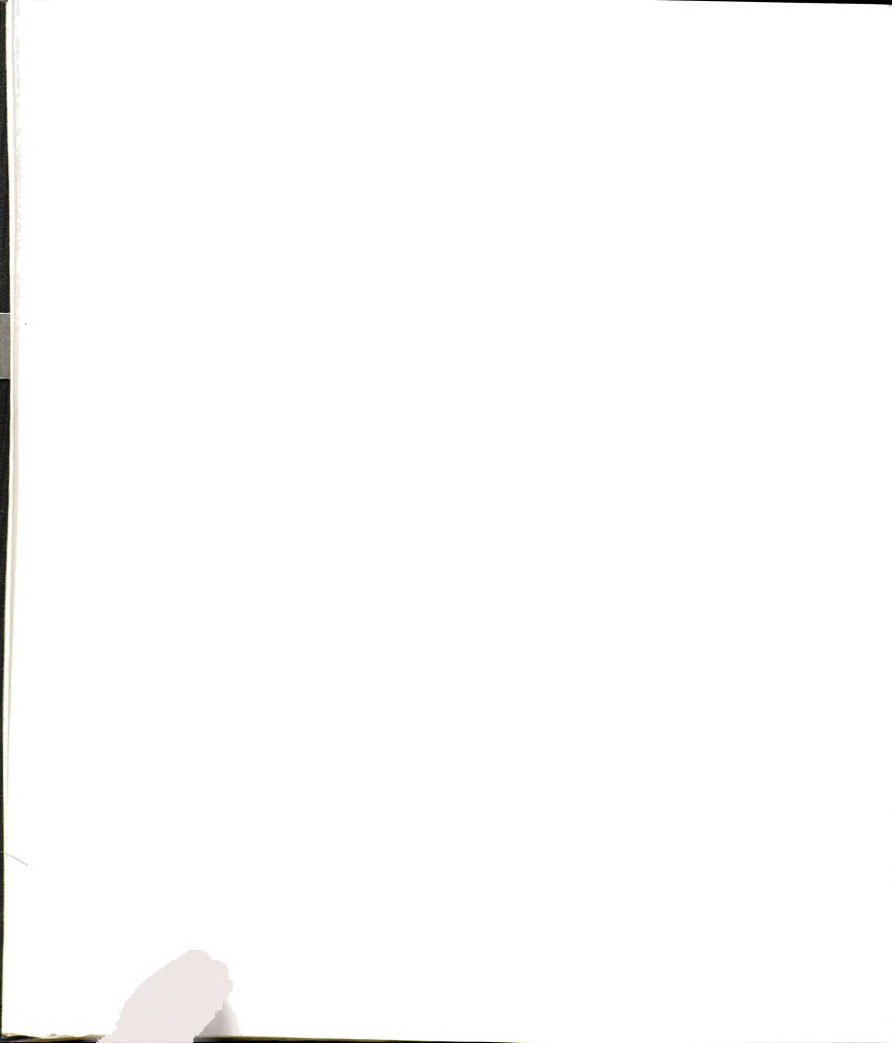
The purpose of the village Cooperative Society can be listed as follows:

1. to organize the cultivators into a permanent cohesive disciplined group for planned activities aimed at agricultural development.
2. to build capital through joint savings and to utilize institutional credit facilities offered and supervised by the central associations. Thus to escape from the exploitative credit system of the local money lenders and traders.
3. to adopt agricultural innovation collectively and to promote adoption of innovation by individual members.
4. to develop local leadership through participation in training programs organized by the central association and by organizing group activities in the villages. 1

The cooperative society was the only village institution through which the Academy functioned in all aspects of agricultural and infrastructure development.

Though the Comilla Program has been classified into the semi-integrated model of rural development, it has certain strengths flowing from the fact that the cooperative was given a definite broad base covering agriculture and the Academy brought the officers of the different departments together. This was perhaps the best coordination that could be brought about in a country where the colonial administrative structure remained unaltered, except by the addition of departments and ministries. The Comilla Project has been

1. M. Ameerul Huq, Exploitation and the Rural Poor, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, 1976, p.226.



criticized for not covering the marketing system:

The Comilla Scheme was not a total approach to the problem. It did not cover the marketing system either for agricultural produce or agricultural inputs, whereas integrated rural development programs lay great importance on and high priority to the improvement and development of the marketing system.

Comilla had no provision for warehousing, so vital for stabilizing the prices. 1

It is true that marketing is a very important function. The inclusion of marketing within a program or department depends on government policy and the inclusion of such a scheme is not an essential factor in a rural development program. If the government had a program, such as a floor price or a guaranteed scheme, then the Comilla cooperatives could have functioned as agents. However, it is significant that the Comilla program brought under one umbrella a variety of functions, the agricultural development program, including the cooperatives, the provision of inputs and finance, implemented a savings program, an irrigation development program, a rural infrastructure building program and a rural education program, which in themselves formed a sizeable task. It would therefore appear to be suitable to categorize the Comilla Program as a semi-integrated model.

The Achievement.

The Comilla Program had an impressive record of achievement. In most fields a significant progress is revealed.

A marked increase was noticed in the literacy rate. At the inception of the program, only one-fifth of the population was literate while by 1966, it was estimated that two-fifths were literate.²

1. "I.R.D.P., A Revolutionary Approach", in Report of the International Seminar on Integrated Rural Development, Government of Pakistan, 1974, p.238.

2. Arthur H. Raper, Rural Development in Action, Cornell University Press, 1970, p. 188.

The number of cooperatives established could be accepted as an indication of the interest and the commitment of the people to work cooperatively. At the inception of the Comilla Program there were only 10 cooperative societies in the entire Thana. By 1964/65, there were 152 Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies and 50 Special Cooperatives. By 1969/70 there was a total of 301 Cooperative Societies.¹ The extent of membership also indicates the success. At the inception, the membership was as low as 200.² By 1965, 30% of the farmers were members of cooperatives. The membership reached 37% by 1968.³ By 1970, there were 11,673 members.⁴ When compared with the achievements of other countries, it may appear at face level that 37% membership is a low achievement. What is important to realize in this connection is that in the case of Comilla, the membership consisted of people who were convinced of the essence of cooperativism, as is proved by the extent of savings, as well as by the results achieved in the crop yields and the rate of adoption of innovative techniques of cultivation. These aspects will come for detailed discussion later.

At the inception of the Comilla Program, the savings made by the people were very low. The average saving had been in the form

1. R.D.Stevens, Rural Development Programs for Adaptation from Comilla, op. cit., p. 11.

2. Six Months of the Pilot Cooperative Project in Comilla Thana Development Area, Pakistan Academy for Village Development, Oct. 1960, p.8.

3. R.D.Stevens, "Comilla Rural Development Programs upto 1971" in Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan, ed. by R.D.Stevens, Hamza Alavi and P.J.Bertocci, The University Press of Hawaii, 1976, p. 103.

4. R.D.Stevens, Rural Development Programs for Adaptation from Comilla, op. cit., p.11

of a deposit of Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 per member.¹ The value of this as a saving is highly discredited in view of the high level borrowing capacity that a member who has made such a paltry deposit is entitled to. Within a few years of the establishment of the Comilla Program, the savings totalled to Rs. 504,405.00 in the case of primary agricultural societies and Rs. 465,670.00 in the case of special cooperative societies in 1964/65.² This amount was doubled in three years. By 1966/67, the savings amounted to Rs. 1,022,745.00 and Rs. 733,549.15 respectively.³ This is explicitly highlighted by Robert D.Stevens,

In 1970, in the Comilla Thana, where per capita incomes were in the \$ 100 range, the Central Agricultural Cooperative Federation and its village Cooperative Societies operated a credit program with an average loan of \$ 53 per member, with per member shares and savings equal to \$ 29. This cooperative system was financially stable with steady annual increases in loaning activity. 4

Savings to the extent of \$ 29 per member is a real achievement. This speaks to the intensity of participation of the members, their commitment and the extent to which their responsibilities had developed.

Agricultural credit was another success in the Comilla Program. Earlier, the cooperative sector had supplied less than 3% of the credit requirements of the farmers.⁵

1. A.K.M.Wajihulla, "Report on a Pilot Project for Cooperative Development in the Comilla Kothwali Development Area", in Six Months of the Pilot Cooperative Project in Comilla Thana Development Area, Appendix II, P.A.V.D., Comilla, 1960. p.8.

2. Statistical Digest. P.A.R.D., Comilla, 1968, pp. 42,43.

3. Ibid., pp. 42,43.

4. R.D.Stevens, "Comilla Rural Development Programs upto 1971", op. cit., p. 120.

5. Comilla U.S. Aid Conference Report, June 11-14, 1963,p.9.

The annual loans to agricultural societies for example rose from Rs. 235,664.00 in 1961/62 to Rs. 725,276.00 in 1964/65 and to Rs. 4,224,477.00 in 1967/68. Annual loans to non-agricultural societies also rose consistently from Rs. 3,000.00 in 1961/62 to Rs. 1,029,633.00 in 1967/68. 1

Loan repayments tend to reflect the responsibility of the farmer.

Before the commencement of the Comilla Program, the repayment rate was as low as 40%. In the Comilla Program, the repayment rate was as high as 98%.² R.D.Stevens states,

By keeping overdue loans and bad debts at a manageable level amounting to 2% for loans overdue longer than one year in 1970, financial health has been maintained. This has been associated with rapid growth of membership, savings accumulated by members, loans issued and loans repaid. In the 1968/69 accounting period, savings and shares amounted to 35% of the loans. Financial success is also indicated by the continuing growth of assets. 3

The extent to which technological innovations have been adopted indicates success in a program. Before the Comilla Program, the extent of winter cultivation was negligible. Tube wells were introduced to ensure a regular supply of water in winter. The extent to which pumps and tube wells were increasingly used indicates progress.

Expansion of innovation in irrigation.

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1965</u>
Tube wells	nil	1018
Pumps	less than 100	129

1. Arthur H.Raper, Rural Development in Action, op. cit., pp. 70,71.

2. R.D.Stevens, "Three Rural Development Models: Small Farm Agricultural Areas in Low Income Nations" in Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 8, April 1974, p. 419.

3. Ibid., p. 414.

Expansion of acreage under irrigation.

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	in acres.
Tube wells	none	3891	6201	
Pumps	-	<u>1227</u>	<u>2324</u>	
Total		5118	8525	

1

The increase from a negligible extent to as much as 8,525 acres can be easily accepted as impressive.

The extent of fertilizer used too indicates an achievement. In 1962, 15,974 maunds of fertilizer were used.² By 1968, as much as 50,202 maunds were used, over three times an increase over 1962.³ In 1970, a study revealed that 76.5% of farmers used all varieties of fertilizer.⁴

The rate of adoption of improved varieties of seeds is also indicative of success. Faidley and Esmay have quoted the following statistics:

Percentage of adoption of improved varieties.⁵

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Cooperative members	7	31	87	98
Non-members	-	1	66	98

1. LeVern Faidley and Merle E. Esmay, "Introduction and use of Improved Rice Varieties. Who benefits" in Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan, ed. by R.D.Stevens et. al. op. cit., p.133.

2. Third Annual Report 1961/62. P.A.R.D., Comilla, p.80.

3. Statistical Digest Supplement, 1968/69, P.A.R.D., Comilla, March 1970, p.31.

4. LeVern Faidley and Merle E. Esmay, op. cit., p. 139.

5. Ibid., p. 139.

The use of insecticides and pesticides have also increased. In 1966, only 34% of farmers used insecticides, but by 1969 and 1972, 86% of farmers used insecticides.¹ It is also revealed that in 1963/64, only 11,070 lbs. of insecticides were used.² By 1966/67, 57,611 lbs. were used. Further in 1967/68, 50,100 lbs. of pesticides were used.³ These details would indicate the extent to which farmers had changed their cultural practices and had accepted innovations.

The extent to which farmers practice weeding indicates interest in crop maximization. In 1966, in the case of the winter crop, it was found that 29% of farmers weeded their crops. By 1970, 99% of farmers followed weeding practices.⁴

Transplanting is an innovative method of cultivation which brings about an increase in the yield. Before the commencement of the Comilla Program, transplanting was relatively unknown. By 1966, as much as 66% of cooperative members and 40% of the non-members had transplanted their rice plots. This works out to an average of 51%. By 1970, the number of adopters increased to 99%, including both transplanting and line seeding.⁵

The adoption of the entire package of innovations increases the crop yield. The increases recorded are as follows:

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1. Quasi M.A.Malek, "Rice Cultivation in Comilla Kotwali Thana: The Role of Cooperatives" in Bangladesh Development Studies (Journal), Vol. 4, No. 3, July 1976, p. 360.
 2. Fifth Annual Report, P.A.R.D., Comilla, p. 90.
 3. Tenth Annual Report, P.A.R.D., Comilla, p. 72.
 4. LeVern Faidley and Merle E. Esmay, op. cit., p.136.
 5. Ibid., p. 136.

Increases in yield in case of improved rice varieties.¹

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	
Cooperative members	35.09	43.49	44.02	48.14	maunds
Non-members of cooperatives	-	<u>33.20</u>	<u>40.36</u>	<u>44.76</u>	per acre
Average	-	38.34	42.19	46.45	

Increases in yield in case of non-improved rice varieties.

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Cooperative members	16.94	18.00	19.25	16.56
Non-members of cooperatives	<u>11.74</u>	<u>15.21</u>	<u>15.74</u>	<u>25.16</u>
Average	14.34	16.60	17.49	20.86

On non-improved rice varieties the increase ranged from 14.34 maunds per acre to 20.86. As pointed out earlier, by 1969, non-improved rice varieties were in use only on 2% of the acreage. In the case of improved rice varieties, the yield reached 46.45 maunds per acre, which is over double the yield reached in the case of ordinary varieties. New varieties were introduced to Comilla, only after the inception of the Comilla Program. R.D.Stevens quotes statistics from Rahim, which indicates that farmers who were members of cooperatives had by 1969 increased the yield by 98%, whereas a group of farmers outside Comilla, who also came into the study had their yield increased only by 10%.²

On the whole, as far as agricultural production, cooperatives and irrigation are concerned, there is overwhelming evidence pointing out the very high increase in yields. The resulting increase in

1. Ibid., p. 135.

2. R.D.Stevens, "Comilla Rural Development Programs upto 1971", op. cit., p. 104.

family assets had been established at 61% in the case of cooperative members in Comilla. A study done in an adjacent area for the corresponding period found an increase of only 10%.¹

The Rural Works Program enabled the unemployed and the underemployed to be transformed to be an asset, by their being deployed on local infrastructure works-- chiefly on irrigation and drainage systems that had been neglected. Consequently, more lands could be brought under cultivation. The program thus had a dual purpose. In the first year, (1961/62) the amount spent was Rs. 200,747.00. This was increased to Rs. 334,966.00 in the next year and then further increased to Rs. 827,469.96 in 1963/64. This tremendous expenditure on public works indicates a human feat, as most of the earth work was done by manual labor. It has been described as probably the most successful attempt to use effectively the services of underemployed agricultural workers that has been undertaken in any less developed country.² However, it is important to note that except in the first year of operation, the people did not contribute their mite on a self-help basis. If the self-help basis had been adopted the work would have been of greater value.

Separate statistics are not available for the Kotwali Thana on unemployment and equality.

On the whole, it could be said that in every field, the achievement is highly significant.

1. Ibid., p. 104.

2. Edward S. Mason, Economic Development in India and Pakistan, Occasional Paper No. 13, Cambridge Center of International Affairs, Harvard University, 1966, p. 56.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

Various non-formal education processes were utilized to bring about rural development in the Comilla Program.

We introduced several alterations... I may briefly mention three structural changes in the extension education system.

1. The setting up of an institutional training and development center, with a composite team of departmental experts and a regular routine of meetings and workshops for delegates from village groups.
2. The formation of a group in each village and the feedback by every delegate to his group members in regular meetings, corresponding to the pattern at the center.
3. The organization of small farmers, for their special advancement into village cooperatives, federated into a central association and then selection by the members of each cooperative from their own rank and class, of a manager and a model farmer for learning at the center and in turn educating the group. 1

The creation of groups at the local level and the establishment of the extension arm, the Academy and the model farmer, enabled the effective use of non-formal education.

A complete community development type of educational process leading to the development of the initiatives and the responsibility of the participants was used at Comilla. It was a continuous process, as expressed by Akhter Hamid Khan.

By setting up these supporting institutions at the proper level and linking them with the village, through continuous training, conferences, supervisory visits and exchanges of views, we have a movement which never ceases and never stops. 2

The learning experiences were developed to involve the people wholly in the process, elicit their participation and to enhance their ability.

1. Syed A. Rahim, "Non-Formal Aspects of the Comilla Bangladesh Project" in Report on the Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, op cit., p. 71.

2. A.H.Khan, "The Comilla Approach- Some Problems Encountered" in Community and Agricultural Development in Pakistan, Speeches of Akhter Hamid Khan, Michigan State University, 1969, p. 31.

The emphasis is on joint and cooperative action for solving the basic problems of agricultural production, employment, health nutrition and family planning. The aim is not just to impart knowledge and skills in one shot intensive training courses, but to make training a continuous process, week after week, as the rural people become involved in the rural development activities. Training is an integral part of the continuous process of development. 1

The organization of people into groups and entrusting management functions to them, evoked their full and active participation.

Information inputs were provided to the people's groups through the model farmer and the discussions that ensued led to full participation.

The agricultural education system became a communication system with unusual features. The Federation provided agricultural teachers at its headquarters and held classes on modern agricultural techniques adopted to the local conditions. Each local group elected one of its members to be trained in these techniques. He spent one day per week at the classes held by the Federation and then reported weekly to the members of the village cooperative society on the week's material. He could also report the members' reaction to the teacher at the next week's class. Thus the system had a high degree of feedback built into it and it changed the teaching and adopting process from an individual process to a group process, as the entire village group could discuss and consider the innovations at its weekly meeting. 2

The constant discussions at the cooperative society led to the complete involvement of the people in the decision making. The cooperative was the institution around which all the activities were worked. The meetings enabled the people to discuss plans, review the progress, collect savings, receive loans and supplies as well as knowledge and information.

There was micro planning on a per member basis.

1. Syed A. Rahim, "Non-Formal Aspects of the Comilla (Bangladesh) Project", op. cit., pp. 60,61.

2. Harvey M. Choldin, "The Development Project as a Natural Experiment: The Comilla Pakistan Project", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 17, p. 484.

Each cooperative was required to prepare seasonal production plans. In the village meeting, each member of a cooperative indicated his plan of growing crops during the next season and his requirements of credit and other inputs. When these plans were discussed at the village meeting, the manager, model farmer and sometimes the cooperative inspector from Ahoy Ashram advised the farmers about the adoption of an improved practice to get higher yields. The individual plans were then consolidated into a production plan for the cooperative society and submitted to the agricultural cooperative federation. ... Usually 75% of the total membership of the cooperative attended. 1

This type of intensive activity inevitably led to a high level of participation.

Discussion was a key process that was used at Comilla. At the cooperative meetings, ample opportunity was afforded for discussions to proceed, with every member being allowed to actively participate. The ideas and discussions spilled over and were carried on in informal group circles. This led to intense thinking and a great deal of horizontal communication and interaction. Akhter Hamid Khan says,

The meetings also had their effect on the villages. The East Pakistani villager likes to argue. He does not want anything to be settled without at least two hours of discussion. Naturally the officers are too busy to spend so many hours with discussions in the villages, so they cut them short. Then the villagers think there must be something fishy; otherwise the discussion would not have been guillotined like that. But in their own meetings they continue the discussion. The subject under discussion is approached from various angles and finally at perhaps one or two o'clock in the morning, they may arrive at a conclusion or postpone the subject for further discussion later on. These discussions, these exchanges of views, sustain the morale in the village. 2

These intense discussions led to critical thinking-- to conscientization, where the people realized their existing situation of low

1. Syed A. Rahim, Communication and Rural Development in Bangladesh, East West Center, 1976, pp. 45,46.

2. A.H.Khan, "The Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, East Pakistan", Speech at M.I.T. on July 10-13 1964, in Rural Development in East Pakistan, Speeches of Akhter Hamid Khan, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1964, p.44.

incomes and knew of the innovative methods they had to adopt to increase their incomes. The learning experiences were reinforced in continuous processes of learning, where significant non-formal education processes like discussion, participation, conscientization and community development played a major role.

The intense use of participation led to the use of consensus in decision making. Akhter Hamid Khan says,

Now looking at the process of adoption, our conclusions were that it curiously depended on consensus and joint effort... In village after village, we found that adoption had to be by group action. Why? For one thing everybody let loose his cattle immediately after the rice was harvested in November. All the cattle of the village were let loose. They were kept tied while the rice was in the field, but as the rice was harvested the cattle were kept loose. This is one example of how adoption depends on consensus. 1

The functioning and the well being of a village depends on the unity in the village and herein lies the importance of consensus. Here, the attempt through conscientization was at convincing all the members of the village about the importance of following a particular course of action. The significance of consensus lies in the fact that it does not lead to friction in the village. The dissenters have to be convinced of the validity and the necessity of the single point of view. The use of non-formal education processes on an intense basis led to consensus.

Self-help was not used in the Comilla Program of Rural Works, and the adverse effect it had are clearly visible in the low record of progress in the latter half of the program. In the first year of

1. A.H.Khan, "Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, East Pakistan", op. cit., p. 45.

the program, self-help processes were adopted. The public contribution was estimated at Rs. 23,000.00, while the government provided Rs. 258,000.00, out of which Rs. 200,747.00 was spent.¹ But as public contributions were not forthcoming, the officials had resorted to falsifications in order to show contributions on paper, while in actuality no contribution was made. The insistence on self-help, with matching funds to be collected in cash or labor, "led some to attempt subterfuge and dishonest manipulation of accounts".² Finally, it was decided that, "if the public contribution could be paid only at cost to the laborers or by other deception, it should be dispensed with entirely. Public contribution was discontinued and the work was resumed."³

Once the element of public contribution was done away with, the work became a government employment project, where the people were paid wages for the work they did. The people therefore could not develop a sense of belongingness to the work. However, an attempt was made to involve the people in the planning.

It was hoped that on account of planning by local councils and on account of management by project committees, popular participation would be ensured and consequently planning would be thorough and appropriate and execution would be painstaking and frugal. ⁴

1. A.H.Khan and K.H.Mohsen, "A Rural Public Works Program", in Pakistan Academy for Rural Development Journal, July 1962, p.5.

2. Ibid., p.5.

3. Arthur H. Raper, Rural Development in Action, op. cit., p. 118.

4. A.H.Khan, Three Essays, Land Reform, Rural Works and the Food Problem in Pakistan, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1973, p. 25.



Here, the attempt was to create participation of the people and to attempt at building up the initiatives and the responsibility in the people. Participation can be created by informing the people of plans and obtaining their approval, but as the work was done on wage labor, the program never belonged to the people. People get involved in intense management only when they too contribute; they would then be frugal and avoid waste as their sweat and blood had gone into it. Thus a quantum of contribution, however small would have enabled this project to become a vibrant people's movement.

In 1963/64, Rs. 827,469.96 was spent. There was an abrupt fall in the expenditure to Rs. 178,000.00 in 1964/65 and Rs.220,887.15 in 1965/66. Raper says that the shortfall in expenditure in 1964/65 was due to the presidential elections, as no funds were released till late.¹ However, it is important to note that the amounts spent in the coming years nowhere reached even half of what was spent in 1963/64. The Eleventh Annual Report offers the following explanation:

The employment under the Rural Works Program has declined in comparison to previous years. This might be due to the fact that the Thana Council undertook a limited number of projects under the Rural Works Program and most of the projects were given to contractors. 2

Originally, there was no reliance on contractors and the projects were to be planned and implemented by special project committees, with the full participation of the people. These project committees were trained at the Academy to manage these projects. Thus, the quantum of work that was done by contractors would indicate the

1. Arthur H. Raper, Rural Development in Action, op. cit., p. 122.

2. Eleventh Annual Report, P.A.R.D., Comilla, p. 64.

extent to which the program of rural works had failed to become a people's movement. The comments made by Akhter Hamid Khan, after visiting 21 Thanas in 1971, when he noticed that contractors were on the increase-- "this means higher expenditure and lesser participation by the people" would apply with equal force to what happened at Comilla.¹ The failure of this program in later years appears to have been mainly caused by the fact that this program was not structured to become a people's movement. This was because it did not contain a self-help element in it.

Despite the failure in participation in the case of the rural works program, it is clearly evident that in the case of the other programs such as the spread of innovations, the cooperative and the production increase aspect, various non-formal education processes were used in order to elicit the participation of the people, make them partners in development and at the same time build up their initiatives and responsibility.

Summary of Evidence.

It is evident that the administrative system was well coordinated at the Thana level and below. Though the departments could not be welded together at the Thana level, they were effectively brought together by being housed at the Thana Academy. They were thereby compelled to use the services of the model farmers and the cooperatives. Thus there was effective coordination of programs. There was decentralization of power to the Academy and below at the

1. A.H.Khan, Four Rural Development Programs, An Evaluation, P.A.R.D., Peshawar, 1974, p.8.

cooperative level.

The evidence is clear that there was a very high level of achievement. The extent can indeed be called unique and in the fields of agriculture and irrigation the progress is highly significant.

It is evident that non-formal education processes such as discussion, deliberation, conscientization and participation were used to the maximum. Consensus was advocated and adopted in village group decision making. It has been shown how the effective coordination and the build up of village level institutions paved the way for the use of non-formal education in the cause of rural development..

INDIA

The Indian model of rural development can at best be termed semi-integrated. Here, a part of rural development, is called the Community Development Program and is handled by the Panchayati Raj democratic institutions. There is total integration between the community development program and the local self-government functions as both are handled by the Panchayati Raj institutions.

The Panchayats were village level institutions elected on adult franchise. These Panchayats were entrusted with the implementation of the community development program, which at the outset comprised literacy, community education and self-help projects. This was established as a departmental program in 1952 and 1958 saw the creation of a Ministry of Community Development. The Panchayats too were expanded, to have a representative committee consisting of representatives of the Panchayats, to hold powers of planning and implementation in a Panchayat Samiti at block level. In turn the representatives of the Panchayat Samiti formed a body called the

Zilla Parishad at the district level. These hierarchical bodies were entrusted with the tasks of planning and implementing the community development program. Though at the outset, the community development functions were limited, it was expanded later. In most States, later on agriculture was handed over to the Panchayati Raj for implementation. In 1966 the Community Development Department and the Agricultural Department were merged in some States.

Though the Panchayats coordinated certain aspects of work on a definite basis, they were not the king-pin of the village administrative system. The Second Five Year Plan makes this position clear.

The introduction of the Panchayati Raj raises the wider question of the reorganization of the district administration. It is not generally realized that over the past decade, changes in district administration have been somewhat haphazard. When the community development program was taken up, the extension organization had to be superimposed on the traditional district administration without adequate connecting links. The consequence is that in many districts, the following organizations are working on parallel lines, with their activities largely uncoordinated.

1. the revenue administration which looks after certain specified development functions such as taccavi advances, recoveries etc.
2. the established development departments at the district, taluka and other levels.
3. the community development organization with block officers and the village level workers, linked at the village level with Panchayats and cooperatives.
4. local boards (where these have not been abolished). 1

It is evident that the colonial administrative structure which was inherited by independent India was not totally changed. Instead, it has only been altered slightly by the addition of departments. Community Development was commenced as a departmental

1. Second Five Year Plan, Government of India, 1961, p. 341.

program and later expanded to be a Ministry. But no total change was brought about in the administrative system to enable the community development institution, the Panchayat, to cut across all the development activities at the village level. The Fourth Five Year Plan also makes it clear that there was no integration.

The administrative apparatus at the district, block and village level has to be integrated and where necessary, strengthened. The integration has to comprise not only the staff of the Community Development and Panchayati Raj institutions, but also normal departmental staff, dealing with all development schemes. 1

On a departmental basis, the community development and the Panchayati Raj administration is maintained separate from the District Collector who yet handles important functions like land administration and law and order. On the other hand, "the differentiated nature of the administration at the district level and below does not permit the Panchayati Raj to insure that the implementation of various programs in the field of agricultural development is well integrated and coordinated. For example, the distribution of improved varieties of seeds and fertilizers is effected through licensed distributors and the agricultural loans are advanced by cooperative banks. This raises the important question of coordination of various activities carried on by the different autonomous agencies."² The lack of integration is also evident when one considers the functioning of district and divisional level officers. These officers belong to a definite departmental structure which has vertical communication to

1. Draft Fourth Five Year Plan, 1969-74, Government of India, p. 170.

2. Ramshray Roy, Bureaucracy and Development, The Case of Indian Agriculture, Manas, New Delhi, 1975, p. 165.



a marked degree. Merely coordinating these officers in their working has little effect.

District level extension officers are superimposed on the departmental cadre and functions under the guidance and control of their departmental officers either at the regional level or at the headquarters. The district level officers, it has been noticed, evince less interest in their work in the field since the introduction of Panchayati Raj than they used to do before. They appear to feel that with the introduction of Panchayati Raj, the onus of execution of projects has passed on to the popular representatives and Panchayati Raj institutions. 1

Duplication of functions inevitably leads to inefficiency. Without a relaxation of the vertical control that the departments hold, any attempt at coordination is bound to be unsuccessful. Except in the case of the Panchayati Raj, there has been very little decentralization. Thus the administrative system is fragmented in itself and this presents a major problem. The consequences at the village level have been highlighted in a study of rural institutions in Andhra Pradesh.

The village Panchayats never came forward in the village visited by us to give any assistance to the multipurpose (cooperative) society in chalking out its production plans. ... In practice the Panchayats and the village level workers are quite indifferent towards the village societies and also between themselves. ... The Agricultural Department is not keen on developing a rapport with the rural cooperatives and other agencies at the village level.

It is quite clear from the preceding paragraphs that coordination among the multipurpose (cooperative) society, the Panchayati Raj institutions, the Primary School and the Agricultural Department is at the lowest ebb. 2

The inefficiency resulting from duplication of work between institutions and the lack of coordination is evident from a study of

1. P.K.Chaudhuri, "Panchayati Raj in Action- A Study of Rajasthan", in The Economic Weekly- Annual Number, Feb.1964,p.215.

2. L.R.Rao, Rural Cooperatives, Sultan Chand, Delhi, 1974 pp. 166, 167.

local organizations by Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman.

In the Indian Punjab, for example, the Panchayat system is not very effective or oriented to rural development problems, though the cooperatives do provide marketing and credit rather broadly in the rural community. 1

Though on paper, Panchayati Raj institutions were expected to play a major role in agricultural development, it was found that in the Punjab, one of the most progressive areas as far as agricultural development is concerned, the cooperatives and the Panchayati Raj institutions have not been instrumental in bringing about rural development.

In the last decade, Punjab went through a tremendous change in all sectors of the economy, including agriculture and non-agriculture sectors. the local governing institutions, the village Panchayats and cooperatives have done very little to influence this remarkable change and hence rural development in Punjab has taken place largely irrespective of them. In particular Panchayats did not do much in agriculture, even though one of their main assignments was to improve agriculture. The bureaucracy did not expect or desire that they would take a leading role and did not give them the actual authority and resources needed. 2

The evidence indicates that the Panchayati Raj institutions and the cooperatives did not play an active part in the field of agriculture. Agriculture was not entirely handed over to the Panchayats either. The Department of Agriculture did not use the Panchayat as its institution for agricultural development. There were a number of institutions as well as departments handling agriculture and other development functions at the village level and thus the

1. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p. 97.

2. S.S.Johl & Mohinder S.Mudahar, The Dynamics of Institutional Change and Rural Development in Punjab, India, Cornell University, 1974, p. 157.



Indian rural development model cannot be categorized as integrated. Though the self-government institution and the community development institution were identical and at a latter stage agriculture was brought under the same umbrella, there was coordination only to a certain degree. At the village level, the Panchayati Raj and the cooperatives wye for power, with functions being also handled by village level officers. Thus there is no integration in administration, no effective decentralization of all development functions, no relaxation of vertical controls by individual departments and because of these factors, the administrative changes brought about to create the Panchayati Raj have had little effect. Thus the administrative structure in itself poses a major problem to the achievement of rural development goals.

The Achievement.

The lack of progress in India is reflected in the low g.n.p. per capita of \$ 140, with real growth rates of only 1.2% for the period 1960/76 and 1.7% for 1970/76,¹ and the prevalence of widespread poverty.

The achievement in agricultural development during the celebrated community development program, when a rural awakening was yearned for, was far from phenomenal. Kusum Nair tells us that "the average yield of rice at 906 lbs. per acre(1960/61) continues to be the lowest in the world".² The yield of rice was at 1668 kg/ha

1. 1978 World Bank Atlas, op. cit., p.6.

2. Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1961, p. 194.



in 1969/71 and 1873 kg/ha in 1977.¹ The 1977/78 Economic Survey admits that the "average yield of rice per hectare in this country (India) is less than a fourth of that in Japan. Aside from Japan, rice yields in Korea and Taiwan seem to be 2 to 3 times higher than in India".² Though in the case of rice, the increase in production was low, in the case of wheat, record increases were achieved. Between 1964/65 and 1970/71 wheat production rose by 90%.³ However, it is important to note that during this period the yields have increased only by 43% while the acreage cultivated increased by 36%.⁴ Increases in wheat production were concentrated in the Punjab, where the holdings are larger in size and there are farmers with entrepreneurial ability and capital. The wheat acreage in the Punjab increased from 12.8 million hectares in 1966/67 to 15.8 million hectares in 1969/70. The average yield per hectare increased from 887 kg/ha to 1267 kg/ha during the same period.⁵ It is thus found that even in the case of wheat, the increase in the yield was not phenomenal and a good portion of the increase in production came from the increase in the acreage. Further, even this achievement has to be judged from the broader point of view of development of the people. Considering all cereals, it is found that the yield is only 1286 kg/ha in 1977.⁶

1. 1977 FAO Production Year Book, F.A.O. 1977, p. 96.

2. 1977/78 Economic Survey, Government of India, 1978, p.8.

3. John W. Mellor, New Economics of Growth, Cornell University Press, 1976, p.50.

4. Ibid., p. 51.

5. M.S.Randhawa, Green Revolution, John Wiley, 1974, p. 181.

6. 1977 FAO Production Year Book, op. cit., p. 92.

The community development program was implemented, "not only for the material achievements they will bring about, but much more so because they seek to build up the community and the individual and to make the latter a builder not only of his own village center, but in a larger sense of India".¹ The community development program is accepted to have been a failure. Philip H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed have said,

Undeniable community development had created in its early years a great surge of hope and enthusiasm among the rank and file of community development workers and villagers. it must also be said that after its first decade of operation the Community Development Program had not significantly altered the basic conditions in rural India. Abject poverty, malnutrition and illhealth and above all India's worsening food crisis had but one remedy-- a larger production of wealth from the land. Apparently, mainly on this score, on its failure to stimulate sizeable increases in production and income flows, many Indian observers, specially economists declare community development a failure. 2

The cooperative program too did not have significant results. At the begining of the First Five Year Plan, only 6% of borrowing by farmers was met by cooperatives. But, by the mid 1960s, this had increased to as much as 30% and by 1970/71, it reached 40%.³ However, it has been found that only the richer segments of the population have benefitted. A sample survey in the five northern districts of West Bengal concluded that,

1. Prime Minister Nehru, Statement made at the first Development Commissioner's Conference, May 7, 1952, quoted in Kurukshetra, October 2, 1970, p.31.

2. Philip H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, The John Hopkins University Press, 1974, pp. 70,71.

3. H.C.Jain, "Growth and Recent Trends in Institutional Credit in India", in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Oct.-Dec. 1971, p.555.



The net impact of rural credit cooperatives in our sample areas is that the traditional elements of vested interests of the countryside have been strengthened and that the under-privileged class, the majority of the rural people have been weakened. 1

In fact the situation merited the remark, "in the actual disbursement of cooperative credit, it is the landlords and big landowners who usually take the major share" from S.K.Dey.²

Overdues on loans granted were high. In 1966/67, loan overdues were 33% in all India and 18.1% in the Punjab.³

M. Dantwala says,

The one disturbing feature is the phenomenal growth of overdues. On June 30, 1970, the overdues of primary societies amounted to Rs. 268 crores, consisting 37.7% of the outstanding loans. 4

In 1972/73, in the Punjab, the overdues were at 58%.⁵ It need not be mentioned that the high rate of overdues reflects failure on the part of the cooperatives.

The coverage of cooperatives was also low. In 1968, only 35% of the farmers were covered by cooperatives.⁶

A definite criteria that would enable the evaluation of the effectiveness of cooperatives is the extent of savings. In a study of primary agricultural credit cooperatives and multipurpose cooperatives in Andhra Pradesh, it was found that in 1950/51, the share capital which amounts to the savings invested by the members

1. Sib Sath Bhattachariya, "Vested Interests in Rural Credit Cooperatives" in Kurukshetra, 7-16-72, p. 17.

2. S.K.Dey, Power to the People, Orient Longmans, 1969, p.138.

3. M.S.Randhawa, Green Revolution, op. cit., p.89.

4. M.L.Dantwala, Preface to Comparative Experience of Agricultural Development in Developing Countries of Asia and the South East since World War II, Thacker & Co., 1972, p.3.

5. S.S.Johl and Mohinder S. Mudahar, The Dynamics of Institutional Change and Rural Development in Punjab, op.cit., P. 92.

6. Kurukshetra, May 1968, p.7.

in a cooperative was only Rs. 8,079.00, against loans outstanding to the extent of Rs. 28,649.00. In 1970/71, the share capital was Rs. 87,360.00 against which the loans outstanding amounted to Rs. 265,181.00.¹ When one considers the fact that the people had to purchase the shares in order to be entitled to draw credit, it is evident that the savings have been made under compulsion. Further, the low proportion of savings, indicates that the share capital was actually not a saving, but a deposit made to be entitled to draw loans. In the Punjab, one of the areas where it is accepted that the cooperatives worked well, the savings were Rs. 33.00(\$ 4) per member on the average.² Comparatively, in Comilla, the savings amounted to as much as \$ 29 per member, with an average loan of only \$ 53 per member.³

In the circumstances it is evident that the cooperatives were inefficient and did not contribute towards rural development as much as should be expected. In fact the total situation made Daniel Thorn conclude,

As the author's field visits show, control of the cooperatives tend to rest in the hands of a few landholding families.⁴

India's literacy rate was as low as 36% in 1970.⁵ The poverty in the country is reflected in the low incomes and the high inequality.

1. G. Ram Reddy, Panchayati Raj and Rural Development in Andhra Pradesh, Cornell University, 1974, p. 33.

2. M.S. Randhawa, Green Revolution, op. cit., p.85.

3. R.D.Stevens, "Comilla R.D.Programs upto 1971", op.cit., p. 120.

4. Daniel Thorner, "The Weak and the Strong" in Development Digest, Vol. 6, No. 1, Jan. 1968, p. 50.

5. World Tables, 1976, op. cit., p. 522.

The highest 5% of the population, by income, enjoyed as much as 21.9% of the total national income in 1964/65 and this percentage increased further to 24.6% in 1967/68.¹ In 1970, this 5% enjoyed 24% of total national income.² On the other hand, the lowest 10% of the people by income, received only 5% of total national income.³ The lowest 20% of the population enjoyed only 6.4% of the total incomes in 1970/71, according to the Asian Development Bank.⁴ Earlier the World Tables indicated that the income share of the lowest 10% was only 5% for 1970 and it is evident that the increase of another 10% of the next segment of lower income people, should increase the income share by at least 5%, as generally the lowest segment enjoys the least. Thus there seems to be a disparity in the statistics. This could be due to facts coming from two sample surveys. In a large country like India, there are wide disparities in areas and in the situation in each. It is important to note that if the income of the lowest 10% of the people had been quoted by the Asian Development Bank, it would definitely have been less than half the income share accruing to the lowest 20%. This amounts to less than 3.2%. Taking both records into account it could be said that the income of the poorer segments is very low.

The poverty is also reflected in the high level of infant mortality, amounting to as much as 139 per 1000 in 1970 and in low

1. Rural Asia, Asian Development Bank, Praeger, 1978, p.64.

2. World Tables, 1976, op. cit., p. 515.

3. Ibid., p. 515.

4. Rural Asia, op. cit., p. 64.



life expectancy rates-- 41 years in 1960 and 50 years in 1970.¹ Unemployment levels are high in India, with 2.7 millions unemployed in 1967, rising to 10.3 million in 1977.² Between 1961 and 1971, landless agricultural laborers increased by 80%.³ In 1961, landless agricultural labor constituted 16.7% of the labor force and in 1971, constituted 25.7% of the labor force.⁴ Land Reform was not a success in India. Evidence to this effect has already been included in Chapter 4, Section 1.⁵

Though it is said that self sufficiency has been achieved in food grains, it is important to note that the lower segments of the people do not have the purchasing power to obtain the food. The situation is that despite a food surplus of 16 million tons held in godowns, in 1978, "paradoxically food items have remained scarce and costly in consumer markets..... For the affluent who are able to purchase quality grains and other foods from the open market there is relative abundance. But the poor do not have the purchasing power to fill their needs even at the price controlled ration shops."⁶

On the whole, the evidence points to lack of significant progress and achievement. Though low growth rates have been maintained and food surpluses have been stored, the lot of the poor man has become poorer.

1. World Tables, 1976, op. cit., p. 506.

2. Year Book of Labor Statistics 1977, I.L.O., p. 462.

3. Rural Asia, op. cit., p. 55.

4. S. Sinha, The Bitter Harvest, Manas, 1975, p.3.

5. Chapter 4, pp. 32,33.

6. Marcus Franda, "New Directions in Indian Agriculture" in Common Ground, Vol.4, No.3, Fall 1978, p.35.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

Non-Formal Education instructional courses, imparted in an organized manner, aimed at reaching the out-of-school clientele have been planned and implemented in a variety of subjects including industry and the various vocations. Regarding the provision for out-of-school youth Asher Deleon says,

A program in India called non-formal education for 15-25 age group, which is a major scheme in the Five Year Plan has been conceived as a decentralized, diversified, environment based educational program which augurs well for the contradictions between what the curriculum tends to convey and what the learners require. 1

Many courses of this type have been successfully implemented, enabling the out-of-school youth to acquire skills and knowledge to fit into the job market.

On the other hand, in the field of rural development, an attempt has been made to use non-formal education processes in those aspects of development that came under the Community Development Program. No such attempt has been made in the case of development programs that did not come under the umbrella of community development. To start with the Community Development Program only included literacy classes, a rural self-help program of infrastructure works, a community education program and social education. It included agriculture only after the Intensive Agricultural Development Program of 1960 and that too only in a limited area. By 1960, the programs that came under the Community Development Program had hardly been successful and as would be shown, the educational process in community development got lost

1. Asher Deleon, "Adult Education as a Corrective to the failure of formal education" in Prospects, Vol.8, No. 2, 1978, p.173.

in the craze for implementation. Thus non-formal education processes never came to be used in a systematic manner in the case of agricultural development programs.

Participation was one of the key objectives in the community development movement. In the words of Prime Minister Nehru, " the people were to be invested with a sense of intimate partnership".¹ But participation was taken to mean the contribution of cash or labor for self-help programs and the physical presence at meetings. The Rural Works Program was based on self-help and on a statistical basis it has been found that the people's contribution amounted to as much as 54.6% of the Government's expenditure.² Though impressive rural works were created, the people hardly knew why they were donating their labor.³ S.C.Dube says that the great majority of the people who participated had very little understanding of why they contributed their labor.⁴ This was due to the fact that there was no educational awakening brought about in the people in any sphere of the working of the programs. As Hugh Tinker says,

And so the officials make the decisions, for the good of the people, of course, but without their active participation. Instead of community development being built up of rural needs, it is dispensed from above, often concentrated into a few major projects, which are easier to plan and administer and yield

1. Quoted by S.C.Dube in India's Changing Villages, Routeledge, Kegan & Paul, 1958, p. 11.

2. Kurukshetra, 2-10-1966, p. 82.

3. Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, op. cit., pp. 93.97.98.

4. S.C.Dube, "Some Problems of Communication in Rural Community Development" in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 144.

concrete results.... the original intention of development, whereby the administrator's role will be to 'prime the pump' to ensure that the venture was fairly launched and transfer authority to the people has been disappointed. 1

It was no surprise that by 1965/66, the people's contribution on self-help projects had dwindled to 21.3% of the Government's expenditure.²

In the working of the Panchayats, the full membership was expected to meet in the Gram Sabha, where they could have been involved in the discussions, the thinking and the decision making that went into a program. But a study by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperatives in 1963 reported that the meetings had not been functioning there in any real sense of the term. The meetings were "thinly attended and a quorum was seldom achieved".³ In a study of panchayats in Andhra Pradesh, it has been reported that the Gram Sabha is not an effective body and that it hardly ever meets unless when required by law--twice a year.⁴ By the time agriculture was handed over after 1960, the community development movement had already failed in involving the people. The movement had become task oriented and it had not involved the people in an educational manner. As Mukherjee says,

Looking back over the period, I get the impression that as workers in the program, we realized inadequately that the weakness lay in the methods followed in determining the program objectives, priorities and targets in implementing the programs.

1. Hugh Tinker, "Authority and Community in Village India" op. cit., p.201.

2. Kurukshetra, 2-10-66, p. 82.

3. Report of the Study Team on the Position of Gram Sabha in Panchayati Raj movement, Government of India, 1963, p.23.

4. G.Ram Reddy, Panchayati Raj and Rural Development in Andhra Pradesh, op. cit., p. 46.



The bulk of the thinking done in conferences and seminars during this period was devoted to problems of implementation of the program activities, reasons for failure to achieve the targets of physical accomplishment and to failures of the administrative machinery to get things done and achieved by the people. Not enough thought was devoted to the processes of community development and to relate the program activities to the community development objectives. 1

What happened was that the community development movement got bureaucratized and the results were quantified. Thereafter, the emphasis was on the quantified achievement and not on the educational content of building up the initiatives of the people. The question of immersing the people in learning experiences, as they participated within the development programs, leading to the development of their initiatives and responsibility had been lost sight of. Thus non-formal education could not play a role in developing the abilities of the people and motivate them for development.

The agricultural achievement of the districts handed over to the Community Development Program, under the Intensive Agricultural Development Program, was also not significant.

It was found that the average performance of all original IADP districts over an eight year period was not better than that of the adjoining non-program districts or the rest of the agriculture sectionthe rate of growth of outputs and average yields was as great or greater in the adjoining districts than in the IADP districts themselves. 2

The community development administration was hardly efficient. In a study of the Green Revolution in Eastern India it has been said that,

1. B. Mukherjee, Community Development in India, op. cit., p. 29.

2. Louis Lefebvre and Mrinal Datta Chaudhuri, Regional Development Experiences in South and South East Asia, Moulten, 1971, p. 81.

"the role of the block in providing fertilizers to the farmers was quite negligible in all villages".¹ The overall performance of the IADP areas has been concluded as follows:

On a whole the IADP strategy was unsuccessful. Three of the grand total of 15 districts showed overall production increases, but the 15 districts as a group showed no significant growth in either output or yields. 2

It was in these IADP areas that community development was expected to be used and the village institution of the Panchayat was to involve the people and obtain their active participation. The very mediocre and even negative results flow perhaps due to the failure to use non-formal education processes for rural development.

However, John Mellor is of the opinion that "the basic error in community development and of the extension program, generally lay in placing excessive emphasis on changing farmers' attitudes towards innovation and insufficient emphasis on the technology of change".³ Farmers' attitudes can only be changed by their active participation and by critical thinking within the development program. Every detail in the program should be a learning experience which will build up the initiatives and the responsibility of the farmers. But the Community Development Program in India did not involve the farmers in this manner. Thus, no attempt was made to change the

1. G.C.Mandel and M.G.Gosh, Economics of the Green Revolution: A Study in East India, Asia Publishing House, 1976, p.12.

2. W.B.Morgan, Agriculture in the Third World, Westview Press, 1978, pp. 156. 157.

3. John W. Mellor, "The Evolution of Rural Development Policy" in Developing Rural India, Plan and Practice, ed. by John Mellor, Weaver, Lele and Simon, Cornell University Press, 1968, p.61.

attitudes of the farmers.

Summary of Evidence.

The case of India is of great importance, because it is a clear instance where administrative structural changes were brought about to enable the people to participate in the development process and become responsible. However, the evidence is to the effect that though participatory institutions were provided for the people to discuss and deliberate, decide and implement the decisions on a mutually cooperative basis, the emphasis was not placed on the educational processes ; instead directive administrative practices were used. Consequently the results were mediocre and it has been shown that little progress has been made in every field. The evidence clearly shows that as much as administrative reforms are necessary, non-formal education processes too have to be continuously used to bring about the participation of the people and make them partners for the sake of achieving the goals of rural development.

THE PHILIPPINES.

The rural development model followed in the Philippines is classified as a semi-integrated model as the barrio council for local government was also used to implement the community development program, but the program did not cover many other important aspects like agriculture and cooperative development. The Executive Order detailing the work that came under the community development program auspices was:

- a) Plan and implement the President's community development program in barrios, municipalities and chartered cities and coordinate offices of the government engaged in community development.
- b) Promote the organization of community development councils at the provincial and municipal levels and barrio councils according to the law.
- c) Develop a grants-in-aid program to stimulate participation of barrio citizens in community development.
- d) Recommend to the President, legislation contributing to the economic and social betterment of the rural areas and the strengthening of local government.
- e) Perform such other functions as the President may assign.. 1

It is evident that in the Philippines, there is more than one village level institution attending to the functions of rural development. Under the Revised Barrio Charter-- the Republican Act 3590 of 1963, a barrio council consisting of a captain and six councilmen were elected in each barrio. It had a tax base and had the right to promulgate ordinances for planning and implementing development programs. While the barrio councils were entrusted with the planning and the implementation of the community development program, there were many other agencies working on parallel development programs at the barrio level.

the past two decades have seen a plethora of agencies and programs under government and private sponsorship purportedly aimed at rural development. Among these were programs of community development, rural reconstruction, agrarian reform, social development, rural health, applied nutrition, agricultural development, social action, radio farm news, agricultural research, agricultural marketing news services, family planning, feeder roads and even rural electrification. 2

The barrio council handled community development and local government functions and there were other institutions like cooperatives and

1. Executive Order No. 156, Government of the Philippines, Jan. 6, 1956.

2. Sharing in Development, A Program of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines, I.L.O., 1974, p.517.



other non-institutional authorities like village level officers, who were entrusted with separate functions at the grassroots level. This multiplicity in village level organization is amply illustrated by Orlando J. Sacay,

When I was working.. as Director of Agriculture, I tried to count the number of government agencies engaged in agricultural development. If I recall correctly, there were 43. Of these, 27 were directly engaged in agriculture, and six were indirectly related to agriculture. At the local level there were at least 10 agencies which deployed field workers. For the farmer, it must be confusing to have people from different agencies of the same government telling him to do this and that. 1

Santiago S. Simpas, Ledivina Carino and Arturo G. Pacho state that coordination "is one area of interaction that needs more attention, since the achievement of effective coordination appears to be a necessary precondition to efficient use of resources for rural development."² In fact, Abelardo G. Samonte says that, "the last decade may be described as a period of administrative evolution and innovation, without the benefit of any comprehensive or government wide reorganization and reform".³

It is evident that there is very little integration of functions in this model of rural development administration. What has happened was that administrative structures inherited from the colonial authorities have not been totally altered in a systematic manner. It had only been expanded by the addition of ministries and departments. Each of these agencies believe in strong vertical

1. Orlando J. Sacay, Samahang Nayon, National Publishing Cooperative, 1974, p.28.

2. Santiago S. Simpas, Ledivina Carino and Arturo G. Pacho, Local Government and Rural Development in the Philippines, Cornell University, 1974, p. 104.

3. Abelardo G. Samonte, "Reorganizing the Government for Development" in The Philippine Economy in the 1970s: Prospects and Problems of Development, University of Philippines, 1972, p.29.

communication in order to control the village level organization.

Raul P.de Guzman tells of the administrative problems,

Perhaps another drawback that could be deduced in the past government rice production program was in the administrative structure of implementing the programs. There was no rational attempt to integrate the activities of the different agencies whose functions were involved in the rice industry. As it was, there were many government agencies related to the rice industry and the agencies had on more than one occasion clashed with each other. With the overlapping of functions, the inevitable conflicts and ambitions of each agency and the personal desires of the administrators to accomplish more in their respective functional area, generated more animosity and friction to such an extent that government rice production suffered a set back. 1

This situation was in the limited field of agriculture. It was worse when the community development institution the barrio council and other programs are included. Orlando J. Sacay refers to an attempt that was made to coordinate the government manpower resources at the barrio level, which failed. He says that, "everyone wanted to be the coordinator and no one wanted to be coordinated".²

In such an administrative system, it was not possible for any decentralization. Abelardo G.Samonte says,

A third problem area is too much government centralism which has resulted in congestion and delays in administrative action. Our administrative system must undergo a considerable amount of decentralization. This can be done through more delegation of authority to regional and field offices of the national agencies as well as through greater autonomy to the local governments. Deconcentration and decentralization would certainly foster more initiative and a greater spirit of self-reliance and resourcefulness. 3

1. Raul P.de Guzman, "Achieving Self-sufficiency in Rice-A study of Philippines' Experience in Program Implementation", in Philippine Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 14, 1970, p.142.

2. Orlando J.Sacay, Samahang Nayon, op.cit., p.28.

3.Abelardo G. Samonte, "Reorganizing the Government for Development", op. cit., p.36.

The I.L.O. Report of 1974, also states that the lack of decentralization precluded growth.

Overcentralizing of decision making has, we believe, been a major constraint on sustaining rural growth in the past. 1

It is evident that though the barrio council is also handling the community development program, there has not been any basic structural change in the administrative system to enable the development of a single viable institution at the village level, to enable the evocation of the participation of the people. Willie Chua Depositario says,

It is evidently desirable that the government turn over to the barrio council the tasks of administering and coordinating local development programs. In short, the council should be the hub of all development activities. It is high time that the government act in this direction. Definite measures to make the barrio council more viable, aggressive, potent and dynamic should be taken. 2

Thus the administrative system has not been altered. There are a few village level organizations, but the fact that the community development program is being implemented by the local government institution, the barrio council, entitles this model of rural administration to fall into the semi-integrated model.

The Achievement.

The overall achievement of the Philippines has not been highly significant. The community development program was limited to a few self-help rural works and this could hardly have made an impact.

1. Sharing in Development, A Program of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines, op. cit., p.66.

2. Willie Chua Depositario, "Local Leadership in Agriculture", in Economic Research Journal, Vol. 18, No. 2, Sept. 1971, p. 91.

In agriculture, the yields are low. The average yield for all cereals for 1970/72 was only 1261 kg/ha, which cannot stand comparison to the yield of 5179 in Japan.¹ In 1977, the yield for all cereals in the Philippines was only 1436 kg/ha.² The yield of rice too is low. Rice yields were at 1655 kg/ha in 1969/71 and this increased to only 1959 kg/ha in 1977.³ The goal of the celebrated 'masagna 99' project was to raise the yield to 99 cavans per hectare. This was far from achieved. In 1977, the average yield was only 45-50 cavans per hectare.⁴ By 1976, it was said that domestic production had reached self sufficiency.⁵ However, this has to be assessed from the point of view as to whether all segments of the population had sufficient to eat. There is no rationing scheme to give free food to the needy. Further there has been no phenomenal increase in the yields to support such an achievement. Thus it cannot be said conclusively that true self sufficiency was achieved.

The g.n.p. per capita is higher than the normal Third World country-- \$ 420 in 1976 with growth rates of 2.4% in the period 1960-76 and 3.9% in 1970-76.⁶

The achievement in the field of cooperatives has been summarized by Orlando J. Sacay,

1. Norman T. Uphoff, et. al., Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p.33.

2. 1977 FAO Production YearBook, op. cit., p. 92.

3. Ibid., p. 97.

4. "The Philippines" in War on Hunger, A.I.D., December 1977, p. 6.

5. Brewster Grace, "Agriculture in the Philippines", in Common Ground, IV, No. 3, Fall 1978, p.65.

6. 1978 World Bank Atlas, op. cit., p.6.

The Report (Report on Consumer's Cooperatives in Greater Manila Area) said: 532 Consumer Cooperatives registered in the Greater Manila Area, 59 reporting. The rest were unheard of. Nationwide, 1916 Consumer's Cooperatives were registered with only 115 reporting. Since 1952, there were 668 of these Farmer's Cooperatives organized in the entire country. As of June 30, only 295 were reporting active, i.e. lending government money. Only 80 had net incomes and only 37 reflected a positive net worth. To date, these cooperatives and their members owe the Government P 159 million. The chances of recovery are almost nil. 1

The evidence points to a firily complete failure on the part of the cooperatives.

Regarding poverty, it has been estimated that 500,000 pre-school children are suffering from third degree malnutrition, in that they have a body weight of less than 60% of the average weight. Also over a third of elementary school children are estimated to be under nourished, consuming only 1,700 calories per day.² Rural wages have been on the decline, contributing to the poverty. Real wages in agriculture have decreased by about 50% since 1957.³

In 1960, 6% of the people were unemployed, while in 1970, this increased to 7%.⁴ In the urban areas, 10% were unemployed in 1967.⁵

The Philippines stands out as a country where inequalities are high. The percentage of national income received by the lowest 10%, was 5% in 1960 and this decreased to 4% in 1970. On the other hand, the percentage of national income received by the top 5% of the people was as high as 29% in 1960 and this was only reduced to 24%

1. Orlando J. Sacay, Samahang Nayon, op. cit., p.2.

2. "The Philippines" in War on Hunger, op. cit., pp.11

3. Milton J. Esman, Landlessness and Nearlandlessness in Developing Countries, Cornell University, 1978, p.23.

4. World Tables, 1976, op. cit., p. 514.

5. Santiago S. Simpas et. al., Local Government and Rural Development in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 16.

in 1970.¹ A study by the Asian Development Bank also shows how inequalities are on the increase. The top 20% of the people by income, have increased their share of the national income from 47.4% in 1961 to 51.5% in 1971.²

The infant mortality rate is high, though not as high as in India. It was 80 per 1000 births in 1970. The life expectancy rate was 51 years in 1960 and it improved to 58 years by 1970.³ The literacy rate is high--at 72%.⁴

The achievement in self-help under the community development program of rural infrastructure works was limited due to the fact that the program covered only a minor program of rural works. From 1956 to 1964, the total amount of work in a participating barrio was as low as one project per year at a cost of P 1,000.⁵ It is also important to note that the main area of agricultural development was not included.

The Land Reform program was originally implemented halfheartedly, resulting in the eviction of tenants. It was a failure as described by Alfredo to a journalist Rafael Martinez,

In August 1963, the Philippines passed a land reform law that abolished tenancy relationships in selected provincial areas. In place of it, the tenant paid a fixed rental to the landlord.... As a result of this provision, the landlords whose holdings were placed under the coverage of the law found themselves receiving much less than what they got under the old 50:50 sharing basis.

1. World Tables, 1976, op. cit., p.515.

2. Rural Asia, op. cit., p. 64.

3. World Tables, 1976, op. cit., p.506.

4. Ibid., p. 522.

5. Employment Problems and Policies in the Philippines, I.L.O., 1969, p. 77.

As a group and as individuals, however, they made it difficult for the Government to enforce the law... by simply resorting to dilatory legal technicalities. With the help of a landlord dominated judiciary, which sought loopholes in the law, thousands of farmers especially in the Central Luzon were ejected from their plots. ¹

In the words of Guy Hunter, "in the Philippines, where the political will was largely lacking, these reforms, radical on paper, have had little effect in practice." ² Recently, however, a complete land reform had been done.

Thus, on the whole it can be said that there has been progress in the economic sphere. However, this is not matched with sufficient advancement in equality measures to benefit the majority of the people.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

In the Philippines, the organized and instructional type of non-formal education courses aimed at imparting skills and knowledge to the out-of-school population has been concentrated on. The Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, begun in 1952, has a wide range of activities generally based on the instructional aspects of non-formal education. It concentrates on health, education, livelihood and polity. In addition there were training programs in many areas by other similar organizations. For example, the International Rice Research Institute held a training program that stresses rice production, technology, diagnostic skills, fundamentals of communication and extension and applied research methodology.³

1. "The Golbernado- he does not like land reforms" by Alfredo, as told to Rafael Martinez, in Ceres, Vol.5, No.5, Sept.-Oct.1972, p.63.

2 Guy Hunter, Modernizing Peasant Societies, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 150.

3. Philip H. Coombs et. al, Education for Rural Development, op. cit., p. 573.

Here, the trainees eventually become change agents. It is important to note that in 1971, it was found that only a third of the graduates were putting their training to effective use.¹ Generally it has been found that the effectiveness of this type of non-formal education course is similarly limited.

On the other hand, an attempt has been made to utilize non-formal education processes for rural development in the case of the community development program. These programs were implemented through the barrio councils. One of the main aims was to "reorient the barrio people from a passive dependence on government assistance to an active role of community improvement, by strengthening civic responsibility and by enlightened training in the field of local government".² However, it is observed that as in the case of India, the essence of community development was not understood. As the community development activities were implemented by the barrio councils, it is necessary that the councilmen should have known the fundamentals of community development. The I.L.O reports that "very few barrio councils are aware of their tasks... the tasks of barrio administration are hardly understood by the barrio leaders".³ In these circumstances it is evident that no high level of activity could be expected from the barrio councils.

1. Ibid., p. 584.

2. Quoted by Raymond Pomerleau, in "Some Cultural and Political Factors Inimical to Planned Social Change in the Philippines" in Philippine Journal of Administration, Vol. 10, 1966, p. 198.

3. Sharing in Development, A Program of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines, op. cit., p. 516.

The scope of the community development program was highly limited for it to have an effect to bring about a definite change in the incomes and living conditions of the majority of the people or to bring about an educational awakening. The chief program that was implemented consisted of self-help type of rural infrastructure works. It has already been shown how the participating barrio councils could each construct, on the average one work to the value of 1000 pesos per year. It was only a small number of barrio councils that attended to this work. In 1960/61 only 32.5% of barrio councils had such projects. By 1963/64, only 11.5% did such self-help projects.¹

Implementing a self-help program of rural works on a limited basis once a year, at that too limited to a cost of 1000 pesos, does not enable an opportunity for the people to be actually involved in learning experiences, "to stimulate community independence and responsibility, resulting in more local leadership, initiative and autonomy".² In certain areas, the participation of the people was forthcoming for these projects. In the Lagulo Springs Development Project, 82% of the people attended meetings and 50% participated in the barrio activities.³ The problem was that such participation was limited to an annual project.

Another important factor in this connection is that
agriculture, irrigation and other development functions, which are

1. Employment Problems and Policies in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 76.

2. President Magsaysay, address on Jan. 8, 1957, Quoted in Raymond Pomerleau, "Community Participation in Planned Social Change", in Philippine Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 11, 1967, p.75.

3. Raymond Pomerleau, "Community Participation in Planned Social Change", op. cit., p.81.

very material to the people and which could make a difference in their lives, were beyond the scope of the community development movement. This is highlighted by the I.L.O. Report,

We find that too little attention has been given to non-formal education. There is already a widespread network of mass media which can be used for non-formal education geared to productivity changes: family planning, sanitation and nutrition campaigns; continuing education for the population outside the school system and so on. To date, the effect has been negligible. We are suggesting the need to consider more fully the social and economic value of non-formal education. 1

It is important to note that in this listing, agriculture has not been included. However, the aim of the I.L.O. Report was to highlight the fact that non-formal education was required, "to move the system from the narrow participation and unbalanced growth of the past to the broad participation and balanced development of which it is capable in the future". 2 The problem remains, in that, even in the 1974-77 Four Year Development Plan, the active participation of the people is given as an objective only in the case of the community development program.

These programs do not simply provide material assistance to the 'not so fortunate' members of society; more important, these programs are directed towards enabling such people to become active and useful members of society. With some assistance even the handicapped can be guided to become self-reliant. It is only through real social development of this character that real social progress can be achieved for one who relies too much on dole-outs will only engender parasitism and apathy. 3

1. Sharing in Development, A Program of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines, op. cit., p.341.

2. Ibid., p. 28.

3. Four Year Development Plan 1974-77, National Economic & Development Authority, Manila, 1973, p. 23.

The lack of organization and management among the farmers has been highlighted in the I.L.O. Report.

One of the main reasons for the inadequate management and maintenance of irrigation systems is the lack of adequate organization among water users. Irrigation organizations might be organized to which the maintenance and operation of the National Irrigation Administration systems could in part be transferred. 1

Here, the emphasis has been on the establishment of people's organizations, to enable responsibility to be granted to the people. Participation of the people is emphasized in the Report.

We believe that development planning should initially be focussed as much as possible on the lowest unit, the barrio. The participation by the community members in decision making (e.g. on infrastructure) is the essential means of generating initiative and cooperation among the people. 2

People have to be involved in bringing about their own development and this has to be done through their active participation in the development process. Here, as the people participate, they will develop their initiatives and become responsible, as stated by the I.L.O. Report. Non-formal Education can thereby play a key role in development.

Summary of Evidence.

It has been shown that in the Philippines, the use of non-formal education was limited to the community development self-help projects implemented by the barrio councils. Even then it was only a small number of councils that could obtain such funds and therefore the evocation of the participation of the people had to be limited

1. Sharing in Development, A Program of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines, op. cit., p. 451.

2. Ibid., p. 69.

to a very great extent. Except in the case of the community development projects, there was no decentralization. In the other spheres, the administrative system was highly centralized "in Manila based national government agencies. Local government participation, if any, occurred only in implementation; participation during planning was practically nil".¹

Thus it could be said that the nature of the administrative structure in the Philippines, with its strong tendency at centralization and lack of decentralization, with its marked vertical coordination and the multiplicity of village level officers and institutions, did not afford the evocation of active participation in the people. The community development movement was severely limited in scope for it to have an impact in developing the initiatives of the masses. Non-formal education was utilized only in the community development movement and here too in a limited sense.

1. "The Philippines" in War on Hunger, op. cit., p. 4.

CHAPTER VIII

UNINTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODELS

The unintegrated model comprises those rural development administration systems which have not brought about any meaningful change in the colonial administrative structures that have been inherited. Centralization accompanied by a marked degree of vertical communication, which are definite features of the colonial administrative system have been continued with very little basic alteration. The only change that has been made is to expand by adding ministries and departments at the center and depending upon the intensity of the work required, each agency has developed a vertical top-down communication system to reach the people for extension purposes. Thus the village level is glutted with a number of village level workers who clash and compete for power. There are also a number of village level institutions and worse, a number of government agencies who have village level workers, who ignore all the institutions and deal directly with the people.

Thus the administrative structure does not pave the way for the use of institutions to bring about development. This fairly effectively precludes the use of non-formal education, because the major processes of community development, discussion, deliberation and participation apply more to group work settings, where people work cooperatively and collaboratively in the development process.

THE CHILALO AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT (CADU)

The CADU Project that commenced in 1967 in Ethiopia is hailed by many as an integrated model of rural development. However, it cannot be classified as integrated according to the criteria that have been adopted to signify an integrated model in this study.

The administrative system adopted at CADU was not integrated into the local administrative system; instead, the CADU Project was implemented through a separate well-knit administrative system, that was imposed from above and which functioned parallel to the local administrative system that was in vogue. Bengt Nekby says,

Collaboration with the local administration has not proceeded without friction. On account of its bureaucratic authoritarian structure and sometimes corrupt character, the local administration is often mistrusted by the farmers and close collaboration would have implied certain risks to the project. Attempts to inform the local administration about the activities of the project and to interest them in it have met with a rather cool reception.¹

It is quite evident that the CADU administration was entirely separate from the local traditional administrative system. Uma Lele says,

Despite CADU's achievements on other scores and despite its considerable effort at the time the review was conducted, it had not yet had a significant success in augmenting the indigenous administrative capacity in Chilalo or in developing viable grassroots institutions. ²

The rural administration system in vogue was of the traditional pattern and had a limited capacity to handle development work.

The local administrator, as in the case of the colonial administrative type, was primarily a tax collector and a law enforcement authority

1. Bengt Nekby, CADU, An Ethiopian Experiment in Developing Peasant Farming, Prisma Publishers, 1971, pp. 83, 85.

2. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p.137.

who had developed a top-down directive type of administration to maintain law and order.

The remedy for the situation lay in the development of institutions and a suitable administrative framework, within the administrative structure itself, rather than setting up a duplicate parallel organization.

The CADU administration had no activities in education, land reform, local self-government or in rural administration.

CADU had not been perceived as a regular component of the provincial and district public administration network. Nevertheless, because of its comprehensive package policy, CADU touched almost every agency's jurisdiction and often faced a hostile attitude. 1

The rural administration came under the Woreda governor, who held immense power and it has been reported that the governor used his influence to discourage the farmers from attending the CADU Program meetings.² If the administrative model had been integrated, then the Woreda governor would have been found a place within the system of the CADU.

There was no integrated village level institution used in CADU. Instead, "the policy was not to develop local institutions, but to bypass them altogether".³ The organization to market produce had on its lists the promotion of primary cooperatives, but it functioned through Trade Centers. The Veterinary Department, the Extension and Training Department and the Social Development Section of the CADU

1. Betru Gebregziabher, Integrated Development in Rural Ethiopia, International Development Research Center, Indiana University, 1975, p. 34.

2. Ibid., p. 34.

3. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p.137.



had their own agents to attend to development work. It is seen that the integration was limited to the center, where planning functions were attended to, but at the village level, there was no integration. There was no village level institution. T.Tecle says that "CADU's efforts though very limited seem to have been unsuccessful because its credit and marketing activities were not adequately integrated with its cooperative promotion efforts for at least the first five years of its operation".¹

Instead of emphasizing institutions belonging to the people, CADU used model farmers and area committees. These ad-hoc committees could not ensure integration of functions. These area committees were largely involved in the credit program. An important characteristic of an integrated and developed administrative system is the extent of decentralization, with power for the people to participate and arrive at their own decisions. The lack of any suitable village level institution at CADU, effectively precluded any decentralization. The approach used to spread innovation was directive, with village level officers who tackled extension. As Betru Gebregziabher says, "in the case of CADU, autonomy does not imply pervasive problem solving power".²

Thus it has to be concluded that the CADU Project cannot be classified as integrated. The fact that the project was run separate from the local rural administration, the lack of any single village

1. Tesfai Tecle, The Evolution of Alternative Rural Development Strategies in Ethiopia: Implications for Employment and Income Distribution, Michigan State University, 1975, p.61.

2. Betru Gebregziabher, Integrated Development in Rural Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 48.

level institution, the deployment of numerous extension officers, the lack of horizontal coordination among functions, and the limited scope of the program which did not include the functions held by the Woreda Governor, all indicate that this model falls into the unintegrated category.

The Achievement.

CADU achieved a definite degree of progress. This was due to the efficient administration and the effective communication of innovation to the farmers, which enabled the implementation of the program.

In the field of agriculture, an increase is recorded in wheat yields from 1.33 metric tons per hectare to 2.00 metric tons in the period 1966 to 1971.¹ Within 3 to 4 years, there were wheat surpluses in the area. The increases in detail are as follows:²

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>
	(quintals per hectare)		
Wheat, local variety, not fertilized	10.6	13.1	15.2
Wheat, improved variety, fertilized	-	19.2	22.6

It is reported that the yield of maize increased from 30 quintals per hectare to 60 quintals.³

Statistics regarding literacy, savings, unemployment, rural incomes etc., are not separately available for the CADU Project.

1. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., P. 47.

2. T.Tecle, The Evolution of Alternative Rural Development Strategies in Ethiopia: Implications for Employment and Income Distribution, op. cit., p.13.

3. Betru Gebregziabher, "A Case Study of the ARSSI Rural Development Unit(ARDU)", in Report on the Conference and Workshop on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, op. cit., p. 77.

Cooperatives were not fully developed for some time.

Agricultural loans were given directly to cultivators and the repayment rates were 90%, 85% and 92% during the first 3 yaers.¹

When one delves deeper it is noteworthy that in 1968/69, only 188 people were given credit. In 1969/70 only 919 people and in the third year, 4667 people were given credit.² It is important to note that this limited clientele was out of a total of 70,000 families. Further, in the first two years, the CADU agricultural credit program was limited to those who owned over 20 hectares or those who tenanted over 25 hectares.³ Thus the program clientele was restricted to large farmers. Despite the fact that action had been taken to obtain the participation of small farmers, tenant participation had been only 39% at most, in 1970/71 and this rate dropped to 22% in 1972/73.⁴

Though the achievement indicates progress in terms of increased yields, it is important to note that a limited number participated. In 1971, after 4 years of work, only 14,164 families were assisted and this number grew to 25,205 only by 1974.⁵ This was out of a total number of 70,000 families. It was only in 1975 that 55,000 farmers were involved as participants.⁶

1. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p.94.

2. Bengt Nekby, CADU, An Ethiopian Experiment in Developing Peasant Farming, op. cit., p. 64.

3. T. Tecle, The Evolution of Alternative Rural Development Strategies...., op. cit., p. 18.

4. Ibid., p. 19.

5. Ibid., p. 15.

6. Betru Gebregzibher, "A Case Study of the ARSSI Rural Development Unit (ARDU) ", op. cit., p. 77.

The rural population in the area was 350,000, 95% of whom were farmers. Thus it was a limited number of farmers who participated.

On the whole it could be said that though a high yield was achieved in production, the evidence points out that the poor masses were left out in the program. Tesfai Tecle after the analysis of cooperative credit and participation by farmers, says that she has doubts and "serious questions about the effectiveness of the CADU 'model' farmer approach as an extension strategy to be followed year after year although it has proved to be effective in bringing about adoption breakthrough".¹ The adoption breakthrough had increased the yield of wheat from 1.33 metric tons per hectare in 1966 to only 2.00 metric tons per hectare by 1971. This amounts to an increase of only 50%. Comparatively, in Comilla the increase in yields was double. Further, it is important to note that the real increase in CADU, was brought about by the expansion of the acreage under cultivation-- from 23,650 hectares in 1966 to 51,000 hectares in 1971, amounting to an increase of over 100% in the area cultivated under wheat. In Beans too the area cultivated in the corresponding period was increased by 100%.² The expansion in acreage would have been done by the landowners and the larger farmers, to whom the credit structure was geared, as has been shown. Thus it is evident that the achievement was in respect of a limited number of large farmers.

1. T. Tecle, The Evolution of Alternative Rural Development Strategies....., op. cit., p. 15.

2. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p. 47.

Further, it is significant that the total cost of the program amounted to as much as Eth. \$ 44 million for the first 7 years of operation, for covering a total of 77,000 farm families and a crop acreage of 58,800 hectares.¹

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

In CADU, non-formal education was conceived of in the instructional sense referring to organized out-of-school type of courses. Crop production, livestock breeding, forestry and erosion control were included as subjects. In 1968, a program was started in home economics. It is important to note that enrollment in this program dropped from 3,022 in June 1972 to 2,512 in June 1973.² The educational activities at CADU have been identified as the training of key Ethiopian staff, training extension agents, training of leaders of cooperative societies, training of selected model farmers and extension services to participating farmers.³ It is clear that the conception of education followed was formal in character, as described:

The teaching methods used are on the whole, traditional, but with more than usual emphasis on practical on the job training, under supervision. ... Model farmers have been trained in short courses.... Extension efforts are focussed specially on model farmers in the expectation that they will inform their neighbours. 4

1. Betru Gebregziabher, "A Case Study of the ARSSI Rural Development Unit (ARDU)", op. cit., p.82.

2. Betru Gebregziabher, Integrated Development in Rural Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 53.

3. Manzoor Ahmed and Philip H. Coombs, Attacking World Poverty, op. cit., p. 97.

4. Ibid., p. 97.



Attempts have been made to use certain non-formal education processes in the implementation of the CADU Project. However, there were many constraints, like the lack of a village level institution, the prevalence of centralization, lack of integration and the fact that the masses were not involved in the program.

Betru Gebregziabher says,

CADU emphasized the development of two types of peasant institutions-- model farmer's area committees and cooperative societies. The farmer's committees were designed in part to lay the groundwork for the establishment of the cooperative societies. The committees worked well, but only 24 cooperative societies evolved. The projected peasant institutions were not only engaged in the provision of agricultural inputs and in the marketing outputs, but also served as mediums for the organization and release of the untapped energy of the rural masses for sustained development effort. Furthermore it was also hoped that these institutions would become the forum through which economic and social problems affecting rural society would be aired and discussed and the appropriate solution pursued. 1

An important point is that the CADU Project was commenced as far back as 1967, but it was only in 1971, that the first few committees were organized. It follows that till 1971, the extension workers contacted the farmers directly, without grouping them into any institutions.

Trade Centers were used during this period. T. Tecle says,

CADU's efforts though very limited seems to have been unsuccessful because its credit and marketing activities were not adequately integrated with its cooperative promotion efforts for at least the first five years of its operation. Since it provided free credit and marketing services through Trade Centers while trying to establish self sufficient cooperative societies, farmers have been reluctant to join cooperative societies, where they have to incur some extra cost. 2

1. Betru Gebregziabher, " A Case Study of the ARSSI Rural Development Unit(ARDU)", op. cit., p. 78.

2. T. Tecle, The Evolution of Alternative Rural Development Strategies in Ethiopia...., op. cit., p. 61.

The situation can be contrasted to what took place in Comilla (Bangladesh), where from the beginning the attempt was to work through cooperatives. The directive approach, with the farmers avoiding cooperatives, effectively stifled the later attempt made to utilize cooperatives. This is amply evident when considering the fact that only 9,000 farmers were involved in cooperatives¹, while as much as 43,000 farmers participated in the credit program.² Naturally, it was not necessary for the farmers to participate in the cooperatives. It would therefore be correct to conclude that the approach used (to work directly with farmers on an individual basis) did not evoke their participation for working on a group basis through cooperatives. The cooperatives, even when established were centered around the larger farmers. It has already been mentioned that in the first 2 years, the CADU credit program was limited to farmers who owned over 20 hectares or tenanted over 25 hectares of land.³ When considering the facts that there were a total of 70,000 families, who farmed a total of only 58,800 hectares and a total cooperative involvement of only 9,000 farmers, it could be deduced that the majority of the farmers did not participate in the program. Over half the farmers were tenants who cultivated only 3 to 4 acres each, and they seemed to have been beyond the scope of CADU.⁴

1. Betru Gebregziabher, Integrated Development in Rural Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 57.

2. Betru Gebregziabher, "A Case Study of the ARSSI Rural Development Unit (ARDU)", op. cit., p. 77.

3. T. Tecle, The Evolution of Alternative Rural Development Strategies in Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 18.

4. Richard O. Niehoff and Bernard D. Wilder, Non-Formal Education in Ethiopia, Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1974, p. 250.



In fact Uma Lele says that when "traditional authority and power are unequally distributed, cooperatives become an instrument in the hands of a relatively few large farmers and provide little assistance to the subsistence farmers".¹ In the case of CADU, it is evident that very little attempt was made to elicit the cooperation and the participation of all the farmers. The program proceeded with a limited number of participating farmers. Loans were given direct and the formation of cooperatives was put off. The experience at Comilla, on the other hand indicates that cooperatives can be established successfully if the attempt is based on non-formal education lines. The experience at CADU, proves on the contrary, how the participation of the farmers can be effectively stifled by the adoption of directive policies, aimed at contacting the farmers who are accessible on an individual basis and getting the work done, instead of aiming at allowing power to the people, grouping them and stimulating the activities on a group basis.

It is also important to note that self-help was not of importance in the CADU Program. Betru Gebregziabher says,

..plans are under way to introduce a self-help program aimed at mobilizing community efforts for such activities as improving water supplies... The youth and self-help activities were instituted with little if any research backing. Their outcome remains to be seen. 2

This statement was made 7 years after the commencement of the CADU. Self-help could have been followed in every activity and this would

1. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p. 111.

2. Betru Gebregziabher, Integrated Development in Rural Ethiopia, op. cit., pp. 53,54.

have enabled the program to become a people's program, with the people developing a sense that the program belongs to them. This comes through intense participation. In CADU, the attempt was to establish the extension organization, concentrate on the technology and the communication of innovations and also set up the supply and the marketing organization, directly through workers and then convert to a cooperative form. The strategy was as follows:

The suppliers or the customers at a certain trade center are assembled on a number of occasions and are given information about cooperative ideas, illustrated by the CADU activities. They then elect certain trustees who are given further insight into cooperation and the daily management of a primary society. Then, they are asked to participate in all the CADU decisions, with respect to their own trade center. When the time is ripe, they take over the responsibility and a primary society is officially registered. CADU then remains in an advisory position.

In a later phase, the farmers are also expected to handle the society's functions. During the past year this system has been tried at two places and has now reached the stage at which the elected trustees participate in the CADU decisions. 1

It is important to note that the initial stage of getting the elected trustees to participate in CADU decision making had taken 3 years to evolve. The first farmer's committees were organized only in 1971. Further, the concept of participation as conceived by CADU appears incorrect. The elected trustees forming the farmer's committees could have been encouraged to make their own decisions. But in actual practice, it was the CADU workers who made the decisions and the trustees were fitted into them. This is like the banking concept of education where ideas are implanted into the students. What should have happened is that the people should have been allowed

1. Bengt Nekby, CADU- An Ethiopian Experiment in Developing Peasant Farming, op. cit., p.82.

to form into groups, discuss about their problems and then arrive at decisions. At CADU, it was the opposite-- the officials attended to everything, working on an individual basis with the larger farmers, without leaving any room for cooperation to develop. Thus little opportunity was afforded for the utilization of non-formal education processes. It was inevitable, in the circumstances, that the results were poor as far as the majority of the people in the area were concerned.

Summary of Evidence.

CADU was not an integrated rural development model, as it was believed to have been. It was far from integrated. It was an attempt to establish a development program in a particular area, without restructuring the existing administrative system in the area. Thus, to start with there was a dual administration

Further, the attempt was a directive one, to establish the program through the work of officers using model farmers.

A great deal of effort was devoted to research and the innovations were spread out to the few large farmers who benefitted immensely. The yields were increased by approximately 50% and the area under cultivation was increased by approximately 100%, which brought about an increase in production. There was no land reform done and the expansion of the area was due to the large farmers and land owners, to whom the project catered. The majority of the farmers were left behind, as their participation was not elicited, no institutions were provided for them to exercise their own initiative and even though an attempt was made to establish cooperatives, the



manner in which the program of work was handled directly, tended to stifle and thwart it.

The immense capital spent could have been amply rewarded if only non-formal education processes like participation and community development had been used to develop the initiatives and the responsibility in the people.

SRI LANKA.

The model of rural development administration followed in Sri Lanka would fall into the unintegrated category. Here there are a number of ministries and departments attending to various aspects of development, with separate village level institutions and also many village level officers. However, Sri Lanka has been classified as one of the more organized countries in terms of local organization linkages by Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman.¹ The ensuing study would reveal the extent of the organization and integration.

The Rural Development Department, which handles a program of infrastructure self-help works and community education in the rural areas, centered on a rural development society at the village level, is distinct and entirely separate from the activities of the Department of Agrarian Services, the Agriculture Department, the Small Industries Department, the Rural Administration, the Cooperative Department, the Department of Local Government as well as a number of other departments that dabble in work at the village level. Some of these departments have village level institutions while others

1. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit. p. xiv.



have village level officers. There is no single institution at the village level. The rural development society attends to limited functions, comprising a very small program of infrastructure rural works. Separate from this institution are the village councils, established on adult franchise, which attend to more important infrastructure rural works, such as roads, maintaining reading rooms and dispensaries. The rural development society is also distinct from the cultivation committee that is in charge of agricultural development; it is also distinct from the divisional development councils implemented during the period 1970-77, to establish local industries and farms. In short, the rural development program is only an insignificant development program in the rural areas. It is evident therefore that there are a number of different departments with separate organizations. This situation made the U.N. Mission on Rural Development to Sri Lanka comment:

The progress of the rural development movement in Ceylon is impeded by departmentalism. Departments often appear to be competing with one another, each to carve out as large a portion of the territory for itself as it can, with little knowledge and concern about one another's activities and little disposition to cooperate. 1

This situation is reflected in every field. The FAO/IBRD Mission comments on the situation in the field of agricultural development.

The situation is complicated by the fact that there are too many departments whose activities are not coordinated, which are doing extension work at the field level. The results of this among others, is that the peasant more often gets conflicting advice from field workers of different departments. To remedy the situation the Mission proposes that consideration be given to organizing the existing service into one full fledged department, which might also include research and training. 2

1. Report of a Rural Development Evaluation Mission to Ceylon, U.N., 1962, p. 118.

2. Report of the Irrigation Program Review, FAO/IBRD, Govt. Press, Colombo, 1968, p. 67.



The I.L.O. Report on Rural Employment Problems also highlights the same departmentalism:

Horizontal coordination, by this term is meant the coordination of the activities of the department responsible for agricultural extension work, with those of government departments whose work relates to agriculture either directly or indirectly. In Ceylon, coordination in this respect is particularly difficult... It is necessary to emphasize that the development of a comprehensive and effective agricultural policy is greatly handicapped by the piecemeal nature of the present system. 1

The rural development society has nothing to do with agriculture, the mainstay of the rural economy. In the seventies, the situation was rendered more critical by the introduction of further institutions. In 1971, janata committees (people's committees), comprising political nominees were appointed.

The principal purposes of each people's committee should be vigilance in respect of all activities or otherwise within its area of authority and ensuring that abuses of authority, wastefulness, neglect of duty, irregular distribution of essential commodities, misuse of public funds, bribery and corruption, anti national activities like smuggling and illicit immigration are checked and brought to the notice of the appropriate authorities for necessary and effective action. 2

These committees were more of a political character and they too added to the lack of coordination at the village level.

The village councils were kept away from agriculture. It was local government of the U.K. pattern, with a small tax base, while the development functions were handled from the center through the work of separate government departments. John S.Blackton in his study of local government and rural development says that the village council chairmen and members were surprised when questioned about the

1. Report to the Government of Ceylon on Rural Employment Problems, I.L.O., Geneva, 1965, p. 52.

2. Proposals for the Establishment of People's Committees, Govt. Press, Colombo, 1970, p. 5.



role of the village council in agriculture and adds that none of the council meetings he attended dealt with agricultural matters.¹

Ursula Hicks also highlights the departmentalism,

.. the Rural Development Service, instead of working alongside of and even through the local government set up, in Ceylon, keeps itself apart. 2

The unintegrated nature of the institutions and the rural development stimulating systems is portrayed in the following tabular presentation.



<u>Department and Functions.</u>	<u>Officers at the village or divisional level</u>	<u>Institutions at the village level.</u>
<u>Rural Development Department.</u> (rural welfare, rural infrastructure works and community education)	Rural Development Officer at divisional level. No separate officer at village level, but Grama Sevaka attends to the work.	Rural Development Society.
<u>Agrarian Services Department.</u> (agricultural development work)	Divisional Officer at divisional level, with Field Assistant at the village level.	Cultivation Committee.
<u>Agriculture Department.</u> (technical aspects of agriculture)	Instructor at divisional level and extension overseer at village level.	no institution.
<u>Territorial Civil Engineering</u> (construction and repair of irrigation works)	Technical Assistant at divisional level, none at village level.	no institution.
<u>Local Government Department.</u> (construction and maintenance of rural infrastructure works, levies taxes, maintains playgrounds, parks etc.)	no divisional level officers.	village councils at divisional level.
<u>People's Committee 1971-1977 only</u> (local vigilance)	no divisional level officers	People's Committee.
<u>Government Agent</u> (rural administration)	Assistant Govt. Agent at divisional level & Grama Sevaka at village level.	no separate institutions. works through the Rural Development Society at times.
<u>Cooperative Dept.</u> (establish and supervise cooperatives)	Inspector at divisional level	Cooperative Society.
<u>Small Industries Department.</u> (establish industrial centers)	no divisional level	Textile Handloom Centres & Other Industrial Centres.



It is evident that there is no integration of functions. In actuality, the rural development movement attends to an insignificant part of the total stimulation effort. It has nothing to do with agriculture or irrigation. It attended to the small industries functions till 1970, when a separate department of small industries was formed and with this, the aspect of employment creation and skills training had to be ceded. Originally it was hoped that the rural development society could help other departments. In fact, when these societies were established in 1948, the only other village level institution was the village council.

It was expected that through its sub committees, the Rural Development Societies would attend to all economic, social and cultural and physical improvement needs of village communities and that different Government Departments would make use of it for development purposes. However, with the passage of time, other functional organizations, directly dealing with the particular activities were sponsored by other departments and the Rural Development Society lost its significance as a many purpose society. 1

What happened was that the colonial administrative framework was not totally altered. Instead, from time to time, various departments and ministries were created to handle particular functions. A number of these departments developed a vertical chain of command right down to the village level. At the district level, there is some integration as the Government Agent of the district, the officer in charge of rural administration has also covered irrigation functions till 1970 and has covered the supervision of agriculture and cooperative functions since 1968. In 1978, the Government appointed District Ministers to supervise all activities at district level.

1. Administrative Report of the Director of Rural Development and Small Industries, 1969/70, Govt. of Ceylon, p. J 15.

With this move some coordination has been ensured.

Centralization is one of the marked features of the present system and unless the powers vested in the departments at the center are given to the district, no change towards more efficiency can be expected. Below the district level, there is fragmentation, many departments having separate officers and village level institutions. The classical solution to this situation is to set up coordinating committees at the district and the division. It has been found that no amount of coordination can make officers work together. At the Survey of Cultivation Committees in 1966, it was found that no agricultural instructors or overseers from the Agricultural Department had attended a single meeting of 70% of cultivation committees in 1964 and 68% in 1965. Similarly cooperative inspectors had not attended a single meeting of 98% of cultivation committees in 1964 and of 97% in 1965.¹ In fact the U.N. mission on rural development commented:

The Mission encountered agrarian services officers who saw nothing beyond administering the support price of a particular crop and were not even informed as to what the Agricultural Officer or anyone else in the area was doing to promote increased production of the crop, which is also the purpose of the support price. 2

On the whole it could be said that there is overcentralization, a multiplicity of village level institutions, a number of village level officers and some officers function directly with the people on an individual basis even without institutions. There is no

1. Survey of Cultivation Committees, Commissioner of Agrarian Services, 1966, p. 17.

2. Report of a Rural Development Evaluation Mission to Ceylon, op. cit., p. 76.



horizontal communication possible and vertical authority is rampant within each department. The colonial administrative structure inherited from the British, has not been altered in a meaningful way except by the addition of separate ministries and departments which has only enhanced the problems. There has been very little decentralization. Thus the administrative structure itself hinders development.

The Achievement.

Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman have said of the achievement,

If food self-sufficiency is taken as a criterion of performance, one of the poorest cases is Sri Lanka. But this overlooks the fact that the British colonial authorities planned Ceylon's economy for the export of tea and rubber, with rice to be imported. During the period 1955-70, rice self-sufficiency increased rapidly from 53% to 73%, yet in absolute terms, through little fault of the Sri Lanka Government, this performance is mediocre. Apart from this the Sri Lankan Government over the last 20 years has put great emphasis on increased welfare and equity within their society. On production grounds, Sri Lanka's performance has in some respects been satisfactory and in others, not very good. Yet by welfare criteria, Sri Lanka has made some remarkable progress in terms of health, literacy and income distribution. 1

In health a high record has been maintained. There are hospitals where free medical care is available and free education for all children upto graduate level at the University. High schools have been established in remote areas. Health Services are developed as is reflected in the infant mortality rate of 52 per 1000 births in 1960 and 50 in 1970, and a high degree of life expectancy-- 63 years in 1960 and 66 years in 1970.² The adult literacy rates are high-

1. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development.... op.cit., pp. 10,11.

2. World Tables 1976, op. cit., p. 506.

61% in 1960 and 85% in 1970.¹ Further a rice rationing scheme ensures that every needy person gets a free ration of rice per week. The lowest segments of the population have had their share of the national income increased. The lowest 10% had increased shares from 5% in 1960 to 7% in 1970. Comparatively the percentage of national income enjoyed by the top 5% of the people has been reduced from 27% in 1960 to 19% in 1970.² This reduction in inequalities is also substantiated by the Asian Development Bank. In the rural areas, the highest 5% of the people, enjoyed 21.7% of the income in 1963. This was reduced to 16.6% in 1973. The highest 20% enjoyed 51% of the total national income in 1963, but only 43% in 1973. Comparatively, the incomes of the lowest 20% increased during the period 1963 to 1973 from 3.7% to 5.6%.³ Though in the fields of welfare and equality, there had been marked progress, in other areas of development advancement is found wanting.

A major criterion that would indicate the development of a country is the level of unemployment. In 1963, 457,000 persons were unemployed.⁴ In 1970, the unemployed amounted to 550,000, as much as 14% of the work force.⁵ In 1973, 793,000 persons were unemployed of whom 550,566 persons were in rural areas. Furthermore,

1. Ibid., p. 522.

2. World Tables 1976, op. cit., p. 515.

3. Rural Asia, op. cit., p. 64.

4. Consumer Finance Survey, Central Bank of Ceylon, 1963.

5. Welfare and Growth in Sri Lanka, Marga Institute, Colombo, 1974, p. 26.



in addition to this number a total of 1,670,000 persons were estimated to be underemployed.¹ The I.L.O Year Book of Statistics states that only 567,000 persons were unemployed in 1977.² However the statistics by the Central Bank appear genuine and furthermore it would seem highly unlikely that the level of unemployment could have been reduced by as much as 200,000 during these years. A rise in unemployment has been clearly evident in this decade.

In the field of agriculture, negative progress is a matter of record. The 1969/71 rice yield of 2526 kg/ha decreased to 2269 kg/ha in 1977.³ In 1977, the average yield reported was only 47.77 far lower than the 51.3 bushels per acre recorded in 1970.⁴

The achievement in the program of rural development, which is the only program where non-formal education processes have been used, is important. It indicates the high potential of self-help. In normal years, the contribution of the people has been over the grants given by the government. The detailed statistics are as follows:

Year	Government <u>expenditure</u>	People's <u>contribution.</u>
1970	Rs. 1,600,000.00	Rs. 3,988,000.00
1971	1,600,000.00	1,326,000.00
1972	1,957,000.00	2,223,000.00
1973	1,558,000.00	5,325,000.00
1975	1,625,000.00	1,200,000.00 5

1. The Determinants of Labor Force Participation, Central Bank of Ceylon, 1974, p. 202.

2. YearBook of Statistics 1977, I.L.O., p. 462.

3. 1977 FAO Production Year Book, op. cit., p.97.

4. Statistics from the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research, 1978. Forwarded by letter of 2-16-79.

5. Statistical Pocket Book, 1977, Government of Sri Lanka, 1977, p. 40.

The g.n.p. per capita in 1976, was at \$190, with real growth rates of 2% for the period 1960/76 and 1.2% during the period 1970/76¹.

It can be concluded that the achievement is not significant, though there is some progress in certain areas.

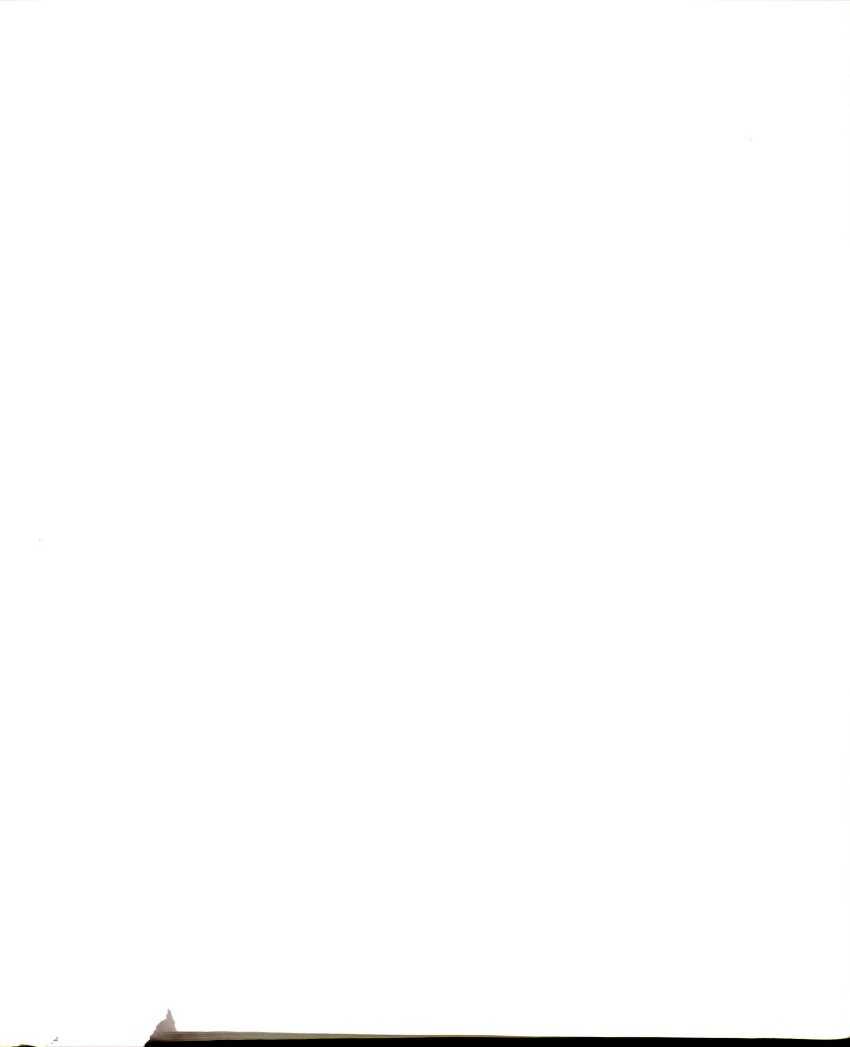
The Use of Non-Formal Education.

Non-formal education in Sri Lanka has been generally taken to refer to out-of-school education courses concentrating on the instructional aspect. There are a variety of educational activities ranging from vocational courses to community education courses that can be classified within this category. The Ministry of Education has four currently approved projects--Adult Education Centers, Short Term Technical Courses, Full Time Technical Courses and English Teaching Classes for Adults.² The target of the ministry was to establish one adult education center in each electorate, meant to provide courses to adults living in the area. Other ministries have separate schemes of instruction and training on the same out-of-school basis. The National Apprenticeship Board has an apprenticeship scheme where trainees are posted to serve as apprentices in various industrial concerns. The Department of Rural Development has courses to train rural leaders at provincial training centers and the labor department has skills training programs on a short term basis for implementation in the rural areas.

In all these, the emphasis is on the instructional aspects of

1. World Bank Atlas 1978, op. cit., p.6.

2. L.G.Hewage, Non-Formal Education for Rural Areas in Sri Lanka, Report prepared at the request of the A.I.D. Section of the U.S. Embassy, Colombo, 1978, p. 8.



non-formal education. In this study, the concentration is on the use of non-formal education processes in the actuality of rural development itself. In this connection, it is observed that non-formal education processes have been utilized officially only by the Rural Development Department. This department has been adopting community development as a process. In the case of other departments, non-formal education processes are not laid down as a strategy, but have been used by particular officers who have been interested in working with the people.

The Rural Development Department has been using self-help and participation in the implementation of its rural works program.

The Rural Development Movement attempts to mobilize the self-help resources of the rural people to improve their conditions of living, with the participation of the Government.¹

However, the problem is that the Rural Development Department attends to a very small program of rural works. This work was done based on the contribution of the people. The organization of work was left in the hands of the rural development society, under the guidance of the rural development officer. In the Matara District it was found that the rural development funds were approximately only a tenth of the total funds spent in 1970/71 and 71/72.

Expenditure on Rural Development.²

	<u>1970/71</u>	<u>1971/72</u>
Rural Development Department	Rs. 140,143.29	Rs. 66,877.95
Land Commissioner's Department	235,239.32	181,325.25
T.C.E.O. on irrigation works	102,901.34	342,710.08
Village Councils	885,571.56	305,764.00
Total	1,363,855.71	896,677.28

1. Administrative Report of the Director of Rural Development and Small Industries, 1967/68, p. J 35.

2. Administrative Reports of the Government Agent, Matara District, 1970/71 and 1971/72.

The fact that the expenditure on the rural development movement has been a meagre fraction of the total work been attended to in any single area has had severe repercussions on obtaining contributions from the people in the case of the self-help program. This is because in the same areas, other departments attend to similar rural works without and self-help constituent, through contractors on a full payment basis. Despite this drawback, the record of achievement in self-help by the Department of Rural Development is creditable. This department also implements the voluntary work program in the rural areas, without any grants from the government. Here the people who contribute labor are given free rations sent by the Freedom From Hunger Campaign of the F.A.O.. The work in all cases, is organized with free discussions among the members, when the work is planned and this has allowed opportunity for the emergence of leadership. The limited nature of the work has not enabled a sustained and systematic program, but "on the whole, the rural development movement has achieved many positive results which outweigh its abuses and shortcomings". ¹

The islandwide rural development movement provides opportunities to youth of both sexes to play an active role in social and economic change, to become familiar with rural needs and problems and assist in the cooperative resolution of them, and to participate jointly through self-help and mutual help in improved family and community living. ²

1. Administrative Report of the Director of Rural Development and Small Industries, 1959, p. J 40.

2. E.L.Wijemanne and G.H.F.Welikala, "Rural Non-Formal Education" in Education for Rural Development, ed. by Philip H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed, op. cit., p. 282.



Land development schemes have been implemented without eliciting the cooperation and the participation of the people. Wijemanne and Welikala have provided details of youth settlement schemes as non-formal education schemes. However, it is observed that in these youth settlement schemes as well as in the colonization schemes where adults are settled on the land, directive policies have been used in implementation. A marked feature of the planning that has gone into these settlement programs is the lack of emphasis on the participation of the people. L de Silva says,

...the productivity of agriculture in colonization schemes has so far been disappointing although the physical facilities are among the best in the country. This poor performance reflects a wide range of shortcomings in the selection of settlers who were unsuited to becoming pioneers, in the lack of labor for hire and in the highly paternalistic attitude of government which accustomed settlers to receiving subsidies and assistance on a large scale and ran counter to the need to establish discipline in production if maximum results were to be obtained from available irrigation water. 1

Under these schemes, the irrigation works, housing, roads and public amenities were all done by the government for the people. Free seed paddy for the first season was provided and till the first crop was harvested a monthly subsistence allowance was given. The people that were selected for these schemes were from the ranks of the unemployed in other districts and they needed the assistance. In order to bring about the participation of the people, the allottees were brought in earlier. This scheme was called 'advanced alienation'. The Ten Year Plan of 1958 says,

1. L. de Silva, "A Critical Evaluation of Agricultural Policy 1960-68" in Staff Studies, Central Bank of Ceylon, Vol.1, No.1, p. 96.

... the effect of bringing allottees into the scheme at an early date and having them participate in the work of development itself makes them more independent and self reliant. The sense of possession of their allotment is increased when they themselves do the jungle clearing and other development works. 1

In actual fact this scheme of advanced alienation of land would have yielded results if the people had been given the opportunity to participate in the real sense. Louis Lefebvre and Mrinal Datta Chaudhuri state the benefits,

Under this system, the prospective colonist is brought 2 years before actual irrigation can be provided to his land. During this period, he is expected to become familiar with the land and the climate of the area and learn new methods of farming. He is given temporary accommodation and also a job at the current wage rate in clearing jungle or constructing irrigation channels and roads. He is also given some cash payments for clearing his own allotment. The advanced alienation is a major improvement over the older method of planned irrigation because it helped the colonist to get acclimatized while developing some attachment to the land and a sense of pride in his new home which he himself helps to build. 2

It is important to note that the system that was adopted made wage laborers out of the settlers. If the work had been organized on a group basis, with the people being involved in the decision making that goes into the management and if they had been given a small subsidy instead of wages, then it could have brought about the participation of the people. Non-formal education processes were not used. Instead, it was thought that if the people themselves attended to the tasks even on a wage payment basis, they would develop a sense of participation. A major problem was that the government emphasized

1. The Ten Year Plan 1958, National Planning Council, Govt. of Ceylon, 1959, p. 241.

2. Louis Lefebvre and Mrinal Datta Chaudhuri, Regional Development Experiences and Prospects in South and South East Asia, Moulton, 1971, p. 216.

the cost factor, in order to make a saving. The Short Term Implementation Plan of 1962 extolled the scheme in terms of monetary gains.

The policy of advanced alienation is intended to ensure a faster rate of development at a lower cost. This system, however has the potential advantage that it enables performance of land development operations by the colonists themselves at costs lower than achievable by the Land Development Department. 1

These land development schemes (colonization schemes) have been found by the government to be uncontributive to the national economy. The Short Term Implementation Plan says that "many of these schemes in their present form are uneconomic for various reasons and continue to be a running drain on the resources of the country and do not provide employment on a really self supporting basis".²

It is not only the low level of productivity that poses a problem. It has been found that there is very little self-discipline and social discipline among the settlers. The crime rate is high, amounting to as much as 200%-300% over the other rural areas.³ The Agricultural Plan of 1958 reinforced this view:

Colonization has brought in its train new social problems. From the few sociological studies made of some colonization schemes, it is obvious that the new communities established in these areas lack that degree of social cohesion necessary for their economic improvement and the growth of a vigorous rural population. 4

The real cause for this low productivity as well as the lack of social cohesion flows from the lack of responsibility in the settlers. Further, the directive attitude adopted in implementing

1. The Short Term Implementation Program, Department of National Planning, 1962, p. 135.

2. Ibid., p. 121.

3. B.H.Farmer, Pioneer Peasant Colonization in Ceylon, Oxford University Press, 1957, p. 311.

4. The Agricultural Plan, Ministry of Agriculture, 1958, p.36.

the program also contributed to this. Housing, all amenities, irrigation facilities , subsidies etc., were all provided to the settlers to such an extent that there was no occasion for the settlers to do any thing for themselves. B.H.Farmer says,

Superimposed on all this, there is, in the colonization schemes the effect of the high scale of aid; if the government has done everything to prepare for the colonist, before he enters the colony, he will expect the standard to be maintained. For instance, the colonist is notoriously bad at replacing tiles blown off his roof and expects government to come and replace them. The colonists' attitude to aid from the government, then serves to sap his none too great reserves of initiative. 1

The officers too did not act in a manner that would make the settlers work on their own.

The tendency is for these officers to issue the orders of higher authority to the colonist without consulting him about his needs and views; to the colonists, technical change is therefore an imposition, the need for which he does not see. 2

Even when the Rural Development Societies were established in these settlement schemes, it was found that the settlers did not support them.

It was not only a question of doing everything for the people. There was nothing for the people to do. The water issues were handled by an overseer and all roads and amenities were done for them and there was no occasion for the people to work together and develop any social discipline. The people were not consulted. It was not required of them to discuss programs mutually and arrive at decisions. As has been shown, the scheme of advance alienation too did not enable the people to work in groups. It actually reduced the people

1. B.H.Farmer, Pioneer Peasant Colonization in Ceylon, op. cit., p. 288.

2. Ibid., p. 285.



to be wage laborers.

Thus the failure in social cohesion and productivity in these land development schemes, could be greatly attributed to the fact that the settlers were not allowed to participate in the development process. It is here that non-formal education processes could have been used to involve the settlers, to allow them to function in groups, use self-help in attending to rural works, decide themselves on water disputes, programs and attend to the management-- all functions being now attended to by officials. This would have led to the development of their initiatives and responsibility.

The Village Councils came under the Department of Local Government and attended to rural infrastructure works, but they did not use any non-formal education processes. Even when rural works were taken up for construction, there was no self-help element built into it and the people never developed a sense of identity with the councils. The U.N. Rural Development Evaluation Mission commented

The so called Village Councils and Cooperative Societies are not fully oriented towards development goals or accustomed to use self-help methods. While the Village Councils resent the intrusion of voluntary bodies into their sphere of civic responsibility, they have shown no inclination to mobilize local energy and resources for development. 1

The village councils were elected by the people. John S. Blackton comments that the rate of participation is very high:

In the Village Council areas I visited in both Amaparai and Kegalla, 25-30% of adult males in farm families held some elective or appointive office. Granting the fact that I was not interviewing non-agriculturists or landless laborers (whose membership in village organizations would obviously be lower) nonetheless the rate of participation was constantly high. Voting rates in

1. Report of a Rural Development Evaluation Mission to Ceylon, op. cit., p.11.



all elections were similarly high. For Village Councils and National Elections, the range of turn out was from 74% to 96%, with a median at 91%. For the Cultivation Committee, the rate approached 100% in every case. 1

This is far from the true situation. In the Pinnawala Village Council which came in for the study, the total population amounted to 20,500 and the adult population could be estimated to be approximately 10,000. The council area was divided into 21 wards, each returning one member.² Thus to start with councillor participation is limited to 21 out of an adult population of 10,000. At the most there would have been a few people from the area working as secretaries or road workers or supervisors. Even taking the rest of the government service institutions, it is only a limited number of people who could aspire to hold elected or appointed positions. Thus it would be incorrect to state that 25-30% of adult population in farm families held office. The voting rate too does not reflect true and intense participation, because the situation is that once the members are elected to a village council, there is almost no occasion when the general membership is summoned or consulted till the next election, held after 4 years. In the case of cultivation committees, the fact remains that people's participation has been low after the first and second years of implementation, which were 1960 and 1961 in the case of the Kegalla district where the Pinnawala Village Council studied, is situated. In 1968, it was found that in the Kegalla district over 50% of the committees were nominated due to the lack of a quorum.³

1. John S. Blackton, Local Government and Rural Development in Sri Lanka, Cornell University, 1974, pp. 59,60.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

3. Garvin Karunaratne, The Educational Role of Participation in Community Development Programs, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1975, p.142.

In the adjacent Mawanella divisional officer's area, in 1968, over 75% of the cultivation committees were nominated.¹ During the period 1970 onwards, the cultivation committees were on the wane. Thus the participation of the people has been minimal.

The cultivation committees were established by the Department of Agrarian Services.

Cultivation committees were meant to play a cardinal role in the Government's program of increasing the local production of food, by securing at the village level the active participation of the cultivators themselves in organizing cultivation on systematic and modern lines of production. 2

There was a great deal of popular support for the cultivation committees at the outset and generally over 90% of the people turned out to vote at the elections. In certain areas the officers elicited the participation of the people in the working of the committees. In the initial stages self-help was used in the construction of minor irrigation works. Here, the government gave a grant of Rs. 500.00 for a work that was worth Rs. 1,000.00. The committee was expected to obtain free contribution of labor in the working of the project and to use cooperative methods. It was only a limited number of committees that undertook this work-- in 1963, only 8%, in 1964, only 9% and in 1965, only 13%.³ Minor irrigation work was normally constructed on a full payment basis and every cultivation committee showed an interest in this type of construction. The extent of work done on self-help, on a comparative basis would reveal the extent of

1. Garvin Karunaratne, The Working of the Village Level in the Community Development Process in Ceylon, Dissertation for the Diploma in C.D., University of Manchester, 1970, p.55.

2. Administrative Report for 1959/60, Commissioner of Agrarian Services, Ceylon, p. kk 53.

3. Survey of Cultivation Committees, op. cit., p. 12.

the participation.¹

Expenditure on Minor Irrigation works.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Expenditure on self-help work</u>	<u>Total expenditure on minor irrigation works.</u>	<u>Percentage spent on self-help.</u>
1960	Rs.120,078.56	Rs.2,490,057.00	4.8%
1961/62	101,273.99	3,229,223.41	3.1%
1964/65	85,867.00	4,871,734.53	1.7%
1965/66	72,517.93	5,390,912.00	1.3%
1966/67	- *	7,945,296.00	-

* statistics not available.

The amount of work done on self-help has been dwindling, while the total amount spent on minor irrigation work was rapidly on the increase. The self-help work was so insignificant that it was not even mentioned in the administrative report of the Commissioner of Agrarian Service in 1966/67. In 1970, when irrigation work was taken over by the Territorial Civil Engineering Organization, the self-help scheme was completely abandoned. This was an area which created tremendous enthusiasm and its stoppage indicates the fact that the government did not place high priority on involving the people.

The cultivation committees were expected to mobilize the people for development. However, the government failed to ensure that the tenants who were evicted were put back on the land and also to ensure that the rental ceilings placed were enforced. Due to this, the people lost faith in the cultivation committees. On the other hand, the cultivation committees were legally entitled to collect a tax from the cultivators. The people showed their resentment by non-payment.

1. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Agrarian Services.



In Yala (short season) 1959 only 31% could be collected. In Maha (chief season) 1959/60, only 10% and in Yala 1960 only 1% could be collected.¹ In 1963/64, only 17% and in 1964/65 approximately 25% was collected.² The solution that was adopted was to take the non-paying cultivators to courts. In certain areas over 75% of the cultivators were prosecuted.³

The solution that was adopted was impractical. The cultivation committees were expected to work with the participation of the people. But in actual practice it was found that after the elections, the general body of the cultivators was not consulted. The committee that had been elected managed the affairs without reference to the cultivators. The Agricultural Development Proposals 1966-70 makes the situation very clear.

Cultivation committees had in fact performed very useful services to the cultivators but what has been done is yet far from adequate.... The peasant farmer has been content to carry on his work without actively participating in village level organization. This has resulted in the passing of control of village level organization to groups of people who did not have common interests with the peasant farmer.

It is of utmost importance therefore to educate the peasant farmer to take an active interest in his own affairs and assume leadership in managing his own affairs. Farmer education is considered to be a very important aspect in a take off period of development. This is necessarily a slow process but a very important one. 4

This education has to be brought about within the development process, in the management of the agrarian affairs on an experiential basis, with concentration on the use of non-formal education processes.

1. Administration Report for 1959/60, Commissioner of Agrarian Services, p. kk 52.

2. Administration Reports for 1963/64, and 1964/65, Commissioner of Agrarian Services, pp. kk60 and kk73, respectively.

3. Agricultural Development Proposals, 1966-70, Ministry of Agriculture and Food, p. 117.

4. Gampaha Divisional Officer's area.



But the tendency was otherwise. The cultivation committees did not even hold general meetings with all the cultivators. The Survey of Cultivation Committees in 1966 found that in 1963, only 36% held general meetings. In 1962, only 42% and in 1965, only 52% held general meetings.¹

The lack of responsibility is also reflected in the waste of water on irrigation schemes and the neglect in irrigation channels. Though it has been established that in Maha, only 1.6 acre feet of water is required to mature an acre of paddyland, farmers use as much as 3 to 5 acre feet. In fact, the Short Term Implementation Program that highlights this says that, "if cultivators could be induced to use water more economically it would be possible to crop an additional acre for Yala from the saving of water effected in every two acres of Maha cultivation".² In short, if all farmers were to use water carefully in cultivation, a substantial additional acreage could easily be brought under cultivation. This world wide situation made Klaus Billerbeck remark,

Present standards of education and skill may perhaps be adequate to build a small dam with the help of technical advice from the development organization, but the proper utilization of the stored water during the dry season, to raise agricultural productivity requires techniques which can only be practised if the farmer's education level is raised.

The lack of responsibility is also evident when one considers the neglect of irrigation works. Farmers who are bound by law to maintain channels often fail to maintain same.

1. Survey of Cultivation Committees, op. cit., p.11.

2. Short Term Implementation Program, op. cit, p.130.



It would be found that much cultivable land remains uncultivated because irrigation or drainage channels have been obstructed or diverted for other purposes or because the carrying capacity of these channels has been reduced by years of neglect. 1

As has been pointed out little or no self-help element has been used in the construction of irrigation works. The people were never involved in the construction of the works and they naturally get to thinking that the irrigation channels and works belong to the government and not to them. This negative attitude develops because the people are not sufficiently involved in the planning and implementation. However it is important to note that the classical remedy which is always resorted to is to prosecute.

In most cases, the government had to step in to restore and repair the works concerned. To avoid this additional burden being cast on the government, it was decided to enforce the maintenance obligations of proprietors under the irrigation ordinance. 2

Prosecution offers no long term remedy. The people get fined nominal rates and they neglect the maintenance once again. Non-performance of channel clearing can be measured and therefore a case can be presented in court. But in the case of waste of water, no charges can be proved as the water flows from field to field. The real solution to this as was given in the earlier quotation from the Agricultural Development Proposals, is to educate the farmers. Their initiatives can be allowed to develop by their managing their own affairs. Self-help can be used to get the people to contribute of their own. leading to a sense of belonginess, which cannot be created

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1. Agricultural Development Proposals, op. cit., p. 163.
 2. Short Term Implementation Program, op. cit., p.133.



through the imposition of fines. The path to the education of people in their responsibilities lies in the people being absorbed in the development process through the use of non-formal education. This has evidently been neglected.

The cooperative is another institution which could be used to develop responsibility in the people. Cooperatives have been established in all rural areas to attend to the distribution of rationed food, to attend to the marketing of agricultural produce and to provide agricultural inputs. The members elect a committee annually and this committee manages the affairs. The actual work was attended to without the involvement of the people.

The cooperatives handled construction of infrastructure works in their own areas, but these were done without involving the people. In fact the Short Term Implementation Program refers to the fact that the cooperatives have become fronts for private contractors to obtain work unofficially and construct them for the society.¹ The U.N. Rural Development Evaluation Mission has an interesting comment,

Most of the cooperators interviewed did not show much enthusiasm for pure self-help or aided self-help. Some representatives would have liked to have more public contracts given to cooperatives. However, when asked whether they had in mind any cooperative way of getting the construction done, they had either not thought of it or did not think favorably of it. Their interest was to act as contractors and earn an extra income for their societies, rather than use cooperation as a means of mobilizing the efforts of the people on their own behalf. 2

1. Short Term Implementation Program, op. cit., p. 127.

2. Report of a Rural Development Evaluation Mission to Ceylon, op. cit., p. 43.

Cooperatives disbursed agricultural credit. This credit was disbursed without any group involvement in the planning and the use of the funds. The planning and implementation was in the hands of the cultivation committees which came within the control of another department and it has been already shown that these departments did not work together. The members were not involved like in the case of the Comilla Program. The result was a poor payment record. In 1955/56 the defaults amounted to 32% of the total outstanding loans and this increased to 59% by 1963/64 and to as much as 71% by 1967.¹ Even then, instead of emphasizing the functions of education, what was done in 1963 was to grant loans to non-creditworthy societies and also to extend the credit limit to enable the members to draw more loans. As a consequence, the amount granted on credit increased threefold.² The problem was not understood in relation to building up the responsibility in the members. Karunatileke says,

The reorganization in 1963 of the agricultural credit program however proved to be a failure because the government did not enact legislative amendments to the Cooperative Ordinance under the scheme. 3

The recommendations refer to enable the cooperatives to recover overdue loans on a compulsory basis, when produce is purchased from defaulting members. When in 1967, the overdues reached 71%, it was decided to erase off without payment all unpaid loans granted prior to 1958. This enabled the granting of further credit to those who had

1. H.N.S.Karunatileke, Economic Development in Ceylon, Praeger, 1971, p. 134.

2. Nimal Sanderatne, "Agricultural Credit, Ceylon's Experience" in Development Digest, Vol.9. No.2, April 1972, p.67.

3. H.N.S.Karunatileke, Economic Development in Ceylon, op.cit., p. 136.



overdue loans. It was thereby possible to give credit to the extent of Rs. 78.1 million, but in the very next year it dropped to Rs. 55 million.¹ By 1972/73, the credit that could be granted amounted only to Rs. 20 million, as the people had defaulted in repayment.² In 1973, the credit scheme was again amended. Credit limits were increased and earlier unpaid loans were once again forgiven. As a result, in 1973/74 a total of Rs. 60.9 million was granted.³ The increases granted have been due to the relaxation of rules and extensions and do not in any way reflect the development of responsibility on the part of the members. This is an instance where non-formal education processes could have been used increasingly to enable the members to develop responsibility. Participation in active terms is essential for the development of responsibility. If there had been group participation at every stage, involving the critical thinking of the members in the program, it could have led to a greater realization of their responsibilities. The cooperatives in Sri Lanka have not been used in a process oriented manner to involve the people in its working.

In 1973, the failure of cooperatives, led the government to take over the cooperatives and handle them by a board nominated by the member of parliament of the area. Thenceforth the role that the original members could play was further limited as they had to be in the background and perform a reporting function on an advisory board.

1. Nimal Sanderatne, "Agricultural Credit, Ceylon's Experience" op. cit., p. 67.

2. Annual Report of the Monetary Board to the Minister of Finance, Central Bank of Ceylon, 1973, p. 43.

3. Ibid., p. 13.



This was a political move by the Government then in power.

The Department of Small Industries was set up in 1970 and assumed responsibility for the small industries section of the Department of Rural Development and Small Industries. This work consisted of maintaining handloom centers in rural areas along with other industrial centers and sales units at urban centers to attend to the sale of industrial products. These centers were established in order to train the rural youth and it was hoped that the trainees would eventually become self employed. In the case of textiles a number of trainees had handlooms at their homes, but the difficulty experienced in obtaining the yarn for weaving made most trainees continue to be attached to the center. As a result the center became more like a factory. Wijemanne and Welikala in their study state that annually 100,000 youth are enrolled in these centers for training. Though an annual intake was the original idea, this did not happen in practice; instead, from 1965 onwards the situation has been that the trainees have worked in these centers till they get married or find other employment. Thus the annual intake of trainees is very slow, far from the intake of 100,000. The training imparted includes non-formal aspects as it is based on experience. However the total volume of work involved is low, the handlooms working at times, even at 20% of capacity. Though a full cadre of officers is employed, they continue underemployed, as the original idea of training did not come true. Welagedera says,

These officers are posted to small industrial units in the village areas run by the Department. When compared with other village based officers, they have only to teach whatever industry

1. E.L.Wijemanne et. al., "Rural Non-Formal Education", op.cit., p. 268.



they are trained in, to the trainees and to run the unit. Their contribution to rural development is negligible. 1

Though the program involves experiential learning on a non-formal basis with the inclusion of the management aspects, the limited nature of the work due to the lack of yarn has not enabled this program to expand. This is true of the other industrial units run by this department.

There are a number of voluntary organizations attending to various rural development tasks on a non-formal education basis. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya has been adopting community development as a process to bring about rural development in certain project areas.

It originated as a movement to support self-help projects and soon developed to be an island wide movement that has formed groups for developmental purposes in many villages. In 1972, it had various types of groups among farmers, the youth and school children, but the expansion was slow. This could be due to the fact that the movement did not emphasize employment creation. In the self-help programs the participants were educated through non-formal education processes. However, the limited resources and the consequent sporadic nature of the program did not enable it to develop. There are a number of other organizations like the Young Men's Buddhist Association with a large number of members, but the work is limited to religious education or to providing welfare services. These voluntary bodies have successfully used non-formal education processes in their limited activities.

1. Welagedera, Community Development in Ceylon, Dissertation for the Diploma in C.D., University of Manchester, 1968, p. 59.



Summary of Evidence.

It is clear from the above evidence that non-formal education processes have been officially used only by the Department of Rural Development and unofficially, on a sporadic basis by a few other departments. In the latter case, it depended upon the inclination of the officers concerned. The efficacy of using non-formal education processes is evident in the quantum of self-help contributions made by the people in connection with rural infrastructure works. Here, the management of these works enabled the people to develop their initiatives and gain responsibility. It was also pointed out that the rural development movement covered only a tenth of the rural expenditure and the rest is spent by other departments, that do not use self-help and do not work with the participation of the people.

In the case of cooperatives, village councils and cultivation committees, which are local village level bodies, generally elected by the people, it was shown that though provision is available to work with the participation and the cooperation of the people, the institutions are run today, without involving the people in an active sense. The people are involved in a passive structural sense, in electing the office bearers of the institutions on a periodical basis. Once the election has taken place, the people are not consulted till the next elections are due. In the case of cultivation committees, the period for elections was annual at the beginning. But it was found difficult to obtain the attendance of the people that often and the solution was to obtain a lengthier period of 3 years. This meant that for as long as 3 years the elected committee could continue the

affairs of the institution without reference to the general body of members. It was pointed out that the village councils, cooperatives, cultivation committees failed to involve the masses in the development functions. However, the major part of the rural development functions fell to these departments, as they covered important aspects like agriculture. The fact that these departments handled the bulk of the work, threw the rural development society into insignificance, yet with the limited scope, these societies have achieved significant extents of contribution and participation. The other departments judge participation at face value, like attendance at election meetings, while the rural development movement has based itself firmly on self-help. Non-formal education processes have generally been used only by the rural development societies.

The fact that the administrative structure has been developed sporadically by the addition of departments and ministries on an ad-hoc basis has necessarily meant that there is at the village level, a plethora of institutions and a host of village level officers who follow different strategies. The officers of the Department of Agriculture follow the training and visit system, ignoring all the village level institutions, one of which, the cultivation committee is specially meant to attend to agrarian affairs. Each department tries to make it alone and this attempt splinters the stimulation system. This differentiated and splintered approach does not facilitate the use of non-formal education processes like participation, community development and conscientization in the majority of the development programs.

TAIWAN.

According to the criteria used in this study for the classification of rural development models, it is found that Taiwan falls into the unintegrated category. However, it is important to note that Taiwan has been classified as one of the 'more organized' countries in terms of local organization by Uphoff and Esman.¹ In Taiwan, the county government is distinct from the township, which is the local government institution and both have stimulating systems extending to the people. In addition, there are agricultural cooperatives, farmer's associations and irrigation associations working on allied functions. Thus, the administrative structure is far from integrated. In the Japanese period of colonial administration, development was achieved through a number of government agencies and village level agencies functioning simultaneously. In the post-Japanese period, these institutions and agencies were further developed and they continued to function separately.

The administrative structure has not been fully developed. Instead, the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction which took over the agricultural development functions was expanded by the addition of agencies. Thus the administrative structure was not a total departure from the colonial framework inherited from the Japanese and was not developed to enable the effective use of non-formal education. The various development functions were attended to by separate agencies and institutions. Bernard Gallin has provided details of the functions covered by the farmer's associations.

1. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, op.cit., p. xiv.



Each individual Farmer's Association has three functions. The first and perhaps the most important of its functions is its extension services. The second function of a Farmer's Association is money lending..... The third function is performing for a fee some of the work of the Provincial Food Bureau, i.e., the Farmer's Association is the agent through which the Government collects rice for the land tax. 1

The services that were covered included the provision of marketing services, the purchase of supplies, storage, credit, farmer education and also the repair of farm equipment. However, it is evident that the farmer's association functions did not extend to the entire field of agriculture. In addition to the farmer's associations, the government also attended to agricultural extension, having direct contact with farmers. The government officers concentrated on administration.

Both the Government and the Farmer's Association maintain grassroots contact with farmers. The lowest level government representatives, those in the village are the village chiefs and the lin(neighbourhood headmen), who are periodically elected by the popular vote. These governmental representatives have no direct responsibility for agricultural development. They are mainly responsible for the enforcement of governmental orders. 2

There were cooperatives which supplied agricultural inputs. However, credit and the marketing of rice was handled by the farmer's association.

The local government framework was also separate from the farmer's association. At the township level, there was the farmer's association which has a general manager and on the other hand there was the public office chief. The latter was an elected administrator

1. Bernard Gallin, "Agricultural Development in Taiwan", in Common Ground, Vol.4, No. 3, Fall 1978, p. 61.

2. Herbert F.Lionberger & H.C.Chang, Farm Information for Modernizing Agriculture: The Taiwan System, Praeger, 1970, p. 39.



and forms the lowest link of governmental authority and as such has to attend to extension work. There was also the county government which attended to important functions like land administration.

Irrigation associations attend to all irrigation matters, including the construction, maintenance as well as the administration of irrigation on agricultural land. Further it has been found that the areas covered by the farmer's associations, the irrigation associations and the townships differed.

Thus the overall evidence indicates that there is no integration. Each of these separate organizations, the county government, the townships, the farmer's associations and the irrigation associations had developed vertical communication channels and they functioned entirely separate, with the result that they had little horizontal communication. The tendency has been towards centralization.

Community Development was handled by a separate village level board of directors.¹ Benedict Stavis says about the implementation of community development projects,

In community development projects, the local government plays a very important role in organizing the village committees, in developing the specific plans and in assuring that they are carried out. However, at every point, the local government is following provincial policy. It has very little room for flexibility with regard to the content of the construction plans. ... The main decision made according to local political factors is the sequence in which villages will have their community development projects. 2

Stavis is of the opinion that the farmer's associations were also

1. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, Cornell University, 1974, p.41.

2. Ibid., p. 43.



effectively controlled by the central government.¹ In the irrigation association too, it is said that the members do not arrive at the basic decisions; instead they are made at the center.² This happens due to the fact that there is no decentralization.

Thus, the evidence indicates that there is no integration, no decentralization, a number of village level institutions and a number of stimulation systems extended towards the people. The Taiwan model of rural development administration thus falls into the unintegrated category.

The Achievement.

Taiwan's achievement in development can be traced back to the days when it was under Japanese domination. After 1920 there was systematized and organized growth. A number of factors had been instrumental.

Taiwan owes much of its present economic health to 3 major developments. The first was land reform. This included reduction of land rentals and in 1949, sales of government owned land to farmers and the land to the tiller program beginning in 1953, under which tenant farmers were helped to become landowners. The second was the reorganization in 1953, of farmer's associations and cooperatives to put them under more direct control of farmers. The third was agricultural development planning, launched in 1953, with the first of successive four year plans, which helped achieve effective use of scarce land, water, fertilizer and other inputs. 3

Taiwan stands out as a successful case of rural development.

1. Ibid., p. 61.

2. Ibid., p. 109.

3. Taiwan's Agricultural Development: Its relevance for Developing Countries Today, U.S.D.A., Economic Research Service, Washington D.C., 1968, p. viii.

Farm family incomes and savings have increased.

In terms of 1952 prices, the average disposable farm family income rose from NT\$ 8259 in 1950 to NT\$ 13,195 in 1965, up by 60%. The increase in savings per farm family was even more remarkable. They expanded from NT\$ 620 in 1950 to NT\$ 2,802 in 1965, up by more than 352%. 1

This increase was not purely due to increases in farm incomes only.

In 1972, the non-farm incomes of the farm population amounted to almost a half of total farm family income.²

In agricultural credit, the achievement is evident in the high rate of repayment.

By 1966, 281,666 farm families have benefitted from the Service and the unified credit loans have totalled NT\$ 3.1 billion with an amount of NT\$ 1 billion outstanding. The record of loan collections on time is always maintained at more than 95%. As of December 1966, the capital reserves accumulated by the farmer's association totalled NT\$ 197.3 millions and the farmer borrower's investment in the credit department has reached NT\$ 87.3 millions. 3

It is important to note that in 1971, the total number of farm workers amounted to 1,496,059.⁴ Thus, it was only a minority of farmers who obtained loans.

Taiwan's high yield achievement reflect the advance in agriculture. The yields of all cereals was 3686 kg/ha in 1970/72, which compares very favorably with other countries.⁵ However, it is

1. An Economic Analysis of Agriculture in Taiwan, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1967, p. 14.

2. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p.14.

3. C.Y.Hsu, "Supervised Farm Credit in Taiwan" in Rural Asia Marches Forward, ed. by Chi Wen Chang, University of Philippines, 1969, pp. 386, 387.

4. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p.29.

5. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, op.cit., p.33.



important to note that yield levels were high even in 1948. In 1948/52 the yield of rice was as high as 2210 kg/ha.¹

Unemployment levels are very low, as low as 1.3% in 1960 and 2% in 1970.² This is a highly creditable record. Literacy rates are high-- 73% in 1970.³

The g.n.p.per capita is also high-- at \$ 1050 in 1976, with real growth rates of 6.2% for the period 1960-76 and 5.5% for the period 1970-76.⁴ The increases in yields brought about increased incomes. The average farm cash income of families was high-- as much as U.S.\$ 540 in the case of fruit cultivation and U.S.\$ 106 in the case of grain cultivation.⁵

The life expectancy rate is high-- as much as 68.3 years and the deaths before age 1 is as low as 2.9%.⁶

The land reform program led to the purchase and the distribution of land, which paved the way for increased incomes to many, who would otherwise have been landless laborers or perhaps unemployed. Full owners of agricultural land increased from 38% of total farmers in 1952 to 78% by 1971 and the number of tenants reduced from 36% in 1952 to 10% in 1971.⁷ The reduction in the

1. FAO Production Year Book, 1958, F.A.O., p.58.

2. World Tables 1976, op. cit., p.516.

3. Ibid., p. 522.

4. 1978 World Bank Atlas, op. cit., p.6.

5. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 17.

6. Taiwan Statistical Abstract, 1972, Taiwan Republic of China, pp. 108,109.

7. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 18.



number of tenants does not reflect negative progress because generally the tenants could purchase the land, unlike in the case of India, where the peasants who had tenanted the land were evicted and ended as landless laborers. Further those who were displaced from the agriculture sector could be found employment in other sectors of the economy like industry. Thus it could be said that land reform was a success.

When compared to the achievement of other Third World countries, it could be said that Taiwan's record is highly creditable.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

Non-formal education of the out-of-school instructional type has been concentrated on, with the idea of imparting knowledge and skills to youth and adults, especially farmers. There has been intense educational activity in numerous 4H clubs, farmer's associations and other such organizations. However, non-formal education processes for rural development appear to have been used only to a limited extent.

In 1968, community development was commenced as a separate program, based on self-help. The plan was to appoint a village community development board of directors and to raise funds to supplement government grants. These funds were spent through the local townships, but the village community development board of directors had the right to decide how the work was to be done. Some works were given on contract after calling for quotations on a competitive basis. In other cases some work was apportioned to be done by the people and the balance of the work was done by contractors hired for the purpose.



Benedict Stavis is of the opinion that the local level had very little flexibility with regard to the content of the construction plans.

There was hardly any decentralization, and the involvement of the local people was generally only to collect contributions. The work was not widespread. Stavis says that the rural self-help works were to be implemented only in 10% of the villages.¹ A village was included in the program, only if it could collect the funds.

From the inception, community development was not conceived of as an educational process to bring about development. It was thought of as a method of obtaining people's contributions in a rural works construction program. Thus the community development program in Taiwan did not grow to be a program that involved the mass participation of the people.

In agricultural activities, participation was theoretically possible by the farmers being organized in farmer's associations and irrigation associations. However, it has been pointed out that the membership had little control over both these organizations, in view of the central control exercised both by the government and the political party. Stavis says that, "although the farmer's associations are structured in a manner to give members control (through indirect elections) over the general manager and some of the supervisory bodies it would be a mistake to consider them simply democratic institutions. They are subject to strict control from various agencies above them."²

1. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 41.

2. Ibid., p. 66.



The Japanese during their occupation, developed small agricultural units in the rural areas. These units, "went by different names-- agricultural small society, agricultural practice society, organization for development of villages, but were created for the single purpose of serving as a convenient point of contact between farmers and the agricultural experts. In each unit a leader was selected with the approval of the government to serve as liaison. Whatever information was to be disseminated, the leader was responsible for bringing the group together for group education. This system was both efficient and inexpensive to maintain." ¹

These small agricultural units functioned as the base for the farmer's associations. In the post Japanese period, farmer's associations were further developed. Commencing with the small agricultural units at the base, there were township associations, county or city associations and provincial associations in hierarchic tiers, which provided a sort of effective and influential organization, where the voices of the farmers could be heard. The details of the way the members fitted into this organization are important to realize how member participation was built in and at the same time how an efficient organization was ensured. Though efficiency was ensured, it is important to note that true participation was not forthcoming from the members due to strict control imposed from above.

1. Samuel P.S.Ho, Agricultural Transformation under Colonialism: The Case of Taiwan, Yale University, 1968, p.331.



Irrigation functions were also built up on an institutional basis. This was done by the establishment of irrigation associations to take charge of the distribution of water, collection of water rates and the maintenance of irrigation works. Though there was central control, the work was attended to with a fair degree of participation of the members. Stavis says,

The irrigation associations should then be considered an organizational device to assure that farmers will pay all the management costs and some of the construction costs for supplying irrigation water. It provides an organized way of settling most disputes and enforcing discipline over water distribution. It also assures that farmers participate in routine maintenance of local canals. It is not a way in which farmers make basic decisions about the pattern of agricultural development in their region but it does provide a channel for farmers to convey their views about water policy to the government. 1

Attached to the irrigation association, there is an irrigation small group, consisting of all the members of the irrigation association in the village. They are entitled to elect a leader, but there is no decentralization of management to this level. Water taxes are collected by another branch of the irrigation association.

There was a great deal of political control and central control over both the irrigation as well as the farmer's associations. Stavis says of the farmer's associations,

The farmers' associations also play a significant political role. Some people argue that the farmer's association is effective because it is based on the principle of democracy and is controlled by and for the local farmers who constitute the membership. However, I believe that in most of their activities, they are controlled by the Central Government and generally through provincial farmer's associations. The fact is that the

1. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 109.



township farmer's associations help everyone and is not dominated by a rural elite is due to firm controls over them and also to the fact that the rural elite was greatly weakened by land reform. It is not due to local participation and control. 1

The above evidence indicates that the normal farmer had little power over decision making in the farmer's association. His participation was severely limited. It was participation in the passive sense, where the center held the decision making power and the farmers were told what they had to do. There is thus no evidence that non-formal education processes were followed. The community development process was not used. Instead, what was used was extension, to bring information about skills and knowledge to the farmer. Extension falls far short of community development as an educational process. It does not develop the initiatives of the people. It is based on the dissemination of information and compliance factors only.

Summary of Evidence.

The success of the Taiwan model of rural development, especially in the fields of agriculture, industry and consequent growth, overtly indicates that complete democratic control is not essential for development.

The administrative model that was followed was far from integrated. There were a number of stimulating agencies attending to development work at the village level and a number of village level institutions, which indicate that there has been no integration of functions. This also brings about a situation, as has been shown,

1. Ibid., p. 61.

where the agencies have a marked vertical chain of command and little horizontal communication. It was also shown that there was no decentralization. The administrative structure left by the colonial Japanese was not totally altered, but only developed upon. It has also been shown that there is very little evidence to the effect that non-formal education processes like community development, discussion, conscientization and participation were utilized to bring about rural development. Though participation was elicited from farmers in the activities of the farmer's association and the irrigation association, this was rigged and manipulated, with the village level institution performing extension and communication functions, rather than involving the people and bestowing on them a true sense of partnership in the program. Thus the options available to the people were limited. The discussions were more directly manipulated and decision making was really remote from the people. The emphasis was on the provision of information, extension and the efficient service, supply and marketing facilities.

The directive national policy, the undeveloped nature of the administrative structure, with a number of parallel village level institutions, the splintered nature of the stimulation system and the firm political and government controls from the center did not enable the people to participate freely in an intensive manner.

It is said that the Taiwan model of rural development is helpful for developers in Third World countries. To start with, as Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman point out, the agricultural model followed in western countries cannot be adopted in the Third World.



The Western model of agriculture cannot be replicated in most Asian countries. In this Western model, workers are drawn from farming into higher productivity employment in rapidly expanding manufacturing and service industries. 1

In this model, the surplus labor from the rural area is found employment in industries. In 1953, as much as 61.3% of total employment was in agriculture. By 1971, it was only 42.3%. The employment in industry increased during the corresponding period from 9% to 18%.² It has already been shown how farmers also came to enjoy non-farm incomes amounting to almost half of total family income. Thus to start with, it is futile to adopt the Taiwan model of rural development in any Third World country, where the employment has essentially to be created within agricultural development and allied agricultural produce processing and consumer oriented small industries.

The strength of the rural development model that was adopted in Taiwan, flows from the efficiency of the administration, and from the major role played by politics to ensure that development is brought about. The farmers' association, though it did not afford full and free participation to the people, nevertheless was an efficient and viable organization. Its hierarchical tiers from the village through to the provincial level enabled it to function on a viable basis. The concentration of activity was not at the village level, but at township level. Thus by way of size and volume of work, the institution was economical and viable.

It is also important to note that Taiwan's achievement in

1. Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: An Analysis of Asian Experience, op. cit., p.1.

2. Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p.10.



rural development goes back to a period beyond the days when the present administrative model has been followed. Taiwan came under the Japanese colonial government till the end of World War II. As early as the mid 1920s, under the Japanese, Taiwan had developed improved rice varieties, had constructed irrigation systems and rural infrastructure and fertilizer inputs were made available to the farmers through the integration of the economy with that of Japan. It is correct to state that after Taiwan became independent, agricultural development was accelerated, but this was possible due to the process of development policies which were created and paved for during Japanese occupation. As Yujiro Hayami and Vernon W. Ruttan says,

By the mid 1920s, under Japanese administration, Taiwan had acquired a number of the essential elements needed for rapid development of its rice economy: a) the development of improved rice varieties.... b) the availability of irrigation systems capable of delivering water to much of the rice land throughout the year and c) the availability of technical inputs such as chemical fertilizer through an economic integration with the Japanese economy. 1

Another important factor which was significant in bringing about Taiwan's development is the role of foreign aid and foreign investment. This is peculiar to Taiwan and between 1951 and 1965 economic aid supplied to Taiwan was nearly U.S.\$ 1.5 billion or about U.S.\$ 100 million per year.² This massive inflow of investment amounted to as much as \$ 248.8 million in 1973, including private sector inflows. In 1974, the foreign investment was \$ 189.3 million

1. Yujiro Hayami and Vernon W. Ruttan, Agricultural Development: An International Perspective, The John Hopkins Press, 1971, p.53.

2. Shao-er Ong, "Taiwan Reconstructing Strategies for Small Farmer Development", Paper presented at the Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, 5-26-1977, p.20.



and in 1975 only \$ 118.1 million.¹ The economy was thus built up on foreign investment and foreign trade and domestic agriculture had very little place in the total economy. In 1953, agricultural exports amounted to 93.4% of all exports, while in 1971, agricultural exports amounted only to 20.2% of all exports.² The important role played by foreign trade in Taiwan's economy is also evident when one considers the fact that in 1974 the total foreign trade amounted to \$ 12.6 billion-- as much as 89% of Taiwan's g.n.p., which is one of the highest ratios in the world.³

Thus this model of rural development can be duplicated only in a situation which is politically oriented towards foreign investment, coupled with the lack of an opposition against foreign domination and influence in the economy. It also calls for a high degree of political stability in a country. Thus, the cumulative evidence points to the fact that the present rural development model followed by Taiwan cannot be attributed with the sole credit for the total achievement. The evidence also indicates that the model does not offer adaptability for Third World economies to bring about rural development. The achievement took place over a long period of time. Further the achievement was made possible, at least in major part, by the massive inflow of investment from foreign countries and the dependence on foreign markets for products, all made possible by conditions beyond the ability of the typical Third World country.

1.F.A.Lumley, The Republic of China under Chiang Kai Shek: Taiwan Today, Barrie and Jenkins, 1976, p. 127.

2.Benedict Stavis, Rural Local Governance and Agricultural Development in Taiwan, op. cit., p.10.

3.Jack F.Williams, Taiwan's Development Strategy since 1949: Prospects and Problems, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1976, p.41.



KENYA.

The Kenya model of rural development falls into the unintegrated category. Here the administrative system that was inherited from the colonial British has only been altered by the addition of ministries and departments. No far reaching changes have been made in the administration to bring together any integration of the different functions.

The Community Development Department was separate from the Agriculture Department, the Cooperative Department, the County Council as well as from the Rural Administration. Each department had its own hierarchy of officers. There has been no integration. E.R.Watts states,

Although the Agricultural Department is the most important extension agency as far as crops are concerned, there are a large number of other organizations also involved. Many of these could make a greater contribution if their efforts were coordinated and officially engaged. 1

There have been committee structures designed to bring about coordination. Originally there had been community development committees at the local, divisional and district levels. Later, development committees, consisting mainly of government officials were appointed. There have been confrontations between these committees, with the community development committees claiming superiority as they were elected bodies. In order to avoid confusion, the community development committees were made sub-committees of the development committees.²

1. E.R.Watts, "Agricultural Extension in Embu District of Kenya" in East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol.2, No.1,p.75.

2. J.Heyer, D.Irereri and J.Morris, Rural Development in Kenya, East Africa Publishing House, 1971, p. 27.



Coordination confronts to be a major problem as stated by J.Heyer,

Coordination between different departments was said to be on an informal ad-hoc basis, more or less effective depending on personalities as much as anything else. Relations between the Agricultural Department and the Administration, tended to be better than relations between either of them and Community Development. It is the Community Development staff who need to bring in other departments all the time and who see the need for coordination that are most unhappy about the present situation. 1

The lack of integration and horizontal communication among the different agencies was commented on at the Kericho Conference.

Development in the rural sector was recognized as requiring continuous review and strengthening of communication and cooperation between government officials and local leaders at the village and sub-location levels. 2

In fact when the Community Development Department had to play a major role in self-help programs in 1963, it is said that "officers of other departments began to resent the popularity of community development workers in the community".³ The power struggle between the various departments comes to the forefront. It is evident that the coordination that has been attempted has not been successful.

The new structure for coordinated planning at the district and divisional levels is through the district and division development committees. These committees are supposed to initiate and coordinate local development plans. They tend to be most active when a new plan is being revised or formulated. While they seem to have met quite a lot in 1967, in 1968 they were almost totally ineffective. They were meeting once every three or four

1. Ibid., pp. 25,26.

2. Education, Employment and Rural Development: Report of the Kericho Conference, Sept 25, to Oct. 1, 1966, ed. by James R.Sheffield, East Africa Publishing House, 1967, p. 11.

3. Malcolm Wallis, The C.D.Assistant in Kenya: A Study of the Administration of Personnel and Rural Development, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Kenya, 1976, p.7.

months and there was difficulty in getting a reasonable attendance. It was quite apparent that the development committees were very far from being the vigorous bodies one might expect when competing claims on development funds are argued and local development priorities are settled. 1

The Community Development Department that handled self-help work with the mobilization of the people, kept away from agriculture and the rural administration.²

The attempt at coordination for the Special Rural Development Program evoked the following comment from Uma Lele:

In order to coordinate the program at the top, the National Rural Development Committee was organized in 1969.... The objective in establishing NRDC was largely to bring sufficient prestige and attention to SRDP so as to facilitate interministerial cooperation vital to the program's success. Such cooperation was not easy to achieve. While (the) Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning was generally supportive of SRDP, Both the Treasury and the Ministry of Agriculture were ambivalent towards the program. The NRDC lacked adequate staff and authority to resolve these tensions quickly... Consequently, the Treasury blocked the release of funds for the program in June 1970, despite the fact that the program had been discussed for 3 years at National level and had been announced publicly. ... It was only in 1971, after the Treasury had been amalgamated with the Ministry of Economic Planning that the Government finally released funds for the SRDP. 3

This reflects the coordination that existed at the Ministry level.

The situation gets worse at the district and the village levels where the implementation comes in. Here, there were a number of institutions and a number of departments functioning simultaneously. The community development committee competed with the development committees, while the cooperatives, the agricultural societies, the county

1. J. Heyer et. al, Rural Development in Kenya, op. cit., p. 26.

2. Malcolm Wallis, The C.D. Assistant in Kenya: A Study of the Administration of Personnel and Rural Development, op. cit., p. 7

3. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p. 145, 146.



and such institutions competed. Meanwhile the authority for approval was firmly placed at the center. The institutions and agencies functioned in water tight compartments, with a high degree of vertical communication and thus very little horizontal communication was possible. The I.L.O. Report says,

....there is a great need for greater decentralization in procedures and in implementation with supporting changes in central organization. It may be useful to mention some of the many ways in which decentralization is required and would help.

1. Decentralization of a number of procedures is needed to make possible a quicker response when problems of implementation arise.
2. Decentralization is needed to make possible integration of the programs of different ministries at the level that matters.
3. Decentralization is needed to make possible the fuller exploitation of local resources, particularly labor surpluses at certain times of the year. 1

Thus on the whole, the evidence points to the fact that the Kenya model of rural development falls into the unintegrated category.

The Achievement.

The achievement in Kenya is not significant.

Unemployment levels are high, amounting to 8%-14% of the working force in the urban areas-- an average of 11.5%, amounting to almost 20% of the working poor in the urban areas.² It has been found that primary school leavers amount to 180,000 a year of whom "80% could not be absorbed into wage employment".³ At the Kericho Conference, it was reported, that in 1964, 67,000 out of an annual

1. Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, I.L.O., 1972, p. 321.

2. Ibid., p. 10.

3. Philip Mbithi, "Employment of Youth with special reference to policy issues" in Youth for Development- An African Perspective, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1975, p.12.



110,000 primary school leavers could not find employment.¹

The incomes are low. It has been found that the lowest level of farm families, amounting to 620,000 small holders have an income of less than £ 60 a year.² In a country of 11 million people, 620,000 is a sizeable number. The g.n.p. per capita is higher than Asian Third World countries. It is at \$ 250 (1976). The real growth rate is 2.6% for the period 1960-76; it was at 1.2% for the period 1970-76.³

Inequalities have been high, with the top 20% of the people by income, enjoying as much as 68% of the total national income and the lowest 40% enjoying only 10% of the total national income.⁴

In agriculture, some headway has been made. It is reported according to statistics, that the yield of rice in Kenya has increased from 590 kg/ha in 1948/53 to 3300 kg/ha in 1964/65⁵ and further to 5385 kg/ha in 1977.⁶ This increase appears phenomenal, but it is important to note that rice is grown only in an area of 7,000 hectares⁷. Comparatively, it is important to note that in the case of maize, the staple crop of Kenya, where the area under cultivation is as much as 1,250,000 hectares, the yield was only 1220 kg/ha in 1969/70⁸ and only 1360 kg/ha in 1977.⁹ Thus the increase

1. Education, Employment and Rural Development: Report of the Kericho Conference, op. cit., p. ix.

2. Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, op. cit., p. 37.

3. 1978 World Bank Atlas, op. cit., p.6.

4. M.Ahluwalia, "Income Inequality: Some Dimensions of the Problem", op. cit., p. 8.

5. FAO Production Year Book, 1965, F.A.O., pp.54,55.

6. FAO Production Year Book, 1977, F.A.O.. p. 96.

7. Ibid., p. 96.

8. Ibid., p.100.

9. Ibid., p.100.



in the rice yield does not reflect significant advancement as far as the country as a whole is concerned.

The literacy rates are low, as low as 30% in 1970.¹ The life expectancy rate, is only 48 years (1970).²

Cooperatives have not been fully developed. J. Heyer et. al. have said,

We have not yet reached the stage where Cooperatives represent ordinary farmers sufficiently, to provide a means of exerting pressure on the farmer's behalf. These Cooperatives in Kenya are often led by farmers who are at the same time traders and teachers. 3

This problem in the case of cooperatives, is also found reflected in the field of agricultural credit. Of the 1.2 million small holders, only 200,000 had obtained agricultural credit.⁴ Thus in actuality, the bulk of the small farmers have been out of the cooperatives.

The achievement in the field of self-help rural infrastructure works is remarkable. This saw contributions from the people on a regular basis, at all times exceeding the grants made by the government.⁵

The evidence is thus to the effect that except in the case of the self-help community development program, which was a minor program of development, the achievement was not significant.

1. World Tables 1976, op. cit., p. 522.

2. Ibid., p. 506.

3. J.Heyer et. al., Rural Development in Kenya, op. cit., p.72.

4. Kenya into the Second Decade, The World Bank, 1975, p. 486.

5. J.Heyer et. al., Rural Development in Kenya, op. cit., p.34.

The Use of Non-Formal Education.

The literature available on development and education indicate that the concentration of non-formal education appears to have been in the area of imparting instructional training courses, aimed at reaching the out-of-school population. The courses at the district community development centers and the farmer training centers were imparted, mostly based on the formal education pattern in a highly structured and organized manner. Kipkorir says that, "the rationale for Kenya's non-formal education is largely to be found in the thousands of youths who fail in the formal education system".¹

The Village Polytechnics were low cost training centers that provided school leavers with skills and competence. This grew to be a strong program that involved a total of 12,000 students in 1976/77. However though the out-of-school population was involved, it is observed that there was very little non-formal education in these village polytechnics. In actuality it was an extension of formal education for the purpose of providing out-of-school youths and drop outs with knowledge and skills. John Anderson says,

It is not difficult to understand why much of the evidence at present points to the creation of a series of youth institutions running parallel to secondary schools, but offering expedient training aimed at low level craft certificates, rather than academic examinations. Such a system may have its short term successes, but set against the wider perspective of the society, these successes are seen in terms of gaining formal employment

1. B.E.Kipkorir, "Kenya: Development and Coordination of Non-Formal Education" in Education for Rural Development, ed. by Manzoor Ahmed and Philip H. Coombs, op. cit., p. 182.

and thus tends to prevent any major shift in educational thinking towards the diffuse, changeable and less secure occupations in the informal sector. 1

Thus, at best the village polytechnics had little to contribute to rural development. They imparted skills and knowledge not to equip the trainees to fit into the rural economy and the rural social system, but to become wage employees, in short, to be consumers and not producers.

The Kenya National Youth Service provided educational training in addition to competence in skills and in providing employment on infrastructure works in rural areas. Here too the emphasis was on the formal aspects of education. The education was imparted away from the actual work setting in the national youth service. A.W.Wood says,

The educational aspect, promotion of national consciousness, improvement of basic education, occurs within precisely determined compartments in the service period and is only indirectly related to the development activities of the Kenya National Youth Service. There would seem to be the need for the closer correlation between Kenya National Youth Service's purely educational activities in the field and its obligations to society at large. 2

Thus, though the national youth service in its actual working provided opportunities to develop the initiatives of the youths, this did not take place as the educational training was divorced from the other field activities. In fact Kipkorir says that the non-formal education schemes that have been developed, "do not offer clear directions for the future because they are but a shadow of the formal educational system of Kenya." 3

1. J. Anderson, "The Formalization of Non-Formal Education, Village Polytechnics and Pre-Vocational Youth Training in Kenya" in World YearBook of Education 1974, ed. by J.R.Sheffield et. al., p.299.

2. A.W.Wood, Informal Education in African Development, Moulten, 1974, pp. 88.89.

3. B.E.Kipkorir, "Kenya: Development and Coordination of Non-Formal Education", op. cit., p. 184.



Community development was initially conceived of as a process that could be strategically used for development. The 1964-70 Development Plan says,

The primary goal of Community Development in Kenya is to involve people in planning for their own development. It is a democratic process in which the people themselves decide what kind of society they wish to work towards and then decide on means of achieving it. 1

In 1950, community development assistants were appointed, a separate Community Development Department was created and community development committees were formed at the district divisional and local levels. However, these committees were entrusted only with a limited program of self-help infrastructure works. Community development came to be identified as a program and was not talked of as an educational process. The 1974-78 Development Plan refers to community development as a definite program, side by side with other programs like small scale industry, cooperatives, minor irrigation and agriculture.²

It is important to note that while this Development Plan did not conceive of community development as a strategy or an educational process, it refers to rural development as the development strategy.³ It is evident that the development of the rural areas is the strategy. The development of a rural area could be a strategy as opposed to the idea of developing an urban area. But generally a strategy in development terms should include a detailed method to achieve the goals, like community development. It is important to note that the 1974-78

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1. Development Plan 1964-70, Government of Kenya, 1964, p.113.
 2. Development Plan 1974-78, Government of Kenya, 1974, p. 112.
 3. Ibid., p. 116.



Development Plan does not refer to community development as the strategy to be adopted in development. In the words of the Development Plan,

Community development reflects the concern of the Government for the betterment of the people by helping them to help themselves. The Department of Community Development works essentially from the basic principle that sound self-generating economic and social growth arises from the participation of the people at all levels. ... Its major functions include the engendering of new goals, the dissemination of new ideas and techniques and coordination and liaison to put those ideas to work with the aid of specialized skills of technical experts. Above all it strives to encourage the enormous demonstrated capacity of the people to develop the nation through self-help. 1

Though the Development Plan has extolled the value of community development to build up the capacity of the people, it was only the work of the Community Development Department that was to be done in this manner. As has been shown earlier the work of this Department did not include agriculture; it consisted of a self-help program which in itself was limited and did not have the strength to have an impact in national terms.

The participation of the people had to be evoked for rural development to be a reality. However, participation was evoked only in certain limited programs. Self-help was used as a process to build up schools and in some cases well over 90% of the capital was contributed by the local community.² Self-help work was done only by the Community Development Department.

1. Development Plan 1970-74, Government of Kenya, p. 523.

2. J.E. Anderson, Organization and Financing of Self-Help Education in Kenya, Unesco., 1973, p. 61.

The main part of the community development program consists of assistance to self-help projects. It is estimated that the total value of self-help from 1974 to 1978 will amount to well over K / 11 million of which K / 850,000 will be contributed by the Government. 1

Self-help was emphasized and each community development assistant had 200 self-help projects. Even in the case of these projects, it has been held that the decision making powers are not vested in the people. The conclusions of the Kericho Conference clarify the position clear.

In order to enlist public support for local projects that are partly financed and guided by Government, local leadership should be given responsibility for implementation of such projects. Such increased responsibility should be gradually widened to bring local government closer to the people. There should be more delegation of both funds and responsibility to the local level, gradually moving down through district local government right to community leadership level. There may well be more potential leadership at the community level than has appeared so far because it has not been given a specific job, a part in the decision making process or any discretion in using funds. 2

The mere fact that contributions were forthcoming does not indicate that there was full participation. If participation was to be real, the people should have power over the management of the projects, which alone would enable them to develop their responsibilities. Thus, on the one hand it is found that even in the case of self-help programs, the people though they contributed, did not have the opportunity to manage on their own and develop their capacities to become responsible. On the other hand in the programs like agriculture which did not come under the community development category, the people were not even consulted and there was no self-help at all.

1. Development Plan 1974-78, op. cit., p. 63.

2. Education, Employment and Rural Development: Report of the Kericho Conference, op. cit., p.11.

These were implemented based on a directive strategy, without the active participation of the people. Philip Mbithi tells how the principle of self-help has not been used to mobilize the people.

Historically planners and students of rural development have underestimated or ignored the development potential or impetus generated when a total population is disciplined or motivated to work towards certain goals. This is demonstrated by the spectacular financial and manpower resources unleashed by the hitherto unplanned Harambee effort. 1

The participation of the people has to be brought about by the use of a number of non-formal education processes like discussion and critical thinking when decision making is involved. But in the case of Kenya, such processes could not be used except in the case of the community development program. But here too it has been shown that the role the people could play was limited. Even in the case of the cooperatives, while there were as much as 1.2 million small holders, only 200,000 farmers had obtained credit. Out of this 200,000 too a large number are likely to be large farmers.² Uma Lele says that in 1971 it was found that 88% of the gross loans outstanding had gone to large farmers.³ It is no cause for surprise that in such conditions, the majority of the people cannot play a part in development and there can be little meaningful participation. Uma Lele says that even in the case of the Special Rural Development Program, " participation of the rural people in the planning and even in the implementation of programs has been very limited".⁴

1. Philip M.Mbithi, Rural Sociology and Rural Development, East African Literature Bureau, 1974, p. 164.

2. Kenya into the Second Decade, op. cit., p. 486.

3. Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development, op. cit., p. 81.

4. Ibid., p. 162.



This situation made John W. Harbeson conclude:

It is clear that decision makers and administrators have not established rapport with the intended participants in developing the modern economy. Central government planners and decision makers have no channels they consider reliable for understanding the problems of grassroots participants... or for establishing any kind of dialogue with them in order to resolve outstanding issues. Decision makers decide and participants respond largely in ignorance of each other's intentions and points of view. When the grassroots participants have only rudimentary knowledge of the economic structure into which they are being initiated, this lack of rapport can easily undermine their positive response to the structure of incentives and adminitions by which central government planners try to produce new modernizing farmers. 1

There were a number of village level institutions. The self-help program functioned through the community development committees. There were cooperatives for the disbursement of agricultural loans and supplies. On the other hand these organizations functioned independently without any connection with the local government institutions. In addition, government departments like agriculture maintained direct contact with the farmers and did not believe in working through institutions.

Even when institutions were used, the idea was to marshall the people and not to allow them to function on their own. Harbeson says of the cooperatives,

The records of the societies show clearly that settlers ostensibly voluntarily agree to government requests and demands which many of them basically do not accept... The Kenya Government today has endangered the legitimacy of the cooperative movement in the eyes of the settlers by turning the democratic structure of the societies into a tool for the communication of its own regulations. 2

1. John W. Harbeson, Nation Building in Kenya, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1973, p. 347.

2. Ibid., p. 320.

Harbeson says that, "at the root of the problem of the cooperative societies, is the fact that by government policy, through their structure and in the eyes of the participants, the societies merge economic and political responsibilities." ¹

It is true that at the grassroots level, any development program gets involved with politics, thus inevitably economic and political responsibilities get merged at this level. The problem in Kenya's case appears to be that the people were not given the opportunity and power to actively participate in their economic development, even within the restricted parameters of the self-help programs and the cooperatives. These were village level institutions which belonged to the people, which enlisted their support and contribution, but which did not bestow them, in return, with sufficient decision making power. Non-formal education processes have thus not been largely utilized in the rural development programs.

Summary of Evidence.

There is evidence that non-formal education processes have not been used in planning and implementing rural development programs in Kenya, except in case of the self-help programs, undertaken by the Community Development Department. Here, too it has been pointed out that the people were not involved in the management and the decision making that would have increased their responsibility. In a few instances there may have been people's involvement in the management. Their contribution, even to the extent of 90% of the cost, indicates the cooperation and the enthusiasm shown by the people. This was

1. Ibid., p. 322.



due to the traditional background of mutual help the people had. The people's active and intense participation could not be whipped up because self-help was used only in a minor program of rural works. Further, the unintegrated type of administrative structure, where it was common for the different agencies to wye and struggle for power and prestige, precluded the emergence of active participation. The administrative structure was yet colonial in its framework. The addition of a few ministries and departments only added problems of coordination to the base. There was firm vertical control, that did effectively enable horizontal communication. It has been shown how the appointment of committees too added to the problems of coordination. There was no decentralization of decision making power, even in the case of the self-help program. Thus the administrative structure, in its lack of decentralization, lack of horizontal communication, lack of integration, and the existence of a number of village level institutions, precluded the use of non-formal education processes for the cause of rural development.



CHAPTER IX

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION.

This study commenced with a conceptual exploration of the basis of rural development and non-formal education.

Rural development has been defined, suggesting a fundamental core of factors that should be essential components in any rural development program. Variable strategies like land reform, the distribution of income and wealth, have been totally deleted from the definition, as their inclusion or deletion will depend on a number of other factors, such as the prevalence of landlessness, the presence of inequalities of a high order, so as to preclude development. Further rural development has been looked at from the total point of view of human advancement. This definition of rural development, consisting only of the essential core is of great value in any study.

Non-formal education has also been defined, taking into account, the overemphasis that has been placed on the organized and instructional aspect. A comparative evaluation of the definitions of non-formal education, in relation to the educational content that goes into the making of a rural development program, led to the adoption of the definition of non-formal education developed at the Conference and Workshop on non-formal education and the rural poor. A minor addition, of the concept that non-formal education leads to the development of the initiatives in man, which in turn enables them

to become responsible and self reliant, was made. This was culled in from the concept of community development.

The instructional organized and structured non-formal education courses have also played a role in rural development by successfully imparting to the rural youths and adults those skills which they had failed to gather in formal schools. It has been pointed out that a large number of these trainees end up being unemployed or migrate to the towns away from the rural fold in search of wage employment. On the other hand, the non-formal education that has been detailed in the definition in relation to rural development, specifically concentrate on the informal and incidental aspects of education, in the actual working and livelihood of the rural people. In the implementation of a rural development program, the people have to play a major role. Either the people have to be told what to do and ordered about, by hordes of village level officers, either through compulsion or coercion or by hauling the people before courts of law, as happens in most directive development programs today. Here, the people's participation is engineered and they are fitted into a groove that has been left for them in the plan. The plan gets moving by the efforts of the bureaucrats and the people get only a modicum of education, which actually includes some non-formal education in the form of instructional courses. On the other hand a rural development program can be planned and structured in a way that it will belong to the people, where the people will play the major role. Here, the people have to discuss, deliberate and then arrive at decisions and then cooperate amongst themselves in the



process of implementation. Here, through consensus, i.e., cooperation of a higher order, the people work together for their mutual benefit. In this, the people go through a range of learning experiences and the use of non-formal education processes that have been identified in this study, will lead the people to develop their ability to think, to deliberate, to arrive at decisions and cooperate mutually in implementation. Through this course of action processes the people will inevitably develop progressive attitudes, become activized and develop responsibility. This development of responsibility in man is crucial for development and this can never be achieved only by concentration either on formal education or on the instructional aspects of non-formal education-- providing courses to the rural people and enhancing their skills and knowledge. Instead, the use of non-formal education processes in the actual implementation of a rural development program affords an opportunity to enable the people to be activized on a spontaneous basis. As the people discuss and deliberate, they develop their initiatives, their dormant abilities get the opportunity to strike mettle and this hardens them with endurance and responsibility, which in turn make them forge ahead on development tasks. Thus the use of non-formal education processes can play a major role in causing the advancement of the people and in bringing about rural development of an enduring and lasting type. Instructional courses of non-formal education can play a major role in rural development if they are planned and implemented in a complementary manner by catering to particular needs that unfold as the rural development program proceeds.



Rural development models have been classified into three categories, the integrated, the semi-integrated and the unintegrated, based on the developed nature of the administrative structure, the extent to which the structure is integrated, the degree to which the village level institution is integrated, the degree of horizontal communication and the extent of decentralization.

A number of countries and projects that fall into each category have come in for detailed study. Large countries like China, India and the Philippines have been included as well as projects like Comilla (Bangladesh) and CADU (Ethiopia), which have a great deal of documentation and are significant attempts at rural development. In each case detailed reasons have been given as to why the country or the project was included within the particular category, the achievement was studied and the role that non-formal education processes played within rural development has been evaluated.

The following strengths and weaknesses have emerged in the study in relation to the basic premise of the study and the research questions that were pursued.

Integration in the administrative structure and the use of non-formal education.

It has clearly emerged from the study that the integration of the administrative structure tends to enable the effective use of non-formal education for rural development. This is clear in the administrative structure in China and the kibbutz in Israel. In the case of China, there was total integration of all functions of



development at the commune level, and below, to the level of the brigade and the team. Thus the organization for rural development attended to the entirety of the life of the people, with all developmental applications. It was found that this enabled the mustering of all resources. The surplus labor at particular times of the year could be siphoned off for infrastructure development on irrigation, on public works and even for industry. Thus the integration enabled non-formal education processes to be used in an absorbing and intensive manner, in the case of all rural development programs, which resulted in activizing the people. This was true of the kibbutz and the moshav in Israel. These types of settlements were newly established and it automatically happened that all the development functions in a particular area, fell to these institutions. The administrative structure at the center helped this, as it accepted the kibbutz and the moshav as their agent for the implementation of nationally funded programs. Thus integration was the fundamental basis on which the administrative structure was formed. It has been shown that non-formal education processes were used in these two institutions. The integration of functions have been shown to have helped the proper functioning of non-formal education processes.

The ujamaa settlements in Tanzania and the administrative system therein was also found to be integrated, with the ujamaa itself being given the status of an agricultural association and a cooperative society. Here all functions are handled in an integrated manner. There is ample evidence policywise, that non-formal



education processes were meant to be used to involve the people, but there is no tangible evidence. Thus it cannot be conclusively said that the integration of the administrative functions in the ujamaa settlements have enabled the use of non-formal education processes.

The case of the Comilla Project clearly shows that proper coordination of functions, which almost amounted to integration in this case, enables the effective use of non-formal education. The Comilla Project was not included within the integrated category purely because there was more than one village level institution, the cooperative and the union council and the departments were not welded together from top to bottom. However it is important to note that in Comilla, from the Academy and below, there was complete coordination of functions. This was brought about by moving the offices of all agencies to the Academy at the Thana level and by administrative imposition on all officers of these different organizations that they had to use the services of the model farmer and the cooperatives. This was also possible due to the personality of the Director, Akhter Hamid Khan, who could ably weld the different institutions though they were not integrated. Thus the evidence in the case of Comilla indicates that effective coordination of functions in administration enables the use of non-formal education processes.

In the case of India, the community development program was implemented by the local government institution and there was integration only among certain functions. The functions so integrated did not include agriculture. The scope of the community development



program was limited to a small self-help rural works program and to community education, so that it could hardly have an effect. It was only in this limited community development program that certain non-formal education processes were used. The other programs like agriculture were implemented on a directive basis from the center. It has also been shown, that even in the case of the limited community development program, non-formal education processes were used only at the outset and that by the time the agricultural development functions were handed over to it, under the auspices of the Intensive Agricultural Development Program, the educational essence of community development had become completely submerged by the bureaucratic quantification of results. Thus it could be said that the lack of integration in the administration did not enable the use of non-formal education processes. On the other hand, the record of achievement is so poor that even if the administration had been integrated, the use of non-formal education processes would not have brought about a significant contribution to development, because the educational element had been totally lost track of in the task of implementation.

The Philippines too falls into the semi-integrated category because the local government institution also attended to the community development program. Though non-formal education processes were used in this part of the program, it was an insignificant attempt, as agriculture, irrigation and industries were handled by other organizations. The evidence suggests that in the semi-integrated rural development models, due to the lack of integration, the



effective use of non-formal education tended to be minimized.

In the case of the unintegrated category, it is seen that there is very little or no integration in the administrative structures. The CADU Project was integrated at the project headquarters. But the administration was not integrated into the provincial rural administration. It was also not integrated below the project headquarters level. The different extension arms of the project reached the people individually. No village level institution was developed. There is little or no evidence that non-formal education processes went into the actual working of the rural development programs. However the partial success of the program, in the context of using an unintegrated approach, also without using a village level institution is important. Here, what was used was a directive approach, including the instructional type of non-formal education courses to provide training and skills to the participants. Here, village level officers were reaching the farmers directly and it was more a directive method aimed at reaching the participating farmers. It has been pointed out that the majority of the people who were small farmers benefitted little from the program. There was no occasion and no opportunity to use non-formal education processes for rural development and the unintegrated nature of the administrative model could be said to have contributed.

In the case of Sri Lanka and Kenya, non-formal education processes were used, in the rural development program of self-help works in the former and the community development program of self-help in the latter. In these programs a high order of people's

contribution has been maintained. In Sri Lanka, the participation of the people has been successfully evoked. In Kenya, it was shown that due to administrative constraints, full participation was not forthcoming. In both cases, people's participation and contribution would have been forthcoming for agriculture and other development programs if there had been integration. Thus there is positive evidence to the effect that the unintegrated nature of the administrative structure tended to minimize the utilization of non-formal education processes for rural development.

Taiwan too followed the unintegrated model of rural development. There is no evidence to the effect that non-formal education processes were used in the case of rural development programs. The achievement though of a high order, had little to do with the true participation of the people. The administration was of a highly directive type dating from the days of the Japanese occupation. Here, success is related to the massive investment of foreign capital investment and the development in the field of industry, which actually converted Taiwan's economy to be a part of the world economy. Thus the evidence does not fully indicate that the unintegrated administration model that was followed could achieve success, even without following non-formal education processes, as many other extraneous factors like foreign investment and long term development played a major role. It only perhaps proves the contention that in the context of an unintegrated administration model and without the use of non-formal education processes, a massive inflow of resources and effort is needed to achieve results.

Thus on the whole it emerges from these country and project studies, that generally the administrative structures that were integrated enabled the effective use of non-formal education processes.

Village Level Institutions and the use of Non-Formal Education.

It is evident from this study that administrative structures with a single village level institution tends to enable the effective utilization of non-formal education processes for rural development. The converse, to the effect that the existence or use of a number of village level institutions tends to preclude or minimize the use of non-formal education processes is also well documented.

A single village level institution has been used in the case of the commune in China, the kibbutz and the moshav in Israel. In all these cases there is positive evidence to the effect that non-formal education processes were used and that this was greatly instrumental in bringing about success. In the ujamaa in Tanzania, a single village level institution was functional for all purposes, but the record of success is not marked due to other factors which have been mentioned.

In the case of Comilla, the cooperative was used as the village level institution. The union councils that were established had limited functions and were temporarily dwarfed out of existence as far as rural development was concerned.

On the other hand, when there is a multiplicity of village level institutions, necessarily coming under different departments or agencies, as was the case with the institutions in the unintegrated

and semi-integrated models, there is a great deal of duplication of functions and a wastage of effort. None of the institutions can deal with development comprehensively and as far as the people are concerned it has been shown how they are confused due to differences in strategies adopted by different agencies and institutions. They also tend to be disinterested and apathetic, when confronted with problems of non-integration which does not enable them to solve their problems effectively with any one or with a few institutions.

The fundamental idea in the use of village level institutions lies in the fact that it enables the use of group processes. It has been shown how group learning is important and how people learn as they discuss with others and attend to group processes. It is intense group activity involving critical thinking that lead people to drop their apathetic attitudes and enables them to develop their initiatives and responsibility. Thus the use of a single village level institution tends to enable the use of non-formal education processes for the cause of rural development.

An important factor that has emerged from the study is the fact that the village level institution should not only include the entire range of development but that it should also be a viable unit in economic terms. The success in the case of Chinese rural development is greatly due to the viability and the strength of the commune as an institution. The brigades and teams are integral parts of it. The commune covers 5,000 to 20,000 people on the average and includes all the development activities with the result that it is



a viable unit that has sufficient income and capacity to own transport, have repair units, construction expertise and be administratively efficient. This enabled the commune to handle all aspects effectively and efficiently. In Israel, the kibbutz, is smaller in size, covering about 5,000 people, but the capital intensity is high and this has bestowed it with a viability. Comparatively, the ujamaa settlements cover anything upto 300 people. In some cases, the number of members was less than 100. The Mangawe ujamaa had only 80 people; the Igula ujamaa had only 120 people.¹ When it comes to be small units of this size, there can be no viability. In Sri Lanka it has been found that in many cultivation committees which cover 100-200 farmers and about 500 acres, over half the income (paddy tax) goes to the administrative secretary as his salary. In small units of this size there cannot be effective supervision. This results in a situation where irregularities can crop up and evidence is available that irregularities were prevalent in some ujamaa institutions. Irregularities are common in village level institutions in Sri Lanka and other countries like India. In these countries that follow the unintegrated and the semi-integrated model, institutions cover only a single aspect. Today in Sri Lanka there is a separate cooperative society, a separate cultivation committee and a separate village council in every area. The village council covers a number of cultivation committees and cooperatives. All these institutions have paid secretaries and

1. Adhu Awiti, The Development of Ujamaa Villages and the peasant question in Iringa district, University of Dar es Salaam, 1973, p. 44.



offices and a great deal of their income is spent on administrative expenditure. If on the other hand a single village institution could cover all these activities, it would be economically viable. Thus the integration of functions appears an essential ingredient in the reorganization of Third World rural development.

In Comilla, the cooperatives were small in size, and similarly, in China the teams were small. But in China it has been shown how the teams were an integral part of the brigades. In Comilla, the cooperatives were brought together into an association at the Thana(divisional) level, which helped the cooperatives to be viable and efficient. Grouping rural institutions into tiers in a hierarchical manner with supervision flowing from the higher tiers to the lower tiers is an effective method of ensuring the viability of institutions.

When an institution is viable, it has sufficient strength and power to make a difference in the lives of the people. For an institution to have such an ability and strength it should generally cover all aspects of development or at least attend to the important and significant aspects. When the tasks of development are attended to efficiently, it tends to lead the people to identify themselves with the institution intensely. Or to put it in other words, the institution becomes a part of the people, In Israel, the kibbutz, and in China the commune have successfully become a part of the people. In Tanzania too the people have evidently developed a commitment with the ujamaa. This identity is built up over time and despite the slow progress of the ujamaa, it is likely that the ujamaa will build



up an identity with the people in the near future.

Thus the study indicates the importance of institutions in rural development. The institutions have to be viable and should have wide or complete coverage over functions as in the case of the integrated model of rural development. The evidence suggests that a single village level institution tends to enable the effective utilization of non-formal education processes.

Horizontal Communication and Non-Formal Education.

The study has shown that administrative structures that have been developed to ensure horizontal communication at the village level tends to enable the effective use of non-formal education for rural development.

In the case of the commune in China, the kibbutz and the moshav in Israel, the integration of all functions has meant that there is a very high degree of horizontal communication. All the different organizations at the center had to accept these institutions and had to work through them. Thus there was complete horizontal communication and the vertical communication channels came to the institution as a whole. In the case of these three institutions, it has been found that non-formal education processes have been effectively used for rural development. In Comilla, horizontal communication was brought about among the different departmental personnel by effective coordination--by getting them to function together through the model farmer and the cooperative. Thus, it is possible to relate the effective use of non-formal education in

Comilla to the intensive horizontal communication.

In the ujamaa settlements in Tanzania, the basis of integration was to bring about horizontal communication. However, there is little evidence to show that non-formal education processes, though planned policywise, did actually take place. Thus it is not possible to draw a conclusion between the prevalence of horizontal communication and the use of non-formal education processes in rural development in Tanzania.

In the case of the other semi-integrated and unintegrated administrative models, there is less horizontal communication and vertical communication of varying degrees.

In India, the administrative structure had a certain degree of horizontal communication, but it is seen that the panchayats, did not cover agriculture at the outset. Even when agriculture was handed over, it was found that the vertical communication was very effective and in some areas, though the panchayats should have handled agriculture, they were surprisingly inactive. The limited scope of the community development program enabled horizontal communication only in respect of a few development programs. It could therefore be argued that the lack of horizontal communication did not enable the use of non-formal education processes but at the same time it has already been shown that even in the case of the community development program itself, there was a failure to use non-formal education processes consistently over a sustained period of time.

In the Philippines, there was horizontal communication to a very low degree because only the local government and the community

development aspects had been amalgamated. Major changes had not been made in the administrative structure and the multiplicity of village level organizations was such that this model of administration almost belonged to the unintegrated category, if not for the fact that the local government unit, the barrio council was used to implement the community development program. Thus, there was very little opportunity for the prevalence of horizontal communication and this could be said to have minimized the use of non-formal education processes in rural development.

CADU emerged in this study as a project that had intense vertical communication from the project headquarters level to the village level. There was integration only at the project level. Thereafter, there were vertical communication channels reaching each person on an individual basis through model farmers. There were no village level institutions for the first few years and it has been shown how the continued use of vertical communication and the lack of horizontal communication in this administration model effectively thwarted the attempt to build up cooperatives. It also did not therefore enable the use of non-formal education processes for rural development.

In the case of Sri Lanka and Kenya, it has been shown how the large number of separate departments attending to different development functions at the village level, some having separate institutions and others having no village level institutions does not enable horizontal communication. Non-formal education processes have been used only in the case of the rural works programs. These have been implemented with the contribution of the people, but the scope of

these programs were very limited and therefore there was no effective horizontal communication. The results achieved in both these countries, in terms of contributions made by the people and their participation, specially in the case of the Sri Lanka rural development program, indicate that if there had been horizontal communication, the other programs may have had better achievement records in case non-formal education processes were used. In both these countries, the administrative structure, with its firm vertical communication and control by the center did not enable horizontal communication to prevail. This shows that the dominance of vertical control and the lack of horizontal communication in an administrative model, does not enable the effective use of non-formal education processes.

Taiwan had a number of village level institutions--farmer's associations, irrigation associations and cooperatives in addition to local government institutions. These institutions belonged to separate hierarchical organizations that had firm vertical communication channels. Despite this it has been shown that Taiwan has been successful in bringing about rural development. But it has emerged in this study that the results have been brought about firstly, over a very long period beginning in the third decade in this century, with a massive inflow of foreign capital and that it has been achieved on a directive basis without evoking the true participation of the people.

Thus on the whole, the evidence indicates that those countries and projects where the administrative model had a marked

degree of horizontal communication have successfully used non-formal education processes for rural development. Conversely, it is also shown that in countries and projects where there is a marked degree of vertical communication in the administration, there has been a minimal use of non-formal education processes.

Decentralization and the use of Non-Formal Education.

It has clearly emerged from this study that the more decentralized the administrative structure, the more effective has been the utilization of non-formal education processes. It has been shown in the study of China, that the commune, the brigade and the team were administrative units that held decentralized power. The kibbutz and the moshav in Israel were institutions to which all powers were decentralized. This was also true of the ujamaa in Tanzania, according to policy statements. What happened in actual practice is not known due to the lack of evidence, but it is important to note that there is no evidence to the contrary.

In Comilla, decentralization was carried out to a certain degree by giving powers to the cooperative and the cooperative association. This enabled group work to be attended to, but the institutional development was insufficient to enable total decentralization. However, the cooperative proved to be a viable institution to enable the people to participate. Thus it has been shown that non-formal education processes have been used in Comilla and that the degree of decentralization that was prevalent could be identified as a contributory cause.



India is a classic case that emerged in this study as a country, where decentralized institutions were available, at least in certain functions, to enable the people to participate. But the non-formal education processes that were used never gathered momentum, due to the fact that the program was limited in scope and partly due to mismanagement-- continued lack of emphasis on the process of community development. Decentralizing in a wide range of activities appear to be necessary to enable the people to participate effectively and decentralization of an isolated self-help program and a modicum of decentralization in self governing institutions is insufficient to evoke the active participation of the people. This comment applies with equal force to the Philippines, where the extent of decentralization was even less.

In the case of Sri Lanka, decentralization was hardly prevalent at the village level in all functions. The United Kingdom type of local government yet holds sway, with a modicum of decentralized power. There is decentralization to a very small degree in the case of the rural development program, comprising self-help works, which have satisfactorily involved the people and have brought about outstanding results, though in a limited field. The fact that in other areas of program implementation, the people's participation was not evoked and the accompanying fact that in those programs non-formal education processes were minimally used, indicates the positive relationship between decentralization and the utilization of non-formal education processes.

In Kenya, there was hardly any decentralization in the administrative model that was followed. In the case of the community development self-help program, the people have contributed heavily, though it has been shown that their participation was not free and active. It is evident that the use of non-formal education processes has been stifled in other program areas due to the lack of decentralization.

In the case of CADU, there was no decentralization and the administration of the program was handled in a directive manner. The cooperatives were neglected at the beginning, with the officers handling the farmers on an individual basis. The cooperatives were the only units to which powers could have been decentralized. In Taiwan, though the farmer's associations and the irrigation associations involved the people in development, it has been found that these institutions had hardly any decentralized powers to become autonomous bodies. Here, as in CADU, the program results were brought about by sheer efficiency and the determination of the authorities concerned-- the bureaucrats in CADU and the political cadres in Taiwan.

Thus on the whole the evidence indicates a direct correlation between decentralization in the administrative structure and the use of non-formal education processes. These processes can be used in group settings-- through involving the people in discussion, deliberation etc.. When there are no decentralized institutions, these processes cannot function at all. Thus there is definite evidence to the effect that the more decentralized the administrative

structure, the more effective the use of non-formal education processes for the cause of rural development.

The Use of Non-Formal Education Processes and Success in Rural Development.

It has emerged in the study that the utilization of non-formal education processes tend to bring about success in rural development programs. It has been shown that significant non-formal education processes have been consistently used in China, in the kibbutz in Israel and that these have been accompanied by a definite record of success. In the case of the ujamaa settlements in Tanzania, though non-formal education processes have been urged for use as a matter of policy, there is insufficient evidence about its utilization, to enable a definite conclusion to be reached. As recorded earlier, the rapid expansion of the program has not made it possible for the administration to ensure the systematic development of ujamaa villages. It could be said that this program is yet in its infancy.

In the case of the semi-integrated rural development models, it has been found that the intense use of non-formal education processes is accompanied by a definite achievement. This is an important factor. Non-formal education processes were amply used in the Comilla program, with highly outstanding results.

In the case of India, the achievement is poor and it is evident that non-formal education processes were not used consistently and systematically. Non-formal education processes

were used in the programs that came under the community development movement at the outset, but very soon the educational element in community development was lost in the bureaucratization that set in. The cooperatives, another organization that should belong to the people also did not use non-formal education processes. In the Philippines too, non-formal education processes were used only in the case of the community development program of self-help works, but it has been shown how this was handled by a limited number of barrio councils and the quantum of work that was attended to was negligible. The record of growth, though not as low as that of India, is not marked with a reflection in the advancement of the masses. The growth came forth through investment by the rich and in this process of development, the common people had little place.

In the case of the unintegrated rural development models, it is found that non-formal education processes have been used only in particular programs. In Sri Lanka, a record of success and people's participation has been achieved in the rural work self-help program handled by the Rural Development Department, but this was a minor program whose scope did not include major aspects of development that could have caused a difference in the lives of the people. Other important programs have been handled in a directive manner without involving the people. In Kenya too, there has been success in the program of rural works done by the community development movement. The other programs have been handled based on directive strategies and the people's participation has been hardly forthcoming.

A great deal of effort has to be put into a directive program and in limited cases success can be achieved. In CADU, no non-formal education processes were used in rural development, but a fair degree of success was achieved due to a tremendous effort at a very high and forbidding cost. In Taiwan, where there is a record of success, it is important to note that there was a record of achievement in the forties, and the achievement can be traced to earlier periods. Here, the success and achievement cannot be related to the use of non-formal education processes in the implementation of rural development programs, but a tremendous effort had to be put in with a massive inflow of aid and foreign investment. Thus the record of success and its low correlation to the use of non-formal education processes in the case of CADU and Taiwan, does not go to indicate that there is little relevance between the use of non-formal education processes and success in rural development. It only shows that a massive effort is needed if non-formal education processes are not to be used in a rural development program.

On the other hand, there is positive evidence in the case of China, Comilla and also from the kibbutz in Israel to the effect that non-formal education processes can be used effectively to bring about success in rural development, with the advancement of the people. The importance lies in the advancement of the people. For there to be true and lasting development, it is necessary to involve the people in development, to build up their abilities and enable them to become responsible. The involvement of the people within the development programs enables their dormant abilities to be developed,

allows scope and opportunity for the development of leadership qualities among them and this paves the way for the people to become partners in development. The people become responsible and self reliant in the process.

The record of development at CADU, though impressive in terms of results, in terms of yields and extended area under cultivation, did not involve all the people. It has been shown that the emphasis was on working with participating farmers. In CADU, out of 70,000 farming families only 7,000 members of cooperatives resulted. Over half the farmers were tenants and tenant participation in the program had been only 39% at most and this had dwindled to 22% by 1973. Participation in the true and lasting sense cannot be brought about by directive policies and this is what is shown by the drop in the participation rate. The record of success in CADU does not reflect an improvement in the majority of the farmers, and even the participants dropped towards the latter years.

Taiwan, on the other hand emerged as a country that had to politically succeed. There were many factors that worked to bring about success, foreign investment and foreign aid being at the forefront.

Thus on the whole, the evidence is to the effect that generally there is a relationship between the use of non-formal education processes and success in rural development programs. In the case of Taiwan and CADU, there were extraordinary conditions that brought about success. It follows, that if in these instances too non-formal education processes had been used, it would have been possible to achieve more or achieve the same with less cost.

It is clearly evident that in normal conditions the use of non-formal education processes has brought about success.

It is important to note that in the use of non-formal education processes, the main aim is to educate the people in responsibility through critical thinking. Here the people are exposed to a continuous process of experiential learning, which offers them the opportunity and scope to direct their own development, handling the management themselves, adopting cooperative and collaborative practices and in the process becoming partners in development. Here, the people get motivated and activated and forge ahead. National development, the achievement of national goals, in this case becomes a self-propelled people's movement. This is what happened in the commune in China, in the kibbutz in Israel and what also took place in the ujamaa in Tanzania. On the other hand, on the directive basis, national development is only a bureaucrat's or a politician's movement where the people are coaxed and made to conform and act according to a norm. The earlier method is more important for rural development as it brings about true and lasting development. Herein lies the importance of using non-formal education processes. The evidence in this study clearly indicates that when non-formal education processes have been used, the development that took place was marked by an advancement in the majority of the people and signified true and lasting development.

It is observed that countries that have used non-formal education have had low rates of unemployment. In China, the economic system of the commune in its integration and in ensuring that



everyone is employed is a major factor in bringing about full employment. However, it is important to note that employment has to be created in a viable and an economic manner as far as the total economy of the country is concerned. Otherwise, the entire system would face negative growth and bankruptcy. In China, the integrated type of administration, with full decentralization enabled the use of non-formal education processes on a systematic basis, to involve the people and to activize them. In Israel too, where a high level of employment has been achieved, it is true that military mobilization reduces unemployment, but the integration has enabled them to attend to all aspects simultaneously. The economy too has proved viable to enable the existence of a military force.

There are many factors that go into the making of an employment program. The country should have enlightened leaders and resources and a host of other factors play a part. But it is important to note that the use of non-formal education processes to involve the people and get them activized and motivated is of fundamental concern. As has been pointed out in the case of China, there has to be a great deal of emphasis on education, to train and build up responsibility in men. In Israel too it has been seen that a great deal of effort is devoted to get the kibbutz members to become active and intensive participants. It is only then that people become partners in development. The use of non-formal education processes in rural development programs, invests people with power and motivates them to contribute their mite for the cause of national development and make them forge ahead on

developmental tasks.

It is evident that countries with high levels of unemployment like Sri Lanka and Kenya have given little place to the use of non-formal education processes in rural development. In both these countries as well as in India and the Philippines, where too unemployment is an increasing problem, non-formal education processes are used only in limited programs of development.

Education in responsibility is a fundamental part of true and lasting development. It has been shown, how on the directive basis, massive irrigation works can be built at tremendous cost, but the people will not be worried about conserving water. It has been established that farmers in Sri Lanka use as much as 3 to 5 acre feet of water to mature a crop, a task that can be done with a water issue of 1.6 acre feet. It has also been quoted that there is little difference in the yields of irrigated paddy land as compared to unirrigated paddy land. These facts in themselves indicate the futility of planning a rural development program on a directive basis. Irrigation works are expensive to build; once built, they are managed by farmers who fail to understand the amount of effort and capital that have gone into make them. If the farmers had sweated and contributed their mite to build up these structures, if they had been involved in the planning and implementation that went into them, they would not neglect the maintenance of these works. It has been shown how in a number of countries, public works are neglected. In cooperative programs it has been repeatedly pointed out that farmers

who obtain loans are not responsible enough to repay them in time. Here comes the importance of education, not formal education imparted in schools, but non-formal education within the development process in rural development programs. If only the farmers who use water on irrigation schemes become responsible enough to use water efficiently, without wasting, then it will be possible to irrigate a larger acreage with the same amount of water that is being used today. In other words, this is the creation of employment and also the making of capital. As long as the people are not responsible, the expenditure spent on rural development cannot bring about the maximum results.

Thus it has to be pointed out that there is a direct relationship between the use of non-formal education processes in implementing rural development programs and success. The country and project studies indicate that the utilization of non-formal education processes tend to bring about the success of a rural development program.

This study has brought into focus the definite relationship between the administrative structure used in rural development and the utilization of non-formal education processes. It has to be stated that the administrative structure has to be developed for it to enable the use of non-formal education processes. 'Developed', in this context, refers to the integration of different functions, the use of a single viable village level institution, the low vertical communication and the marked existence of horizontal communication



and decentralization in the structure. It is evident from this study, that administrative structures that are not fully developed tend to minimize the effect of non-formal education processes in the task of rural development. Thus this study has established the fact that administrative structures in vogue are all important, in both deploying the strategy for development and in the use of non-formal education processes to achieve rural development goals.

It has been pointed out that colonial type of administrative structures, meant to maintain law and order, need reorientation, both for using non-formal education processes effectively and also for achieving rural development goals.

In this entire study, the importance of utilizing non-formal education processes for rural development has come into focus. If the people are to be made partners in development, if their activization is important, if they are to be awakened and motivated to forge ahead on national development tasks, if they are to become an active mass, instead of being an apathetic mass of subsistence farmers, then the deployment of non-formal education processes to build up their initiatives and responsibility appears to be the essential method. In this task, the country's administrative structure has to be developed to be a contributive factor. It is only then that significant non-formal education processes can be used.

It is hoped that this study will lead to an awakening of the real role that non-formal education processes can play in achieving rural development.

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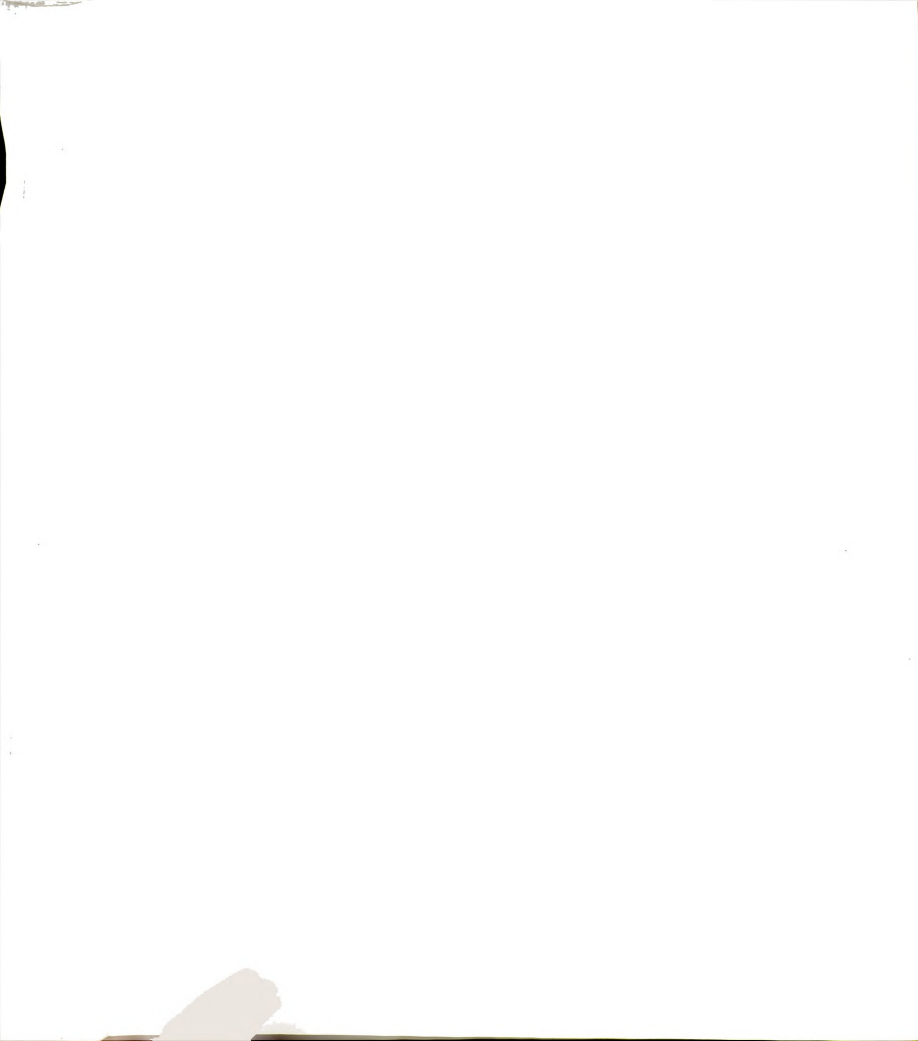
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