TRAINING FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A Comparative Study of National Programs in Ghana, India, and the Philippines

by
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. . . and I knew deep inside myself that someday, sometime, I must do something for my country. This feeling had come again and again to me, . . . as I decided to study in America, and as I attended classes there, gaining the skills I would need to work with my people.

Najmeh Najafi

in Reveille for a Persian Village

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In acknowledging the contributions of others in this dissertation, I quote from Marian Anderson:

> One realizes, the longer one lives, that there is no particular thing one can do alone. With the execution of the work we do, there are many people involved--those who wrote the music, those who made the piano on which the accompanist plays, the accompanist who actually lends support to the performance. Even the voice, the breath, the everything--it's not of your doing. So the "I" in it is very small, after all.[1]

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[1] "Personal Glimpses," Reader's Digest (January 1960), p. 106.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

AMEO - Assistant Mass Education Officer

BCDW - Barrio Community Development Worker

BDO - Block Development Worker

CD - Community Development

DSWCD - Department of Social Welfare and Community Development

EC - Extension Officer

ICA - International Cooperation Administration

MEA - Mass Education Assistant

MEO - Mass Education Officer

MCDC - Municipal Community Development Council

MCDO - Municipal Community Development Officer

PACD - Presidential Assistant for Community Development

PCDC - Provincial Community Development Council

PCDO - Provincial Community Development Officer

PEO - Program Evaluation Organization

RTC - Rural Training Center

SEO - Social Education Organizer

USOM - United States Operations Mission

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> ... in a very real sense, community development means an enlargement of individual freedom in the things that matter most to ordinary people, and it is easy to assume that this is intrinsically good, and bound to lead to people living more satisfying lives. But in fact freedom involves responsibility, the responsibility of choice and of accepting the consequences - which many people are unable or unwilling to bear.[1]
>
> – Thomas R. Batten

Community Development

Kurukshetra, the title of the periodical issued by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation of India, is the name of the legendary battlefield where Lord Krishna appeared to Arjuna; the name conveys the symbolic meaning of the fight against poverty, ill-health, ignorance, and mental defeatism which most newly developing nations are carrying on today. The battle may be fought in two ways: by sweeping changes through force, or by gradual progress through democratic programs of national development. National development programs consist of industrialization and rural development. Community development,[2] an aspect of rural development,

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[1] Thomas R. Batten, Communities and Their Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 229.

[2] Initially community development was associated with rural areas; more recently the term "urban community development" has come into usage to describe a program which aims "to develop local community feeling so that citizens will become more aware of their civic needs and responsibilities. Planning and action in local areas are encouraged through maximum citizen group participation and minimum professional leadership." Douglas Ensminger, "Ford Foundation Program Letter, India," India's First Experiment in Urban Community Development, report no. 106 (February 10, 1959), p. 4.

is "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."[3] Community development, taking the community as the unit of action, is considered the grassroot program among those for national development.

> Community development, properly administered, is one key to the stability of many emerging nations. Proper administration requires training - training of the officers responsible for community development at all levels.[4]

The rate of progress in social change may depend largely on the pace of expansion of the community development program, which, in turn, is determined to a considerable extent by the progress of the community development training schemes.[5] The vital role that training plays in community development explains its choice as the subject of this study.

Purpose

This study has a threefold purpose:

1. To discover how three countries conditioned by diversified factors have met the common problem of training for community development.

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[3]United Nations, Social Progress Through Community Development (New York: U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs, 1955), p. 6.

[4]"Community Stability for New Nations," Community Development Review, 5, no. 4 (Dec. 1960), p. 67, reprinted from the California Monthly (Dec. 10, 1960).

[5]United Nations, Aspects of National Community Development Programs in Asia, (ST/SOA/SER. O/31 - ST/TAO/SER. D/31, May 1959) (New York: United Nations, 1959), p. 12.

2. To construct outlines for use in the analysis and evaluation of community development training programs.

3. To analyze, compare, and, so far as possible, evaluate these three training programs.

Content

The countries whose training programs are analyzed in this study are: Ghana, India, and the Philippines. Ghana's program was started in 1948, India's in 1952; the Philippines' in 1956.

These three programs are chosen for the following reasons:

1. The availability of fairly adequate documentary materials on them.

2. The particular character of the Ghanian program where community development begins by literacy.

3. The size and importance of India. Community development in India is a test of democracy in Southeast Asia as it is often offered in contrast with the commune system in mainland China. In addition, the vast scope of the Indian training program is, by itself, an interesting case in personnel training viewed technically.

4. The connection of the Philippine program with the "magnetic" name of Magsaysay. It is interesting to follow its growth after the death of its founder.

Presentation

After the present chapter, introducing the study, Chapter II discusses the role of community development in newly developing countries; Chapter III gives some history of technical assistance programs, the physical, socio-economic, and political backgrounds of the three countries and brief summaries of their respective community development programs. Chapter IV describes the national organizations for community development and the organizations responsible for community development training. Chapter V suggests the elements on the basis of which community development training programs may be analyzed. The succeeding chapters, VI to X inclusive, describe in some detail the training programs for the various types of trainees: village workers, administrators, and technical specialists, policy and decision makers, the trainers themselves, and the people. Chapter XI seeks to compare and, so far as possible, to evaluate the three training programs.

There are three dimensions in this study:

1. The types of trainees, as indicated above.
2. The elements in the training programs - such as organization for training, curricula, methods, etc. (These are presented in Chapter V.)
3. The three countries.

In each chapter dealing with a special type of trainee, the analysis is developed under headings that follow closely the order of training elements, wherever possible; each heading is in turn broken down into three parts, each covering one country.

Methods

The methods of study have been documentary research and interviews.

Sources of Material

The research covers published and unpublished materials from sources such as:

1. General literature on community development, group dynamics, and social change.

2. Official publications of the administrative agencies in charge of community development.

3. Official or internal reports of international organizations giving technical assistance in community development training to the countries surveyed.

4. Reports of firsthand field research projects related to community development, carried out by various scholars.

5. Articles on community development and related fields appearing in periodicals published in the countries surveyed or in international periodicals.

6. Unpublished master's and doctoral theses on community development or related subjects in respect to the countries surveyed.

Interviews

Some twenty interviews include those with:

Officials of technical agencies, such as the United Nations, the U.S. International Cooperation Administration, the Ford Foundation, and the Near East Foundation;

Certain officials of the community development organizations concerned who were in the United States for one reason or another;

Embassy officials of, foreign students coming from, and U. S. scholars who have visited or written on, the countries surveyed.

A handicap was the lack of on-the-spot observation in the countries covered. On the other hand, one advantage has been the intensive research done in a relatively short period of time, which makes the information less likely to be outdated at the completion of the study.

Time Schedule

I have been acquainted with the topic of Community Development since 1957 when I was an interne at the United Nations and was assigned to the Community Development Group, Bureau of Social Affairs, on my request. My research project for the master's degree in 1959 was based on field observation on the governmental operations, especially the Community Development program, of Puerto Rico.

The research for this dissertation started in June 1960 in a seminar on Community Development under Professor Arthur Dunham at the School of Social Work of The University of Michigan. At that time, requests for material on community development training were sent to embassies in Washington and abroad to the different national organizations responsible for the community development programs in the countries to be studied. The

summer school ground-breaking library research was followed by a six-week period of off-campus research in Washington and New York, at the end of which more intensive research was focused on materials received from abroad.

The writing began in December 1960, resulting in a first draft in March 1961. Copies of the draft were submitted to both the academic advisers and Community Development experts in the three national training programs who generously agreed to check factual information and to give critical comments. In order to insure a certain degree of objectivity in criticism, the critics were not national officials of the three countries surveyed but were technical assistance experts or former community development officials no longer directly connected with the programs.

The generous assistance of these experts from abroad in checking data has, it is hoped, insured a greater validity in the study of factual content. Attention is given by footnote to any disagreements in comments.

A Word of Caution

On Content

Training in its different forms is almost an automatically continuous feature in any organization. In organization there exist two sets of forces:

1. Centripetal forces, provided by the formal principles of organization, designed to pull the multiple activities into an integrated unity; these forces often account for the "red tape" and bureaucratic rigidity.

2. Centrifugal forces tending to generate autonomous features responding to the demands of external phenomena.[6]

The organization for community development training is no exception in recognizing these forces. The tendency to crystallize training programs into a regular set pattern meets the compelling demands of ever-increasing field problems to readjust training programs to meet or even to anticipate such problems. When these tendencies are in balance, adjustments in training courses are continuous, especially when the programs are recently promoted. In that sense, any research based on written documents is likely to be behind the continuing adjustments in training policy and procedures.

On Methods

Concerning evaluation, the following words by Du Sautoy on the problem of evaluation in Ghana also describe my position.

> Evaluation is very difficult to achieve ... outsiders have too little knowledge of local circumstances, finances and political and other pressures to be able to give a fair judgment, or one which will be easily accepted.[7]

This statement leads to a questioning of the tangible nature

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[6] Paul Appleby, "Significance of the Hoover Commission Reports," Yale Review, 39, No. 1 (Sept. 1949), pp. 1-22.

[7] Du Sautoy, Personal communication, October 29, 1960.

of this study; we shall define it by pointing out the difference between evaluation and research:

> Evaluation implies, and indeed in practice consists largely of measuring performance against a predetermined goal .... Research, on the other hand, is, or should be, an inquiry into the nature of the processes involved. Research does not accept predetermined goals against which to measure results, but rather inquires into what is happening.[8]

In the light of that difference, this study is a research involving the development of methods of analysis and criteria for evaluation in case studies of three national training programs.[9]

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[8] M. Brewster Smith, "Evaluation of Exchange of Persons," International Social Science Bulletin, 7, no. 3 (1955), pp. 379-389, quoting Cora Du Bois, "Research in Cross-cultural Education," Institute of International Education News Bulletin, 28, no. 9 (June 1953), pp. 5-8, 60-4.

[9] See Chapter XI on the development of evaluation criteria used in this study.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

> I do not draw a sharp distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral, and therefore sinful.[1]
>
> — Mahatma Gandhi

The Problem

The postwar period has witnessed an increasing focus on rural life, due to many factors:

1. The recognition of the enormous numbers and proportions of rural people.

2. The birth of young nations which realize that if they are to raise standards of living, this has to be done largely in the rural areas where most people live.

3. Acceptance of the fact that any plan of national development has to begin with an increase in agricultural production.

4. The humanitarian idea - emerging with the creation of the United Nations - of a good life available for all people. The preamble of the U. N. Charter reads: "To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of

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[1] Homer A. Jack (ed.), The Wit and Wisdom of Gandhi (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951), p. 127.

nations large and small, and ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." In other words, local self-determination or local self-government is a newly recognized means of giving expression to these rights common and accessible to all people.

5. Finally, the agrarian unrest occurring under certain authoritarian regimes abroad which has served as a warning to governments with regard to the means used in implementing social and economic reforms.

The Nature of Community Development

In general, rural development programs have the following characteristics:

1. They focus on rural populations that have a level of living below given standards.

2. They are planned to realize economic objectives and other goals.

3. They have multiple interests, e.g., economic, health, and educational.[2]

As such, rural development programs describe only the nature of programs, while community development emphasizes the democratic operational process, which is the opposite of the "oriental despotism" of agricultural programs centrally organized in the

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[2]Harold F. Kaufman and Wilfrid C. Bailey, "Sociology and Rural Life Series," Rural Sociology and Rural Development Programs, no. 7 (Mississippi State College: Agricultural Experiment Station, February 1956), p. 1.

agro-hydraulic societies described by Wittfogel.[3] Sanders says that community development is "the product of two parental forces and it carries the name of each. The paternal side is economic development from which it takes its surname; the maternal side is community organization from which it takes its first name."[4] The word "community" implies a system of norms and behavioral traits commonly accepted, "institutionalized" by community members. A community is defined as a number of families residing in a relatively small area within which they have developed a more or less complete sociocultural system imbued with collective identification and by means of which they solve problems arising from the sharing of the area.[5] In community development, the community is the unit of operation; all the elements which affect the life of the individual - food, health, family, work, religion - are tightly knit together and interact.

All these factors converge to introduce the idea of community development, which aims to develop the local capital readily available, the human capital. Community development aims at changing the masses of underemployed, underfed, ill-housed people into healthy and self-reliant people. Community

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[3]Karl A. Wittfogel, Oriental Despotism (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957).

[4]Irwin Sanders, "Theories on Community Development," Rural Sociology, 23, no. 1 (March 1958), p. 2.

[5]Willis A. Sutton, Jr., and Jiri Kolaja, "The Concept of Community," Rural Sociology, 25, no. 2 (June 1960), pp. 197-203.

development is a program of "social horticulture."[6]

Purposes of Community Development

The ultimate purposes of community development are:

Help spark economic and social progress in the rural areas;

Bring isolated communities into the commercial economy and into the stream of national life;

Build a sense of self-reliance and civic responsibility; and

Provide experience in democratic management of local affairs.[7]

Principles of Community Development

Community Development has many concepts:

1. The unity of communal life.

2. The inner strength of the community and its capacity for initiative, cooperation, and problem-solving.

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[6]Term used by Du Sautoy, Personal communication, April 3, 1961. Community development aims at changing the attitudes of people, rather than at providing social overhead facilities for economic development. The emphasis on people is important as there is a real tendency for outside nations supplying assistance to newly developing ones to assume that community development is a means for securing economic development "on the cheap." It is not so; community development has limited chances of supplying any but village level types of social overhead or infra-structure. Richard V. Bernhart, Personal communication, April 3, 1961.

[7]Richard V. Bernhart, "Community Development: A Single Village Illustrates Techniques and Results of Growing Rural Development," Community Development Review, 5, no. 2 (June 1960), pp. 1-3.

For a series of definitions of community development by various authorities in the fields of psychology, anthropology, economics, and political science, see Irwin T. Sanders, Community Development and National Change: Summary of Conference, Endicott House, December 13-15, 1957 (Washington: ICA, March 1, 1958), pp. 3-6.

3. The idea of self-help (and its corollary: felt needs).

4. The interdisciplinary team.

5. The new role of the multipurpose worker.[8]

The United Nations has listed the following ten principles of community development:

1. Activities undertaken must correspond to the basic needs of the community; the first projects should be initiated in response to the expressed needs of people.

2. Local improvements may be achieved through unrelated efforts in each substantive field; however, full and balanced community development requires concerted action and the establishment of multi-purpose programmes.

3. Changed attitudes in people are as important as the material achievements of community projects during the initial stages of development.

4. Community development aims at increased and better participation of the people in community affairs, re-vitalization of existing forms of local government and transition towards effective local administration where it is not yet functioning.

5. The identification, encouragement and training of local leadership should be a basic objective in any programme.

6. Greater reliance on the participation of women and youth in community projects invigorates development programmes, establishes them on a wide basis and secures long-range expansion.

7. To be fully effective, communities' self-help projects require both intensive and extensive assistance from the Government.

8. Implementation of a community development programme on a national scale requires: adoption of consistent policies, specific administrative arrangements, recruitment and training of personnel, mobilization of local and national resources and organization of research, experimentation and evaluation.

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[8] Arthur Dunham, "Community Development," Social Work Year Book, 1960, (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1960), pp. 184-185. The order of concepts is changed.

9. The resources of voluntary non-governmental organizations should be fully utilized in community development programmes at the local, national and international level.

10. Economic and social progress at the local level necessitates parallel development on a wider national scale.[9]

The outcome of community development programs depends on the working relationships between the government officials and the local people, on the satisfactory compromise among the (1) felt needs expressing what the local people want, (2) the needs as the outside experts view them, and (3) the needs as viewed by the central government in long-term planning.[10]

Role of the Government

Definition of Role

A primary condition which may seem obvious but which is actually fundamental in community development is the identification of the people with their national government, which brings about the popular acceptance of governmental programs; this factor explains the difference between voluntary labor contributions and forced labor.

Assuming the identification between the people and their government,

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[9] United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, Social Progress Through Community Development, (New York: United Nations Publication E/CN.5/303/Rev. 1/St/SOA/26, November 1955), pp.8-10.

[10] Cf. felt needs, real needs, socially desirable needs in Rihaz, "Some Heresies," Kurukshetra, Anniversary Number, October 2, 1955, p. 16.

> The role of the government is to plan and organize the programs on a national basis according to a well-conceived policy and secondly to provide the technical resources - advice and material - which are beyond the means of the communities and voluntary organizations ....
>
> Community Development may be properly considered as a component of the wider concept of economic and social development. .... It must also be recognized that economic or social development often introduces disturbances which, if left to operate alone may well weaken social coherence and so be conducive to community recession at least over certain phases. Through promoting collective action, community development may keep community recession in check and help reestablish coherence at different levels and for different purposes.[11]

Administrative Handicaps of Newly Independent Nations

In the pre-independence period, the chief executive and the civil service personnel were responsible for both the formulation and the execution of policies; the bureaucracy through its access to the ruling foreign elite stood in the eyes of the masses as the symbol of prestige, the source of power from which decisions originated. Independence has brought a great change to the bureaucracy in terms of spirit, membership, and function.

1. From being one of the rulers, the civil service has found itself converted to the literal role of public "service," serving both the political government and the people.

2. In some countries and with varying degrees among countries,

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[11] United Nations Economic and Social Council, Administrative Committee on Coordination to the Economic and Social Council, Community Development and Related Services (New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1960), p. 1. Underlining not in original.

the withdrawal of experienced European administrators created a great number of vacancies at executive senior levels filled by promotion from below; however, once the limelight of independence was over and officials had to face their task, they often have recognized the need for more knowledge and experience.[12]

3. A greater strain on the public administration of newly independent countries has occurred with independence; from "law and order" the objective of the state has shifted to "welfare." The government is seen as a means in the distribution of income to society, generally with the dual objectives of greater equality in the distribution of money income and a guarantee of some minimum standard of well-being for all citizens.[13]

Since "underdevelopment" seems to go hand in hand with "underadministration," the acceptance of the "welfare" policy reciprocally implies the need for a greater number of government officials to undertake the additional activities which would bring about a higher standard of living.

In short, most newly independent countries have "a quantitatively deficient and qualitatively defective system

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[12] A. L. Adu, "Problem of Government in Emergent African States," International Review of Administrative Sciences, 26, no. 1 (1960), pp. 61-66.

[13] Annotation to The Welfare State in France by Wallace C. Peterson. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1960). International Review of Administrative Sciences, 26, no. 4 (1960), p. 438.

of administration"; such a system "at the same time defeats the development effort and undermines the success of the nation-building process, which is a corollary of economic growth."[14]

Need for Training

For the foregoing reasons, the training of government personnel is of vital necessity in newly emerging countries. Such training has a threefold purpose:

1. Creating in the public service a climate conducive to ideas and innovations and to the spirit of "service" as the government is counted upon to perform much of the innovating and pioneering role.

2. Also taking the form of staff improvement, aiming to insure the selection of well-qualified persons, and to fit them in the appropriate positions at every level of hierarchy. The point of "fitting the right peg in the right hole" is very important in underdeveloped countries because of the shortage of qualified personnel; therefore, the judicious placement of trained officials should be considered carefully.[15]

3. Lastly, anticipating staff development as the increasing governmental activities require a gradually larger number of officials.

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[14] William Kamp, "Economic Development, National Planning and Public Administration," Kyklos, 13, no. 2 (1960), pp. 172-203.

[15] J. J. Spengler, "Economic Development: Political Preconditions and Political Consequences," The Journal of Politics, 22, no. 3 (August 1960), pp. 387-416.

The people also need to be introduced to a new outlook in life. Their traditional attitude of defeatism is due to (1) the passive philosophy of life limiting the material needs and the means to satisfy them, glorifying ascetic and contemplative attitudes; (2) the customary tendency to look up to the paternal government in their quest for welfare. To train them is to create in them, by degrees, a sense of initiative, solidarity, and responsibility, a feeling of togetherness which will serve as the channel of collective efforts. S. K. Dey, Minister of Community Development of India, recognizes the role of the people by saying,

> A hierarchy of officials, however enlarged and trained, can hardly insure a permanent progress. In a democratic set up, permanent achievements for the progress of the people can only be made by the people through the people's own organization, through cooperation. It is only when the people's organizations take root from below that progress of a permanent nature will emanate.[16]

However, at the beginning, government officials play a very important role. At the same time they are being trained, they must also train the people. How well prepared are they to lead? This study is a tentative answer to that problem demonstrated in three selected countries.

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[16]"Editorial Message," Extension, 3, no. 3 (July 8, 1958), p. 3.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THIS STUDY

> Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays: the one, a law of blood and death, ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield — the other, a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges that beset him.[1]
>
> - Pasteur

This chapter presents (1) the background of international technical assistance programs and their relationships to the community development programs of the three countries covered by this study; (2) a descriptive summary of these community development programs.

With the postwar international solidarity among certain nations and the resulting technical assistance programs has come the increasing use of the term "underdeveloped countries." By and large, underdeveloped countries are characterized (1) by chronic mass poverty and (2) by obsolete methods of production and industrial organization. The poverty is not entirely due to poor resources but also to badly developed resources. Therefore it could be lessened by methods already used in other countries.[2] In this study, the term "newly

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[1] American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 18 (January, 1959), p. 126.

[2] Point Four: Background and Program (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1949), p. 5.

developing countries" is substituted for that of "underdeveloped countries."

Technical assistance programs for newly developing countries aim at introducing new methods and techniques in order to increase production and efficiency in a wide variety of fields: agriculture, labor, industry, health, education, social welfare, and public administration; much of this falls within the framework of community development. Technical assistance is essential to most community development programs (and therefore to the training of community development workers) in newly developing countries. Technical assistance and community development have two common aims: (1) to help people to help themselves; and (2) to secure the "maximum long-run effect with limited time and resources."[3]

The succeeding paragraphs describe the international agencies involved in the direction of the educational training staffs of Ghana, India, and the Philippines.

Multilateral Technical Assistance

Origins

The United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Program (UNETAP) was set up in 1949 by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. It is "a multinational fund, from which

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[3]Morris E. Opler, Social Aspects of Technical Assistance in Operation (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), p. 19.

there may be drawn not money but skills, and which takes the form of technical assistance programs."[4]

Community development as a part of UNETAP began with the postwar social welfare activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in the devastated areas of Europe and Asia.

In Greece UNRRA's first concern was to distribute supplies to the people and to rebuild parts of the bombarded areas; however, it was realized that there would be more satisfactory results in improving the war-torn villages if the villagers could be interested in the projects; when UNRRA was discontinued, both the United Nations and the Greek government continued to sponsor village improvement projects of common interest to all villagers. As Glen Leet wrote,

> We did not start this campaign (rehabilitation campaign) with a program we thought people ought to accept. On the contrary, we went to each village and tried to determine by popular discussion what problems the people were willing to solve co-operatively... By this discussional approach, many thousands of village people began a wide variety of community improvements and were happy to accept a very small cash reward as a symbolic recognition of their efforts, rather than demanding full unemployment relief.[5]

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[4] Technical Assistance in Brief, (New York: United Nations, 1960), p. 5.

[5] Glen Leet, "The UN Program of Community Development" in Community Education, ed. by Nelson B. Henry. (Univ. of Chicago Press: National Society for the Study of Education, 1959), p. 381. (Underlining not in original)

Community Development As Part of UN Technical Assistance

While community development took shape in Greece, the new social welfare program of the Egyptian government also attracted attention by the success of its demonstration centers near Cairo. The United Nations then decided to inquire about the possibility of establishing such welfare centers as a means of promoting social and economic progress for its newly admitted underdeveloped members. The Bureau of Social Welfare, which was the former UNRRA organization integrated in the UN secretariat after UNRRA was discontinued, was put in charge of studying the problem. It was found that the system of community welfare centers would not be a realistic solution; instead only a broader community development program would bring about lasting achievements. That finding led to the creation of a Community Development Unit within the Bureau of Social Welfare[6] (later called Bureau of Social Affairs) in 1951.[7]

At the same time, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance was approved, and Glen Leet, who had been working in Greece for UNRRA and for the Greek government successively, was appointed community development specialist in the UN Technical Assistance Administration. His first assignment was a tour of newly independent nations to explain to their leaders the meaning and impact of community development as a means of

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[6] Ibid.

[7] I was assigned on my request to the Community Development Group during interneship at the United Nations, Summer 1957.

national uplift. The UN technical assistance in community development thus began.

Organization of ETAP

In the United Nations, the Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA) is in charge of technical assistance. In the ETAP, the administrative agencies are the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) in charge of coordinating all the participating agencies:

International Labor Organization (ILO)
U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
World Health Organization (WHO)
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
International Atomic Energy Agency (since 1959) (IAEA)

Other agencies, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and UNICEF also cooperate although they are not directly connected with UNTAA.

Methods

The types of technical aid include:

1. Sending aids to requesting governments. ETAP operates on the basis: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Experience has shown that under ETAP nearly every country, regardless of the stage or nature of its development, can provide some special knowledge or skill to help some other country improve its standards. It is a channel whereby countries which - for one reason or another - could not or have not become members of the United Nations,

could still join with other nations in the give-and-take process of exchanging skills and thus contribute to world welfare.

2. Providing opportunities to officials of member countries to study abroad, acquiring new knowledge or keeping abreast of the modern techniques. Opportunities are offered under the forms of fellowships covering observation tours for senior officials and scholarships for the training of junior officials at overseas universities and technical institutions.

3. Bringing experts and groups of fellows and scholars together for instruction on problems common to a group of countries.

4. Organizing seminars or conferences as channels for interchange of experiences by international experts.[8] "One of the main principles governing technical assistance is that it shall meet the needs of the country concerned, and shall be provided as far as possible in the form which that country desires."[9]

Bilateral Technical Assistance

Origins

Whereas the UNETAP program is multilateral, the International Cooperation Administration technical assistance programs are bilateral.

[8]Such a seminar held at the U.N. headquarters in New York City March 30 to April 4, 1953, has resulted in a report published as a booklet: Morris E. Opler, Social Aspects of Technical Assistance in Operation (Paris: UNESCO. 1954) 39 pp.

[9]Opler, loc. cit., p. 20.

The origin of American aid dates from 1939. Following Inter-American Agreements between the United States and other Latin American countries, a 1939 law authorized U. S. government agencies to cooperate with those countries through an Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with American Republics set up in May 1939. World War II speeded up the process; the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs was established as emergency needs arose. This office primarily undertook programs to overcome the health hazards that stood in the way of obtaining essential materials such as rubber and metals, and to meet the food needs of the South American people. After the war, the International Institute of American Affairs (IIAA), a governmental agency, was incorporated to continue the cooperative programs.

In Europe, the United States took part in the European Recovery Program. President Truman, in his inauguration speech in 1949, established the "Point 4" program as one key point of his foreign policy. In June 1950, Congress approved the Act for International Development, and a Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA) was set up in the State Department. Technical assistance, however, in some countries of the Far East was handled by the Economic Cooperation Administration, later by the State Department under the Mutual Security Act.[10] For greater efficiency and economy, President Eisenhower telescoped all three agencies for South America, Europe, and East

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[10] Point Four: Background and Program, op. cit., p. 5.

Asia into the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA). The FOA was terminated in June 1955 and was replaced by the International Cooperation Administration (ICA). Since then, ICA has continued to administer economic and technical aid but the military responsibility for the newly independent countries has been assigned directly to the Department of State under the specific supervision of the Secretary of State.[11]

Originally conceived for technical assistance, the Point Four program is actually broader and more complex. It is an international economic development program in which technical assistance is only one element. The main element is capital investment emanating from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Import-Export Bank, and private sources.[12]

The United States technical assistance program aims "to make the benefits of American specific advances and industrial progress available to underdeveloped countries" by:

1. Showing what can be done by local people using available resources and better techniques;
2. Training local technicians, who will then be able to pass their knowledge along to others, thus setting up a chain reaction for progress;
3. Contributing to the economic development of the whole country; and
4. Helping in the establishment of governmental agencies that will have the resources, people, know-how, organization, funds, and willingness to carry on their services and activities for investment and trade, to build the security of the Free World,

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[11] John Kerry King, Southeast Asia in Perspective (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956), p. 158.

[12] Point Four: Background and Program, op. cit., p. 12.

> and to improve chances for peace by promoting a "firm economic ground, translating beliefs and aspirations into achievements, and needs into satisfactions, meeting the expectations which the modern world has aroused in the people of underdeveloped countries.[13]

Methods

The basic conditions for assistance include:

understanding of mutual advantages,

confidence in fair and reasonable treatment, and

due respect for the legitimate interests of the helped and helping countries.

The helped countries are expected to pay a fair share of the cost and to integrate the different programs carried on in their territories.[14]

The forms in which the U.S. technical cooperation program is implemented are: (1) sending U.S. technical specialists as requested, (2) training persons of the host countries in the U.S. or in a third country, (3) providing technical information in the written word and in films or other audio-visual media, and (4) providing demonstration supplies and equipment.[15]

As one of the aspects of the U.S. technical assistance is to train local technicians, under the "third country participant" scheme, the conditions of such a training scheme are listed briefly:

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] ICA, Technical Cooperation - The Dramatic Story of Helping Others to Help Themselves. (Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1959), p. 15.

1. The training must be relevant to the goals of programs agreed upon by the U.S. and the host country.
2. The trainees must after being trained be employed in positions in which they could implement their new knowledge.
3. The training must contribute to the progress toward the national objective and must not aim to benefit the personal plan of the trainees; in that regard the training is limited to twelve months; a longer period would keep the trainees out of touch with the on-going operation in the host country; such a time limit is also meant to spread the training resources among a larger number of trainees.[16]

Technical Assistance by Nonprofit Agencies

The Ford Foundation

Purpose. - An example of technical assistance sponsored by a private nonprofit organization is that of the Ford Foundation. Founded in 1936 by Henry Ford and Edsel Ford, the Foundation aims at promoting "the advancement of human welfare."

Since 1951, the Ford Foundation objectives have been restated as follows:

1. Promotion of international understanding and world peace.
2. Strengthening of democratic institutions and processes.
3. Advancement of economic well-being.
4. Expansion and improvement of education.
5. Enlargement of scientific knowledge and understanding of man.[17]

Scope. - The Ford Foundation is active in the United States, in the Near East, and in South and Southeast Asia;

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[16] ICA. Office of Public Services, Community Development Division, Study of Social Welfare Participant Training, Fiscal Year 1956, p. 6.

[17] Ford Foundation, The Ford Foundation in India (New York: The Ford Foundation, January 1955), p. 4.

also recently in Africa and Latin America. In the United States the Foundation's interests are mainly with formal education, adult education, promotion of democracy and improvement of interracial relations, and supporting research projects in the field of mental health as well as in other disciplines that bear on the problem of human behavior.[18]

The Foundation's international activities consist of (1) helping nations in their internal development; (2) promoting international understanding by giving young Americans the opportunities to study overseas; (3) supporting American universities and other private study organizations to develop their teaching and research programs in Near Eastern and Asian affairs; and (4) promoting cultural exchange in the form of personnel exchange, publications, etc.

Conditions of technical assistance. — India with its teeming population coupled with food shortage has provided a fitting ground for the Ford Foundation to implement its objectives for peace and human welfare. The Foundation's activities in India fall into two types of programs - government and private - in a ratio of two to one, which are to continue to function after the Foundation's assistance terminates. In addition to the invitation of the host government, programs to be sponsored by the Ford Foundation must meet the following requirements:

> Contribute significantly to the host country's social and economic development.

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[18] Ibid.

Do not duplicate the activities of other organizations.

Provide for adequate personnel and leadership to operate such programs; or ensure possible means, to train the necessary personnel.

Function as regular features of the economy after the Ford Foundation grants have terminated.

Guarantee sufficient funds from local sources to complement those from the foundation grant in promoting the programs.[19]

General Information

In the following pages an attempt will be made to examine the background conditions of Ghana, India, and the Philippines and the circumstances under which their respective community development programs were established.

Ghana

Land and people.—Situated on the west coast of Africa, formerly known as the British Colony of the Gold Coast, the nation of Ghana came into existence on March 6, 1957. It has an area of 91,863 square miles with 550 miles of coastline. Geographically, it is divided into four regions from south to north: the coastal plains, the low hills, the forest belt, and the dry savannah.

The people come from a variety of tribes, speaking about fifty dialects; however, they may be classified into four ethnic and lingual groups inhabiting the four geographic regions respectively:

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[19] Ibid., p. 16.

(1) The Akans, including the Fanti and Twi, the largest group in the coastal plains and the forest area of Ashanti;

(2) The Ga-Adangmes;

(3) The Ewes of the southeast area; and

(4) The Moshe-Dagomba Mamprusi group in the northern territories.

Each group has its customs but all share a common institution: the chieftaincy and the ceremonials associated with it. The chief is the symbolic keeper of the tribe's tradition; each chief has a "stool" to symbolize his authority and the soul of his tribe; language is an important part of the tribe's culture as there is always a linguist among the chief's retinue. With the Local Government Ordinance of 1953, the position of the chiefs has been officially displaced by that of the elected councils; however, the chiefs still retain a great amount of power informally.

Ghana has a population of 6.69 million inhabitants, of which 15,000 are Europeans.[20] Nearly two-thirds of the population are Animists; of the rest, about 30 per cent are Catholics and there are smaller percentages of Moslems and other groups.

Politics.- The name "Ghana" came from that of the earliest Negro kingdom in West Africa. Although the first European settlement – a Portuguese one – dated from the Fifteenth century, the first official agreement between the chiefs and the British – the Bond of Mutual Cooperation –

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[20] Lester Neil Tratchman, "The Labor Movement of Ghana: A Study in Political Unionism" (unpublished Master's thesis, Cornell University, September 1960), p. 10, quoting West Africa, (May 14, 1960), p. 551.

was not signed until 1844 after which the first British administration took shape in 1901. The political awakening of the Gold Coast occurred after World War II with the political activities of the Convention People's Party headed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah . The British granted the colony's people a measure of self-government in 1951 and total independence in 1957 as a parliamentary democracy within the British Commonwealth. Ghana was admitted to the United Nations on March 8, 1957. It has a unicameral legislature composed of the speaker, who may or may not be an elected member, and 104 members representing seven municipal and ninety-seven rural electoral districts. All members are elected by direct election with secret ballot on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Since July 1, 1960, Ghana has become a republic with a president instead of a prime minister. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became its first president through a plebiscite. The National Assembly has a quota of ten seats reserved for women,[21] a fact which is in harmony with the high regard for women as demonstrated by the role of the queen mother in the tribal hierarchy.

Administratively, Ghana is divided into eight regions and the city of Accra and the Accra Rural District, which

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[21] "A Ghanaian Look for the Parliament of the Republic," Ghana Today, 4, no. 11 (July 20, 1960), p. 10.

together cover a large area; for practical purposes that area is considered as the ninth region. The eight regions are broken up into 64 small areas, each of which is governed by a local council.[22]

Economy.— Ghana is the world's largest producer of cocoa, which provides roughly one-fifth of the gross national product and about two-thirds of its export income. The cocoa transactions are regulated by a government monopoly, the Cocoa Marketing Board, the profits of which are earmarked to the development of the country. At present Ghana is attempting to diversify her agriculture by introducing other crops. Other natural resources exported are gold, diamonds, manganese, and bauxite from which aluminum is made. Ghana's main project toward industrialization lies in the Volta River Project, aiming at harnessing the hydraulic power of the Volta River in the transformation of Ghanian bauxite into Aluminum metal. Upon becoming a republic, Ghana has adopted a socialist pattern of economy. In his recent Republic Day speech, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said,

> Our approach to this new life shall be a socialist pattern of society and it shall be based entirely on Ghanian conditions and circumstances in order that our endeavors shall result in the greatest good for the greatest number of our people.[23]

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[22] The story of local government reform will be given in the next chapter in connection with local participation in community development projects.

[23] "We Are Going to Build a Beautiful and Prosperous Country," Ghana Today, 4, no. 11 (July 20, 1960).

A pioneer program in the direction of improving rural welfare is the mass education program conducted by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, whose history is referred to in the following paragraphs.

History of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development

Growth.- In 1943, by recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Gold Coast, a "Secretary of Social Services" was appointed in the Colonial Secretary's Office. His functions were to secure:

> (1) the improvement of the health and living conditions of the people; (2) the improvement of their well-being in the economic sphere; and (3) the development of political institutions and political power until the day arrives when the people can become effectively self-governing.[24]

In 1946, those functions were transferred to a section of the Department of Social Welfare and Housing; the School of Social Welfare was then created as a unit of the department in charge of training the personnel.

Under the Social Development Officer's leadership, a literacy campaign was organized for the trust territory of Togoland. The campaign staff members came from various agencies: physical training instructors from the Army, first-aid teachers from the Red Cross Society, bandsmen from the police, teachers from the missions' schools.

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[24]Steven Polgar, "Akan Clerks " (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, U. of Chicago, 1956), p. 49.

The success of the Togoland campaign led to the organization of four courses for literacy leaders in 1949, held jointly by the governments of the Gold Coast and French Togoland. At the termination of these courses, members returned to their initial agencies. These successful experiments suggested the need of a permanent organization: a Social Development Section (for rural welfare) was created in the Department of Social Welfare and Housing; the Housing Section split up to form a new department in 1950. In 1951, however, the Department of Social Welfare (urban) and Social Development (rural) was transferred to the Ministry of Education.

In 1951, the first elected legislative assembly voted a Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education, the execution of which has been the responsibility of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development (hereafter designated as DSWCD since 1952). The DSWCD was under the Ministry of Education from 1950 to 1957 when it was transferred to the Ministry of Labor and Cooperatives. It was again relocated in the Ministry of Health during the fiscal year 1959-60 until with the beginning of the fiscal year 1960-61, the DSWCD became part of the Ministry of Social Welfare. Recently, it has been officially announced that the DSWCD will join the Department of Education to form the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare.[25]

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[25] A.I.K. Quainoo, Assistant Director for Community Development, DSWCD, Personal communication, April 25, 1961.

India

Land and people.— India occupies an area of 1,269,640 square miles with about 438 million people, according to the 1961 census.[26] Geographically, India can be divided into three regions from north to south:

1. The Himalayan mountains running from Kashmir and Kulu in the extreme northwest to Assam in the northeast,

2. The Indo-Gangetic plain,

3. The Deccan plateau forming the end of the Indian peninsula, which lies wholly to the north of the equator.

Agriculturally, India can be divided into four different zones according to rainfall: (a) the wet zone of West Bengal, Assam and the Western Coast; (b) the moderate rainfall zone of Central India; (c) the dry zone where rainfall is between twenty and forty inches; and (d) the desert zone of Rajasthan and East Punjab where rainfall is less than twenty inches. About 35 per cent of the land area is cultivated and fertile and 15 per cent covered by forests.

The people of India come from six main racial groups; in addition there are a large number of primitive tribes in the forests. India has about 1,848 languages or dialects, of which the Constitution has recognized 14; however, English

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[26] Time (April 7, 1961), p. 27.

continues to be the official language until 1965,[27] when it will be replaced by Hindi. As to religions, the 1951 census revealed among the Indians 85% Hindus, 9.92% Muslims, 2.3% Christians, 1.74% Sikhs; the rest are Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, et cetera.

Politics.—Formerly a part of the British Empire, India broke away from it — in two separate entities, India and Pakistan - with the Indian Independence Act passed by the British Parliament in July 1947. India came into existence formally as an independent nation, a member of the British Commonwealth, with the adoption of a Constitution on January 26, 1950.

The Constitution provided for a federal union or central government with sixteen states and six territories. At the head of the Union Government is a President, who is elected for five years. The actual administration falls upon a Prime Minister; the Parliament consists of the Rajya Parishad (Council of States) and the Lok Sabha (House of the People).

Socio-economic problems.—India has many problems:

> It is divided by traditional barriers which impede thinking on national lines or association even on local levels. There are not only regional cleavages associated with differences in custom, language, race, and religion, but also social stratifications fostered by caste barriers and great disparities in education, wealth, and economic opportunity. The country as a whole is facing a myriad of problems connected with its marginal food supply, a rapidly increasing population, a low rate of literacy, inadequate housing and sanitation, and millions of

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[27]Keshari C. Gangrade, "Community Development Program of India " (unpublished Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, 1959), p. 8.

> refugees from Pakistan needing to be integrated into the social and economic life of the country.[28]

Although the caste system is officially abolished by the Constitution, it has not disappeared, especially in the villages.

History of Community Development in India

Antecedents.— It was against such a complex background that Community Development was promoted in India as part of the first National Five Year Plan, the first scheme of rural development with a nation-wide scope. It had many antecedents, among them: Rabindranath Tagore's project in Sriniketan, Bengal; F. B. Brayne's project in Gurgaon, Punjab; Mahatma Gandhi's Sarvodaya program, etc. All these programs were limited in scope, deficient in various aspects such as lack of coordination, of financial support, or of continuous dynamic leadership.[29] Recently, three postwar projects have had more bearing on the national community development programs; the Firka Development Scheme sponsored by the state of Madras in 1946, the Nilokheri Resettlement Project, and the Etawah Project. The achievement of S. K. Dey (the present Minister of Community Development) in resettling the refugees from Pakistan into a self-sufficient community of about one thousand persons

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[28] U.S. Department of Labor, Foreign Labor Information: Labor in India (July 1956), p. 1.

[29] For details on these projects see the following books: on the Gurgaon project, Frank L. Brayne, The Remaking of Village India (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1929); on the Tagore project, Prem Chand Lal, Reconstruction and Education in Rural India (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1932). See also: (1) William H. and Charlotte V. Wiser, Behind Mud Walls (New York: Agricultural Missions, 1951) (Printed originally in 1930); (2) D. Spencer Hatch, Up from Poverty in Rural India (Bombay: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938).

in Nilokheri in Northern India led to his appointment to the Community Projects Administration, which in 1956 evolved into the Ministry of Community Development. The Etawah project was a pilot project of rural reconstruction carried out by the State of Uttar Pradesh under the technical supervision of an American architect, Albert Mayer.[30] It was the success of this project which inspired the then U. S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, to project American aid to India toward community development.

Growth.-- The present national community development program of India emanated from the "Grow More Food" movement during which agricultural experiments carried out with the assistance of the Ford Foundation showed that rural problems could be solved systematically. The experiments consisted of fifteen pilot projects launched in fifteen states of India in April 1952, each project covering about one hundred villages comprising 60,000 to 70,000 people in all. The experiments emphasized two aspects: agricultural and development methods. In the first aspect concerning agriculture, three patterns of work were followed:

1. To get villagers to adopt better farming methods, such as crop rotation, soil fertilization, sowing seeds in rows, using composts and manures, and conserving soil and water.

2. To encourage the use of improved varieties of seeds for extra crop yields.

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[30] For details, see Albert Mayer, Kim Marriott, and R.L. Park, Pilot Project, India (Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press, 1958). 367 pp.

3. To introduce new and more efficient tools.

The development aspect is tested with the creation of a new type of official, the multipurpose village worker whose role is to help villagers to help themselves. Originally the projects were to be tested for five years; however, the immediate results were so satisfactory that there seemed no doubt that both the agricultural methods and the extension pattern of multipurpose work constituted the right process by which to tackle the food shortage problems and to lead the villagers out of their passivity.

While these methods were being tested, the U. S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, was convinced that community development was the right field in which to channel American aid to India. Recalling his visit to Prime Minister Nehru, he wrote,

> I opened the conversation by suggesting to Mr. Nehru that one of the most crucial questions was whether Asian democracy could compete with Asian communism unless it, too, organize its village efforts on a massive scale, substituting persuasion and cooperation for violence and concentration camps ... Finally, and with apologies for its inadequacies, I asked the Prime Minister to read my memorandum outlining proposals for a nationwide plan of village development.[31]

Thus with the support of the United States and the Ford Foundation the government of India launched its national community development program with fifty-five projects on October 2, 1952, the birthday anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. A nationwide "silent revolution" thus began.

[31] Chester Bowles, Ambassador's Report (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 199.

The Philippines

Land and people.— The Philippines, with a total area of 115,600 square miles consists of more than 7,000 islands and islets of the northernmost part of the Malay Archipelago; about 1,000 of these islands are sufficiently large and fertile to be inhabited. The Philippines is divided into three regions — in the north, Luzon and the adjacent islands; in the center, the Visayas, the most important of which are Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Cebu, Panay, and Negros; in the south, Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. There are eleven large islands, of which the largest two are Luzon and Mindanao with 106 and 96 thousand square miles respectively.

The population, amounting to 27½ million according to the 1960 census, is predominantly of Malay stock; there are also other ethnic minorities in the mountains. Due to the Spanish heritage, 90 per cent of the population is Roman Catholic, 6 per cent is Aglipayan (member of the Philippine Independent (Christian) Church), and 2 per cent is Protestant. The rest are mainly Moslem and Buddhist.[32] Of the seventy dialects of the islands nine are important; one of these, Tagalog, was recognized as the national language on December 30, 1937. The official languages are English, Spanish, and Tagalog.

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[32] "The Philippines," Larawan (Washington: Embassy of the Philippines, March, 1960).

Politics.— Claimed by Spain since 1521 — the islands being named for the then Spanish king, Philippe II, the Philippines passed to the United States at the end of the Spanish-American War in 1899, after a short period of independence under Emilio Aguinaldo. The Philippines became a commonwealth in 1935 and an independent nation on July 4, 1946. The government is a republic with a four-year presidency, a bicameral legislature of 24 members in the Senate and 109 representatives in the House. The Philippine government is highly centralized; administratively the country is divided into fifty-seven provinces, each headed by a three-man provincial board; the board is presided over by the provincial governor, who since 1935 has been popularly elected instead of being appointed. At the next level below is the municipality, governed by a mayor and council elected at large every four years.[33] Each councilman is responsible for the supervision of a district covering one or more villages, called barrios. Previously, the municipal council appointed the barrio lieutenant, who was an unpaid official. Since 1956, a law has provided for the popular election of the barrio lieutenant and the barrio council. Recently, Republic Act 2370 has given a measure of financial autonomy and other powers to the barrio council.

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[33]George Kahin (ed.), Governments and Politics of Southeast Asia (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1959), pp. 478-479.

Socio-economic problems.— The Philippine republic has many assets, the greatest of which is political unity, in spite of the seeming barrier coming from its insular ecology and the diversity of territorial dialects. Although the country's literacy rate is very high — 63.5 per cent in 1959 — the educational problem is increased by the lack of a uniform language medium. Since 1949 classes have been conducted in the vernacular language in the first two grades; English and Tagalog are taught from the third grade through high school, while Spanish is required throughout college. A difficult economic problem similar to that of other southeast Asian countries, is found in the existence of a Chinese minority economically powerful but politically indifferent.

Among the problems which pertain to community development are those of land tenure, and a high rate of population growth tending to offset any gain achieved through the economic development plan; above all, the tradition of highly centralized government under Spanish rule has made the tendency "to regard Manila as the center of government a Filipino's second nature."[34]

History of the Community Development Program

Community development being a multipurpose program, one of its functions is to coordinate the activities of various government agencies involved in the process. In the

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[34] G. Kahin, op. cit., p. 488.

Philippines, that role is greatly emphasized and might be said to have led to the creation of the office of the Presidential Assistant for Community Development (PACD). In fulfillment of his platform campaign promises, the late President Magsagsay created a number of agencies to improve the rural welfare. Along with existing agencies — public and private — the new ones started to operate through the countryside, duplicating and even, in some cases, canceling each other's activities.

Public agencies.— Among governmental departments emphasizing rural welfare are education, agriculture, social welfare, and health. The Community School system was introduced in 1949; it rests upon a firm conviction that the school as an instrument of rural reconstruction must meet the needs of all members of the community, from school children to non-school youth and adults; the school and the community must collaborate in the "common task of making life fuller and richer." The community was divided into puroks or neighborhood areas; purok leaders organized themselves into councils holding monthly meetings to solve the community problems; the local teachers served as guides and advisers.[35] With the increasing success of the movement, the Department of Education promoted in 1953 a new program of Rural Community Self-Help Projects with full-time organizers, who were relieved of

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[35]For a thorough report on the Philippine Community School, see Bernardino Vitaliano, The Philippine Community School (Quezon City: Phoenix Press, 1958).

their teaching responsibilities and assigned to organize the barrios. Two embryonic signs of the present community development pattern were seen in the creation of a committee coordinating agricultural, health, and educational services and the availability of some governmental resources to aid specific activities.[36] Also in 1953, the Bureau of Agricultural Extension was established and agricultural agents were assigned to municipal posts. Another agency engaged in rural welfare work was the Social Welfare Administration; its training school, opened in 1952, prepared university graduates by groups of thirty to forty for village work; after six months of special training, they were sent out to villages as "multipurpose" field workers, being "well-rounded in the broad concepts of social welfare."[37] At that time, the Health Department was also involved in rural welfare activities through the creation of rural health units and health centers and also by the anti-malaria control program. Another organization connected with rural development was the Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration (ACCFA).

Private agencies.— Among the private agencies engaged in rural activities, the most important was the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) created after the pattern of the Chinese Rural Reconstruction Movement established

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[36]Harold S. Adams, George M. Foster, and Paul S. Taylor, Report on Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan and The Philippines by Team no. 3 (Washington: ICA, October 1955), p. 16.

[37]Ibid., p. 50.

by James Yen. Founded in July 1952, the PRRM presented a botanical system in which each voluntary member was a "leaf." The Board of Trustees designated an Action Committee which trained extension workers called "seeds," who went out to villages imparting the philosophy, principles, and spirit of the movement to voluntary members, the "leaves." Leaves of a barrio formed a committee called "stems" whose officers were "twigs." "Twigs" from several continuous barrios formed a "branch" whose officers were "trunks of the municipality." "Trunks" from several municipalities formed a "tree" whose officers were "roots." The membership of a "tree" (province) was organized into various working committees whose chairmen constituted, together with the "roots," an executive committee. Different programs and research committees called "nurseries" were found at the levels of the trees, branches, and stems (provinces, municipalities, barrios) to study the problems encountered in rural development.[38]

The motto of the PRRM is "Building Democracy from Bottom Up." Presently, it is giving its workers a six-month training program on livelihood, health, education, literacy, and self-government. With the progress of the movement comes the need of more elaborate headquarters so that an International Institute of Rural Reconstruction is being built since

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[38]This information comes from a paper written by myself when I was an "interne" assigned to the United Nations Bureau of Economic and Social Affairs, Community Development Group, Summer 1957.

November 1960 in Barrio Biga, Silang, Cavite; the Institute will serve as a training and research center and clearing house for information and data on theories and practice of rural reconstruction, with a local, national, and also international scope.[39]

Other agencies.— In addition to the above governmental and private organizations, a few activities of a more or less political nature were also related to rural development:

1. The National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), which sponsored several community development centers.

2. The Economic Development Corporation's resettlement projects initiated by the late President Magsaysay when he was Secretary of National Defense; the EDCOR projects were carried out concurrently with direct fighting against the Hukbalahaps. The Huks or "People's Army to Fight Japan," created in central Luzon in 1942, were initially dedicated to fighting against the Japanese and their wartime collaborators and to promoting social reform. After the war, the movement was converted to guerrilla warfare with hit-and-run tactics and criminal actions; heralding the caption "war against the landlords," it won the support of dissatisfied tenants. The purpose of the EDCOR Projects was to resettle former Huks dissidents not convicted by civil courts. The main project was in Kapatagan, Lanao, in the island of Mindanao; all the expenses and services incident to each settler's farm were paid back to

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[39]"Building Democracy from Bottom Up," The Asian Student, no. 22, (February 18, 1961), p. 5.

the EDCOR on a fifty-fifty crop-sharing basis. Upon settlement of all advances and upon satisfactory work, the settlers were given title to their farms.

3. The National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA) carried out a similar program of resettlement for nondissident tenant farmers in order to ease the agrarian unrest in high tenancy areas.

Thus prior to 1953, there was a proliferation of organizations engaged in rural activities. When the late President Magsaysay assumed office on a platform of social and agrarian reforms, he kept his promise by creating the Community Development Planning Council in August 1954 to coordinate all the rural activities. However, institutional loyalties and personal interests as well as other political factors delayed the actual integration until 1956 when the Office of the Presidential Assistant for Community Development was finally created by Executive Order No. 156 of January 6, 1956.[40]

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[40] A case study of the birth of the PACD office is the subject of a doctoral thesis by José V. Abueva, "Formulation of the Philippine Community Development Program," Department of Political Science, The University of Michigan, 1959. This work is published under the title Focus on the Barrio (Manila, Philippines: Institute of Public Administration, 1959).

TABLE I

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Points of Comparison	Ghana	India	Philippines
Area	91,963 sq. miles	1,269,640 sq. miles	115,600 sq. miles
Population	6.69 million	438 million (1961 census)	27.5 million
Date of Independence	March 6, 1957	August 15, 1947	July 4, 1946
Date CD established	Office of Social Services: 1943 Dept. of SWCD: 1952	C. P. A.: March 1952 Ministry of CD: 1956	CD Council: 1953 PACD office: 1956
Form of government	Republic	Republic	Republic
Governmental organization	Unitary: Central Regions (8)* Districts Villages	Federal: Central States (16) Districts Blocks Villages	Unitary: Central government Provinces (57) Municipalities (1450) Barrios (28,000)
Programs to fulfill CD objectives	Adult literacy Work among women Self-help construction work Initial extension programs for other agencies	Agriculture Animal husbandry Minor irrigation Panchayat, cooperatives, village communication Village industries and rural housing Education, social education, public health, sanitation Women's programs	Stimulation of local self-government Increased production and income Self-help public improvement Health and sanitation Mass public education Coordination of rural service agencies

*There are now 8 regions and the municipality and rural district of Accra.

TABLE II

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Government Levels	Ghana	India	Philippines
National	Department of Social Welfare and Community Development*	Central Committee on CD † Ministry of CD and C* Interdepartmental ‡ committees	PACD office* † Committee on Program Implementation ‡
State		State Development Committee †‡ State Development Commissioner*	
Region	(Region) Principal CD officer*	(District) District Commissioner for CD* Zila Parishad †‡	(Province) Provincial CD officer* Provincial CD council †‡
Local District	(District) Mass education officer* ‡ Local development † committees	(Block) Block Samiti †‡ Block Development officer*	(Municipality) Municipal CD Council †‡ Municipal CD officer*
Village	Assistant Mass Education officer Mass Education assistant	Panchayat † Gram Sevak* ‡	(Barrio) Barrio Council † Barrio CD worker*

*Execution

†Planning

‡Coordination

Comparative Analysis

Background

The three countries surveyed differ in size and population, as well as in ecology, the Philippines being an archipelago, while the other countries are continuous mainland. India has fourteen times the territory of Ghana and over sixty-five times its population; on the other hand, although the Philippines' area is only one and a half times that of Ghana, its population is three times larger than Ghana's. Ghana, although the smallest among the three, appears to have a problem of "tribal loyalties" to be overcome. In India, tension exists not only between villages but also within the village. Although caste barriers have lessened in recent years, they still hamper villagers belonging to different castes getting together for common action. They also pose a dilemma for the community development village level worker as to which group he should get in touch with in starting to open up a village. The Cornell team carrying out a research study on the human factors in community development in western Uttar Pradesh, India, has underlined a problem faced by the village worker.

> The division of society into castes, with their associated norms and expected standards of behavior and overt and latent stresses and tensions in intergroup relations, posed a number of important problems to planners and development workers. With what particular group should they identify themselves in the village? Whose norms and standards of behavior should they adopt? Identification with the upper income and status groups, and acceptance of their norms, wins for the extension worker a certain measure of support from these influential groups. But at the same time it alienates the underprivileged groups from the program and promoters of change.

> If they act in the reverse direction, the extension agents meet with coldness and even hostility from groups on the higher levels of the social hierarchy.[41]

Although the Philippine republic does not have such problems, it does share with Ghana and India the disadvantage of having dialectic areas, a fact which requires much caution in training and assigning workers to various locations.

Origin of Community Development Programs

Economically, Ghana and the Philippines are countries with a per capita national income range of from $100 to $199, while that of India is below $100.[42] Their economic problems are connected with agriculture but in varying ways: in Ghana, the single cocoa crop, in India, low agricultural production leading to food shortage, and in the Philippines, high tenancy rate with little profit to the mass of barrio peasants, causing serious agrarian unrest.

Pattern of Growth of Community Development Organizations

Regarding the pattern of growth, the functions of the Secretary for Social Services in Ghana have developed extensively according to circumstantial demands from 1943 to date. Another characteristic of the Ghanaian program is the autonomous character of mass education, which has allowed the DSWCD to be transferred and attached successively to different ministries

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[41] S.C. Dube, India's Changing Villages (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1958), p. 138.

[42] Paul G. Hoffmann, One Hundred Countries and One Quarter Billion People (Washington, D.C.: Albert D. and Mary Lasker Foundation, 1960), p. 18.

without hampering its work. The Indian and Philippine programs have the same pattern of growth although their backgrounds are different. In India, community development was created as a deliberate program whereas the Philippine program grew as an answer to the overlapping and in some cases conflicting activities of the existing agencies. However, both programs have gone through similar stages: the Community Projects' Administration of the Planning Commission has developed into a separate ministry while the PACD Office is the transformation of the former Community Development Planning Council.

In short, the problems of newly developing countries are numerous; however, the establishment of national community development programs appears to be related to two factors: independence and urgency of problems. Community development as a ground-clearing program, a joint-effort process between the government and the people, has taken shape definitely with independence or in connection with the preparation for independence.

CHAPTER IV

THREE NATIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

> Heretofore, social justice has raised fervent but frustrated hopes in the hearts of our less fortunate citizens. We must not permit social justice to be an empty phrase in our Constitution. We must bring it to life - for all.[1]
>
> — Magsaysay

Training, the subject of this study, is only one part of national community development programs. This chapter describes the over-all framework of the three selected national community development programs under the following headings: national policy, administration, personnel training, and research and evaluation.[2]

Among measures of national policy intended to secure the participation of the people on a self-help basis, two of the most important are:

1. Change of existing laws and regulations with the purpose of facilitating the rehabilitation of the weaker sections of the community — mainly those on land tenure and land reform.

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[1] President Ramon Magsaysay's statement of policy on community development contained in his 1958 Budget Message delivered before the Joint Session of Congress on January 8, 1957 — two months before his death.

[2] United Nations, Aspects on National Community Development Programs in Asia, op. cit., p. 4.

2. The promotion of local self-governing institutions.

In the administration of community development programs, the emphasis is on the ways in which various governmental departments engaged in community development work are linked together for concerted action. Coordination may be achieved in at least two ways:

1. By organization, that is by interrelating the subdivisions of work in such a way as to create a straight line of authority, reaching from the top to the bottom of the entire enterprise.

2. "By the dominance of an idea, that is, the development of intelligent singleness of purpose in the minds and wills of those who are working together as a group, so that each worker will of his own accord fit his task into the whole with skill and enthusiasm."[3]

In community development, that "singleness of purpose" among officials may be defined as "teamwork." The necessity for such singleness of purpose is one of the reasons justifying community development training. Coordination is described by a community development expert as a cut diamond whose base is the villages to which the multipurpose workers reach out; the highest point is the cabinet, with a broad central portion, namely the various government services.[4]

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[3]Albert Lepawsky, Administration (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 247, quoting Luther Gulick in Papers on the Science of Administration.

[4]Peter Du Sautoy, Personnal communication, April 3, 1951, p. 2.

In this chapter, national policy and administration can not be presented in a clearcut dichotomy, since in the administrative structure for community development, the participation of the people has assumed increasing importance with the development of local institutions. Similarly the elements of personnel training and research and evaluation are combined because the evaluation of community development programs implies also an evaluation of the training of those officials who operate the programs.

On the following pages, the three national community development programs are described according to the elements listed above. The purpose is to define the organizational context in which community development training is carried out.

Ghana

Objectives

The basic aim of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development was to teach leadership to the literates; however, it was found necessary to provide literacy and other teaching to the less educated village leaders.[5]

Thus, at the beginning, the mass education movement aimed at giving two-week courses to literates. However, with the vast turnout of illiterates, the department has shifted

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[5]Peter Du Sautoy, Personal communication, April 4, 1961, p. 3.

its policy since 1950 to dealing only with those who have never been to school, while the Extra-Mural Department of the University College of Accra began by 1952 to organize formal courses for advanced adult education.[6] The purpose of the Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education provides "opportunity for service for the educated and the privileged to do something for the common people - for their less fortunate fellow citizens."[7] This factor explains the widespread number of voluntary literacy leaders in the Ghanaian Community Development program.

Community Development Activities

In the order in which they arose, the major community development activities of Ghana are listed below:

1. Adult literacy
2. Work among women
3. Self-help construction work
4. Cooperative extension program with other agencies.

Organization of the DSWCD

The pattern of mass education work coincides with the administrative hierarchy. The Department of Social Welfare and Community Development is the central office. It is headed by a director, a deputy director and three assistant directors in charge of three line sections: Social Welfare, Community Development,[7] and Special Duties.

[6] Peter Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 43.

[7] In Ghana, mass education and community development are equivalent, interchangeable terms.

Central office.— At the headquarters, there are technical auxiliary units in charge of personnel, accounting activities, visual aid preparation, and training in simple building. The Visual Aid section is under the supervision of a Community Development officer; it prepares all the visual aids ranging from handbills, posters, and flannelgraphs to films; it has also published since 1954 a quarterly magazine, Advance, designed to help staff members in keeping up with the various aspects of the departmental program.

As its name indicates, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development is responsible for the promotion of welfare, both urban and rural, the emphasis being on the rural side. The Social Welfare Section, urban in scope, covers social casework with individuals, group work, and probation and juvenile delinquency services. The Assistant Director (special duties), also called Technical Assistant Director, supervises the Technical Field Units which were organized since 1954 to supply technical resources to the village self-help projects. Although located in the DSWCD, the units were initially financed by the Cocoa Marketing Board with a trust fund administered by the Director and Deputy Director. The units are equipped with vehicles for hauling, a light tractor, cement mixers, blockmaking machines, and other tools needed in building. Two Technical Service Centers are established in the Eastern and Western Region to provide the units with type plans and technical advice; they are under the control of the regional administration.

Regional organization.— At the regional level, the Principal Community Development Officer and his associate, the Community Development officer, are in charge of the whole region. They supervise:

- the Senior Assistant Mass Education officers in charge of areas
- the Assistant Mass Education officers (A.M.E.C.'s) in charge of districts
- the Mass Education Assistants (M.E.A.'s) in charge of villages where the voluntary literacy leaders are also active.

In each region, there is a woman Mass Education Officer in charge of all the women's work carried out at the village level by women Mass Education Assistants. The DSWCD aims to reserve a one-third quota of total staff membership to women; however, the quota has never been reached, except occasionally at the very lowest level.

Formerly, there were only five regions with five Regional Rural Training Centers where the DSWCD conducted all training activities. Recently, the number of regions has been increased to six and eight successively, and the mass education work has naturally shaped itself to the new administrative pattern. Since 1959, the Second Development Plan has provided for the construction of six new Rural Training Centers and for the extension of the existing five centers. All equipments used in community development work: cinema van, public address sets, etc., are held at the centers.

The mass education field staff have a uniform: blue shorts and white shirt for men, blue skirt and white blouse for women. The Plan for Mass Education was called the "Plan

Bleu" from the color of its cover.[8] The workers also wear a special badge imported from England which distinguishes them from outsiders who might want to use the uniform for illicit purposes. The DSWCD operates in nine of the twelve main languages of Ghana. As community development in Ghana starts with mass literacy, a Vernacular Bureau was set up in 1950 to produce follow-up literature for distribution; recently its name has been changed to Bureau of Ghana Languages.

Mass Education in the National Development Plan

Local government before independence.— An understanding of the local government system is needed to understand the operation of community development. In Ghana, British indirect rule through the chiefs prevailed before 1951. The Local Government Ordinance of 1951 established a system of elected local governments which fell within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Local Government.[9] By that ordinance, local councils were formed with two-thirds of the membership elected and the rest appointed by the traditional authorities. At the next level are District Councils whose members are elected by local and urban councils from among themselves.[10] At the Regional level, the Regional Councils are elected by the

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[8] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., p. 45.

[9] Cities are regulated by a separate Municipal Ordinance of 1953.

[10] "Local Government in the Gold Coast," Advance, no. 15 (January 1955), p. 7.

District Councils. In short, there were two types of councils, outside the municipal areas: (1) the District Councils responsible for major services, such as police, road maintenance, medical services, large scale projects of development; (2) the Local and Urban Councils in charge of local services such as education, sanitation, local courts, and markets.

In general, many of the second type units were small in area, resource, and population; they had inadequate financial resources; some of the smaller Local Councils were kept alive only by grants-in-aid from the central government.

Local government after independence.— After independence in 1957, the "Greenwood Commission" was appointed to survey the local government system. The Commission found that (1) small local units did not have sufficient financial resources to justify separate existence; and (2) the burden of administration was too heavy for the District Council. The Greenwood Commission recommended two alternative solutions, A and B. Solution A, which was adopted, recommended that District Councils be abolished and existing Local Councils be regrouped by amalgamations into units of adequate population and resources which would be responsible for all local government services in their areas.

This reform has been completed: about 280 local government units are regrouped into 64; each local and urban council set up its own Development Committee.[11]

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[11]"Local Government in 1959," The Ghanaian, no. 22 (April 1960), pp. 16-17.

Coordination.— At the national level, there was an Advisory Committee on Mass Education and Community Development. In 1957, when the DSWCD was under the Ministry of Education, the Advisory Committee was appointed by the Minister of Education; it consisted of fifteen members — government officials as well as civic leaders including representatives of the Trade Union Congress and the Co-operative Federation. The Committee's function was "to advise ... on matters of policy and new programmes in the field of Mass Education and Community Development, to examine the progress of Community Development Schemes, and to promote the idea of communal and individual self-help as a means of raising standards of living."[12] The Advisory Committee was not very active; it was abolished a few years ago.[13]

Community development vs. "development": A previous dilemma. At the Regional level, the Regional Development Committees of the Regional Councils advise on "development, apportion grants, co-ordinate the development activities which are part of the national development plan with the local development activities which fall within the scope of the DSWCD."[14]

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[12] U.N. Social Commission, Reports on Concepts and Principles of Community Development and Recommendations on Further Practical Measures to Be Taken by International Organization (E. CN. 5./325, March 12, 1957), p. 21.

[13] Peter Du Sautoy, Personal communication, April 3, 1961, p. 4.

[14] Peter Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., footnote 4 on page 15.

At the level below, the District Council Development Committees are responsible for the allocation of funds for self-help projects. Originally, committees for community development were created in 1948 under the name of Local Development Committees, the members of which were civic leaders appointed by the Chairman, the District Commissioner. However, the Local Development Committee was found impractical because it conflicted more or less directly with the formal Local Government system; there was a tendency toward rivalry between the Local Development Committee and the District Council covering the same area. Another criticism was that members of the Local Development Committees were appointed instead of being elected, a fact which defeated the purpose of popular representation underlying the establishment of such committees. The Local Development Committees were finally merged with the District Councils. However, the confusion between community development and "development" still exists: "it is a sound working rule for District Councils that works affecting a single town or village should be regarded as 'community development' and must be self-help projects; those affecting a whole area should be regarded as 'development' projects and may be put to contract without recourse to self-help."[15] However, this rule is not strictly adhered to, and many a deserving community development project either does not receive financial assistance in time or is implemented by contract accounts for political reasons. All the foregoing complexities

[15] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., p. 13.

are eliminated in the process of local government reform implementing the Greenwood Commission recommendations described earlier.

At present, during the Second Development Plan (1959-64), the funds reserved for self-help projects amount to LG 2 million (Ghanaian pounds); this fund is distributed to the eight regions on a population basis. Within the regions, an allocation committee allocates the funds to deserving self-help projects undertaken by various villages on a matching grant basis.[16]

Organization for Training

In Ghana the central training staff unit within the DSWCD is the School of Social Welfare, which functions intermittently in accordance with the training needs; it trains

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[16]The money so obtained goes to buy construction materials and pay for a limited amount of skilled labor; all other unskilled labor is provided by the village people coming together and working once or twice a week through the device of "Communal Labor"; technical assistance and supervision are provided by the DSWCD Technical Instructors.

Apart from these self-help projects which are initiated by the people themselves, and which come under the term "Community Development," there are also other projects initiated and executed by Local Councils through either contract or direct labor employed and paid for by the councils. This 'development' by Councils, in fact, goes on side by side with "Community Development' by village communities. Development in Ghana could be likened to a pyramid, the top representing big national projects undertaken by the central government, the middle part representing projects undertaken by the Local Councils in their areas, and the broad base representing the numerous self-help projects undertaken by village communities for their own improvement.

A.I.K. Quainoo, Assistant Director for Community Development in the DSWCD, Personal communication, May 5, 1961, p. 1.

staff members for both sections: community development and social welfare. That the training unit has such a name, which might confuse outside observers, comes from the concept that mass education is the rural counterpart of the social welfare section, which is urban in scope. Du Sautoy expresses the unusual view that

> it must be realized that community development, like any other specialized branches of social work (and it is fairly clear that it is social work rather than any other) requires specially trained full-time staff and the most effective training for such staff must be secured.[17]

While central training is done by the DSWCD "staff" personnel and in some instances by the University College of Accra, most of the training has been carried out by the personnel at the regional training centers. The regional training centers are "multipurpose" centers where all types of training courses are held: annual regional staff meetings, preservice training for mass education workers, literacy courses for village leaders, women's courses, rural builders' course in carpentry, etc... Compared to other programs, the training in Ghana has been quite informal due to the small scope of operation.

Provision for Evaluation and Research

In Ghana, evaluation has been very informal and done only at the first two levels. The staff of the training centers evaluate their activities at the yearly staff conference

[17] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., p. 159.

held at the regional rural training centers. Evaluation at a higher level is done by the Senior Officers' Conference held at the University of Accra Institute of Education. Evaluation is included informally in in-service training. Du Sautoy explains this situation in these terms:

> A continuous evaluation unit in the service would be very desirable but it is difficult to get the funds and staff for this, when all the pressures are to achieve results in the field... In fact, any governmental organization which wishes to succeed is forced to evaluate internally as a part of the administrative process, but, because this is not obviously done on a formal basis the academic researcher becomes worried that it is not being done at all.[18]

India

Objectives and Programs

Objectives.— The Indian Community Development program has the following objectives:

1. to change the outlook of the people so that they develop increasing expectations for a higher level of living;

2. to enlist the participation of community members in planning and carrying out self-help programs;

3. to lead the rural population from chronic agricultural underproduction to full production by helping them with knowledge and technology and by developing necessary skills and abilities for the use of modern technology;

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[18]Du Sautoy, Personal communication, October 29, 1960, p. 3.

4. to lead the rural population from underemployment to full employment;

5. to solve basic problems of illiteracy and health;

6. to create a sense of community membership; and

7. to encourage savings among the rural families to help capital formation.[19]

Programs.— To implement the foregoing objectives, emphasis is given to five types of community development projects:

1. Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Minor Irrigation
2. Panchayats, Cooperation, and Village Communication
3. Village Industries and Rural Housing
4. Education, Social Education, Public Health, and Sanitation
5. Women's Program

At the beginning of the program in 1952 each of the fifty-five community development projects covered an area of 300 villages with a total population of about 200,000. After one year of operation, it was decided that a smaller unit would bring about more effective results: the block of 100 villages was then made the basic unit; it was further divided into ten circles each, which is the normal working area of a Gram Sevak or Village Worker.

Time Schedule

Community Development in the First Five-Year Plan.— In 1953 community development in India consisted of three phases:

[19] Amrik Singh Cheema, "Community Development in India with Particular Reference to the Bhadson Project" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Extension and Adult Education, Cornell University, 1958.)

1. National Extension Service phase of three years with an annual budget of Rs 450,000 for each block;

2. Community Development phase of three years with an annual budget of Rs 800,000 for each block;

3. Permanent Post-Intensive phase with an annual budget of Rs 30,000.[20]

Community Development in the Second Five-Year Plan.— In 1958, on the recommendation of the Mehta Team, the schedule was revised as follows:

1. One year of pre-extension period with exclusive emphasis on agricultural development for new blocks beginning in April 1959. During that period, the personnel in each block consisted of a block development officer, one agricultural officer and five village level workers.

2. Community development proper is divided into two stages:

   a. Stage I of five years is intensive community development in which the emphasis is on carrying out programs planned by the panchayat, with the support of the people; the budget is Rs 1.2 million for five years.

   b. Stage II of five years has a budget of 500,000 rupees in which the emphasis is more on community development as a process rather than community development as a program. In short, stages I and II

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[20] V.T. Krisnamachari, Community Development in India, (New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Information, 1958), p. 152.

may be called respectively "governmental" and "popular" phases.

The entire country is to be fully covered by community development by 1963.[21]

National level.— In India the policy-making body deciding on the five-year plans is the National Development Council, consisting of the Prime Minister as chairman and Chief Ministers of the States as members; it is served by the Planning Commission, which is composed of experts, administrators, and policymakers. Regarding policy-making in community development proper, there is the Central Committee of Community Development, composed of the Prime Minister as chairman, the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, the Ministers of Food and Agriculture, of Community Development and Cooperation. The coordination of programs has been carried out through permanent interministerial committees.

When the community development program began in October 1953, it was administered by the Community Projects' Administration, created on March 31, 1952, within the Planning Commission. However, with the increasing activities, the CPA was made into a full-fledged ministry in September, 1956. The Ministry for Community Development serves as secretariat for the Central Committee on Community Development, guides and assists the states in the implementation of community development projects as well as of community development training programs.

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[21] Ibid., p. 154.

State, District, and Block levels.— At the state level, there are State Development Boards consisting of the State Chief Minister as Chairman, the State Development Commissioner as Secretary, and ministers and secretaries of other technical or "nation-building departments" and some key nonofficials as members.

The District Development Committee is presided over by the District Magistrate; its Secretary is the Development Commissioner, the former Revenue Collector; it also includes technical specialists, some nonofficial members and the members of the State Legislative Assembly.

The Block Personnel is headed by the Block Development Officer, Extension Officers, and ten Gram Sevaks and Gram Sevikas, the men and women village workers. Planning, subordination, and supervision of execution are the functions of those committees and councils.

People's Participation

Prime Minister Nehru said in the early beginnings of the community development program,

> We want to make the people of India all builders. The Community Projects appear to me to be something of vital importance, not only in the material achievements that they would bring about, but much more so because they seek to build up the community and the individual and to make the latter a builder of his own village center and of India in the larger sense.[22]

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[22] Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches 1949-53 (Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1954), p. 86.

Popular representation at the national level has been expressed by the existence of a Central Consultative Committee on Community Development consisting of members of Parliament; it has held informal discussions with the Minister of Community Development. At the State and District levels, there are nonofficial members in the respective Development Councils; at the Block level, the Block Advisory committees have also progressive citizens among their membership.

Since 1958, following a survey done by a team headed by Balwantrai Mehta, the government has started a widespread administrative reorganization below the state level. The reorganization provides for local self-government bodies which would bring about greater popular participation in community development. "Panchayati Raj" or democratic decentralization of government presents the following features:

1. At the village level, the panchayat (a body of five) elected by the people is in charge of administering and directing the community development projects;

2. At the block level is the panchayat samiti (assembly) composed of the heads of the village panchayats within the block; the samiti's head is elected by members from among themselves; the Block Development Officer is the samiti's secretary;

3. At the district level is the Zila Parishad composed of all the chairmen of the samitis within the district; again the Zila Parishad's chairman is elected from among the membership. At each level a few appointed members are added to represent

special groups such as the women's groups, the Scheduled Castes (Harijans) and the Scheduled Tribes. The membership also includes other persons whose experience in public life, administration, and rural development would be of benefit. The role of the Panchayats (local) is coordination; that of the Samiti (Block) is both planning and direction, while the Zila Parishad (District) is mainly a planning and coordinating body.[23]

"Panchayati Raj" has been carried out enthusiastically in the state of Rajasthan, the example of which has been followed by other states at varying rates of speed. The large-scale administrative reform was followed with skepticism by some foreign observers at the beginning; one of the objections was the need for some pilot experiments before the countrywide reorganization could be soundly carried out. However, as the movement develops it has given ground for more optimism.[24]

Organization for Training

In India the training activities of the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation are highly organized. They are under the supervision of the Joint Secretary, who is responsible to the Additional Secretary; above them are the Secretary, the Deputy Minister, and the Minister. The Joint

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[23]Government of India, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Report, 1959-60 (New Delhi: Govt. of India Printing, March 9, 1960), p. 25.

[24]Ralph Retzlaff, "Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan", Indian Journal of Public Administration, 6, no. 2 (April-June 1960), pp. 141-159.

Secretary supervises two training sections: official training and nonofficial training. Section I, dealing with official training, covers the training of community development officials proper from the policy-makers to the village level workers. Section II, for nonofficial training, covers the training of Extension Officers in their special subject matter carried out by the ministries involved in community development.

Under the direct supervision of Section I are:

the Central Institute for Training and Research in Mussoorie

the Development Officers' Training Centers

the Regional Institutes for the training of the Training Staff

and the following institutions operated by the Directorate of Extension and Training of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture: Extension Training Centers for Gram Sevaks, Basic Agricultural Schools and Wings, Home Science Wings for women village workers (Gram Sevikas).[25]

The emphasis in this study is on the training supervised by Section I.

In short, the training of government officials for community development is classified under three headings:

1. Community development training of government officials, Block Development officers and higher officials under the supervision of the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation,

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[25](1) N.R. Malkani, "Our Training Programs," Kurukshetra, 4, no. 12 (September 1956); (2) S.C. Roy, "Training the Personnel," Kurukshetra, Anniversary Number (October 2, 1957), pp. 158-162.

2. Subject-matter training of technical specialists or Block Extension officers by the ministries concerned,

3. Training of village level workers, both men and women, by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in coordination with the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation and the state governments.

Evaluation

As evaluation of community development programs and evaluation of community development training cannot be sharply separated, these two kinds of evaluation efforts are described together.

A formal evaluation agency, the Program Evaluation Organization, was set up in the Planning Commission in 1952 with a Ford Foundation grant. Another type of evaluation, internal evaluation, is being done through annual conferences attended by a cross-sample of community development workers and the principals of training centers. Since 1953 this continuous evaluation is made possible by the financial support of the Ford Foundation. In addition to these conferences sponsored by the central government, since 1958 the states have also begun to organize conferences.

In addition to the Ford Foundation's evaluation reports for internal circulation within the organization,[26] a fourth-

[26]These reports were kindly made available to me by John J. Bresnan, Program Assistant, Overseas Development Program, South and Southeast Asia, The Ford Foundation, New York.

level evaluation was recently carried out by a United Nations Community Development Evaluation Mission of three members through field visits from December 17, 1958, to March 3, 1959.

Research

Concerning research, there are two institutions: the Central Institute of Study and Research and the Lucknow Institute of Planning, Research, and Action. The Lucknow Institute owes its existence to Albert Mayer, former Planning Adviser to the Uttar Pradesh government.[27] It was established with a Rockefeller Foundation grant which ran from 1954 to 1957; when the grant expired in 1957, the Institute continued to operate with the financial assistance of the Central government. The Institute has three main branches: Pilot Project, Statistics and Evaluation, and Service which, as their names indicate, carry out pilot experiments, evaluate the results and methods of work, and make available the results to field workers. The Lucknow Institute has acquired a reputation for the quality of its achievements.

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[27]Albert Mayer, Kim Marriot and Richard L. Park, Pilot Project, India (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1958), Chapter VII: Research and Action.

The Philippines

Objectives and Methods

The objectives of the Philippine community development program are:

To assist in the development of self-government in barrios;

To increase the productivity and income of the rural population through self-help projects in agriculture and other industries;

To facilitate construction, largely on a self-help basis, of roads which will connect barrios with principal highways or feeder roads;

To provide governmental services in barrios more nearly equal to those now available in poblaciones (municipal seats);

To promote better coordination of government services at all levels;

To improve through maximum of self-help, rural facilities for education, water supply, irrigation, health sanitation, housing, and recreation;

To increase the educational and vocational opportunities for the adult population in rural areas;

To increase citizen awareness and action with respect to enforcement of laws on tenancy, usury, labor, and other subjects; and

To take steps needed to improve the morale of barrio citizens and strengthen their participation in the economic life of the nation.[28]

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[28] Luz A. Einsiedel, "Community Development Research Council, Study Series," Success and Failure in Selected Community Development Projects in Batangas, no. 3 (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines, 1960), p. 15 quoting Robert A. Polson in Community Development in the Philippines: Observations and Comments, mimeographed paper presented to the Philippine Sociological Society, July 15, 1956. Mrs. Einsiedel's book was formerly a Master's thesis (School of Social Work, University of Michigan, 1959).

These objectives are to be implemented through six areas of action:

1. Stimulation of local self-government
2. Projects to increase production and income
3. Self-help public improvement
4. Health and sanitation
5. Education
6. Social welfare administration

The PACD is responsible for the implementation of the foregoing objectives. The scope of his functions is defined in section two of Executive Order No. 156.

1. Plan and implement the President's community development program in barrios, municipalities, and chartered cities, and coordinate and integrate the activities of all and each of the departments and offices of the government engaged in community development in order to increase their effectiveness, achieve maximum benefits, and avoid duplication and overlapping of activities;
2. Promote the organization of Community Development Councils at the provincial and municipal levels, and barrio councils according to laws;
3. Develop a grant-in-aid program to stimulate participation of barrio citizens in community development;
4. Recommend to the President legislation contributing to the economic and social betterment of the rural areas and the strengthening of local governments;
5. Perform such other functions as the President may assign to him.

Organization

National level.— Co-ordination at the national level was initially achieved through an Interdepartmental Co-ordinating Committee (IDCC) consisting of representatives of the following agencies:

Bureau of Agricultural Extension

Bureau of Plant Industry

Bureau of Animal Husbandry

Bureau of Public Schools - Adult Education Division

Agricultural Cooperative and Credit Financing Administration (ACCFA)

Agricultural Tenancy Commission

Bureau of Lands

Social Welfare Administration

Bureau of Public Highways

Bureau of Health - Rural Health Units

National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (NAWASA)

Cooperatives Administration Office

Philippine Coconut Administration (PHILCOA)

The IDCC held monthly meetings to assist the PACD in planning, policy formulation, and co-ordination. However, the IDCC has not met since 1958 and is now defunct.

Since the beginning, a more compact committee, the Committee on Program Implementation, has functioned. It is presided over by the Presidential Assistant; its members are the heads of the agencies receiving direct financial supports from the PACD office: Rural Health Unit, Adult Education Division, Bureau of Agricultural Extension, Bureau of Public Highways.

Provincial level.— From the PACD, authority flows downward to the Provincial Community Development Officers (PCDO's), the Municipal Community Development Officers (MCDO's), and the Barrio Community Development Workers (BCDW's). At each level of government, the Community Development officer is the Executive

Secretary of a Provincial or Municipal Community Development Council (PCDC or MCDC), which is the counterpart of the national IDCC. In addition to the PCDO as Executive Secretary, the other members of the PCDC are: the Governor as chairman, the provincial representatives of the various departments, the provincial treasurer, provincial auditor, provincial commander and two private citizens.

Municipal and barrio levels.— The Municipal Community Development Council consists in addition to the mayor, chairman, and the MCDO, the representatives of the technical departments available at that level and two private citizens. At the barrio level, the recent Barrio Charter Republic Act No. 2370 has provided for the election of a permanent barrio council secretary and assistant secretary; the barrio community development worker would be free of administrative duties and could devote his time fully to being a "social catalyst" awakening the civic consciousness of the people, encouraging them to take initiative in undertaking self-help projects in which he serves as a link between the barrio people and the technical specialists. Barrio council members are elected biennially.

Training

In the Philippines, the Training Division within the PACD office is headed by the Training Officer and the Assistant Training Officer. It has four "staff" units and two "line" units or training arms. The staff units are: Administration, Planning, Evaluation, and Third Country Training,[29] respectively,

[29]The Third Country Training unit is in charge of the training of foreign trainees and observers, sponsored by either

in charge of administering the division, planning the training curricula, evaluating and upgrading them, and preparing and scheduling the third country training programs.

The two "line" units are the Center Arm and the Field Arm. The Center Arm is responsible for

Preservice training of community development workers

Third country training

Orientation of technical specialists

Orientation of policy and decision makers in community development

In-service training

The Center Arm is situated on the campus of the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture, Los Baños, an hour and a half ride from Manila. It has housing facilities for two hundred fifty men trainees and fifty women trainees. The Field arm is responsible for the lay leadership training and supervisory training of area operation officers; it may take over the last three functions of the Center Arm according to circumstances.

In addition to the Los Baños Center, the PACD office also had nine other smaller centers, which are local schools of agriculture chosen because of their convenient location and the interest of the schools and local officials in community development. They were used only during the training

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their own government or by an international organization such as ICA, U.N., or Colombo Plan. Community Development Training in the Philippines for Third Country Participants (Manila, Philippines: PACD, April 24, 1959), 6 pp.

of the second contingent of workers. The PACD has secured the use of these schools from the Secretary of Education through a Memorandum of Understanding running until December 31, 1961.

Evaluation and Research

In the Philippines, evaluation has been continuously donw at all levels: within the PACD Office, within the Training Division, and by the ICA consultants.

Research proper is undertaken by the CD Research Council set up in August 1957 as a joint project of the University of the Philippines and the PACD Office, following the recommendations made earlier in the year by Dr. Harry L. Naylor, then on loan from USOM, Iran. The CD Research Council has sponsored many worthwhile research projects, the results of which are made known to all the persons involved in Community Development with the purpose of integrating the research data with the action program, be it training or field operation.

TABLE III

FUNCTIONS WITHIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE NATIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Functions and Characteristics	Ghana	India	Philippines
Administration	Dept. of Social Welfare and Community Development	Ministry of CD and cooperation	PACD office
Training	Dept. of Social Welfare and Community Development directorate and principal CD officers	Ministry of Food and Agriculture Directorate of extension training	PACD training unit
Training centers	School of Social Welfare Regional rural training centers	Mussoorie Institute Orientation centers SEO training centers Extension training centers Extension education institutes	Community development center of Los Baños 8 regional centers (discontinued)
Evaluation and research	Dept. of Social Welfare and Community Development	Program evaluation organization Mussoorie Institute Lucknow Institute	PACD evaluation unit CD research council
Publication of periodicals	Advance [illegible]	Kurukshetra (monthly) Gram Sevak (discontinued) Panchayati Raj (monthly)	CD Pioneer (irregular)
Uniform	Blue shorts and white shirt (men) Blue skirt and white blouse (women)	None	None

Comparative Analysis

Community Development Programs

Although the three national programs aim to raise the standard of living with the greatest degree of popular participation, they have different emphases: literacy in Ghana, agriculture in India, agriculture and stimulation of local self-government in the Philippines.

Organization and Coordination

From the organizational point of view all three programs present a uniform flow of authority from the central level downward to the village level through the regular steps of the administrative hierarchy. Co-ordination at the top level, although provided for at the beginning, has proved to be more a theoretical than a practical structure: both the Advisory Committee in Ghana and the IDCC in the Philippines have ceased to operate.

There exists a difference in the concept of teamwork at each level among the community development staff members and the technical specialists. The Block personnel in India and the Philippine MCDC are permanent structures with specific responsibilities for community development activities within their administrative jurisdiction. In Ghana, the mass education workers have been quite autonomous in their operations and carry out extension programs for other technical departments only when they are requested to do so; otherwise, there is no permanent planning for teamwork.

Participation of the People

Among the three countries, local government reform is a common device to ensure not only participation of the people but also efficient local self-government. With reference to self-governing bodies, India and the Philippines present similarities and differences.

The similar points are:

1. the election of the council members at the village (barrio) level
2. the position of the community development worker as
   - coordinator and guide at the village level
   - executive secretary of the Indian Block Samiti and the Philippine MCDC.

The difference lies in the membership of the councils at the next two levels above the village. The members of the Block Samitis are chairmen of the village panchayats and a few co-opted persons. The situation is different in the Philippines where there are:

1. a separate Municipal Council with elected members who are not chairmen of the barrio councils;

2. a Municipal Community Development Council consisting of the Mayor, the Municipal CD Officer, technical specialists, and two appointed private citizens. At the second level above the village in the upper hierarchy, the District in India has the Zila Parishad, which consists of the chairmen of the Samitis and a few co-opted members, while in the Philippines a Provincial Board of three persons exists alongside the Provincial CD Council.

Personnel Training

The organization for personnel training seems to depend on the size and to a certain degree on the bureaucratic heritage of the country; in general, the larger the country, the more formal the organization for training.

The influence of the bureaucratic heritage is quite marked in the case of the PACD; indeed the American background of the Philippine bureaucracy explains the highly organized division of labor between formal "staff" and "line" units with clear-cut responsibilities within the PACD Training Division.

Both Indian and Philippine programs are widely known and visited; yet only the Philippine PACD Training Division has a formal unit in charge of third country training while in India, the organizational responsibility for getting visitors acquainted with the community development program is quite diffuse.

Community development in India has a broad scope, as a major part of the national development plan. Therefore there is the need of training not only community development officials but also other officials in technical subjects: industries, cooperation, panchayats. Such training courses are carried out by the concerned ministries with the supervision of the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation. Due to the great number of officials to be trained, community development training proper is organized into two parts: the training of higher officials by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation; and the training of the village workers by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

Evaluation and Research

The pattern of organization for evaluation and research is similar to that for training. The vast scope of operation leads to the creation of formal organs responsible for evaluation; however, whether evaluation is done in a meaningful way and whether the results of evaluation are utilized are important points which are discussed in Chapter XI.

The three countries, then, have the same community development objectives, although the emphases in the respective programs are different and are determined by different background factors. Two other elements affect the organization of national community development programs: the size and the bureaucratic background of countries.

CHAPTER V

ELEMENTS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRAINING

> The success or failure of national economic planning in the underdeveloped world depends to a significant degree upon the establishment of an effective system of public administration capable of implementing the economic, social and political reforms and policies which the development plan entails. By giving effect to these reforms and policies public administration not only implements the plan but also overcomes some of the suspicion and distrust which separate the government and the people in many of the economically less advanced countries and which, in the past, have often been responsible for the failure to evoke popular initiative and participation in the planning effort.[1]
>
> - William Kamp

In Chapter II, the role of community development in the economic and social development framework of newly developing countries has been described; also the importance of community development training has been emphasized. This chapter attempts to define the elements of a community development training program, which are then used as bases for an analysis of the community development training programs of Ghana, India, and the Philippines.

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[1] William Kamp, "Economic Development, National Planning and Public Administration," Kyklos, 13, no. 2, (1960), p. 172. The author wrote this article after nine months of research as a Fulbright Research Professor at the Bokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in Poona, India, 1957-58. At present, he is teaching at Brooklyn College, New York.

The basic elements in a community development training program appear to be:

1. The trainees
2. Training content
3. Training methods
4. Training materials
5. Organization and personnel for training
6. Provision for evaluation of training
7. Morale in training.

The Trainees

A comprehensive training program would seem to imply giving some training to all those involved in community development: from the governmental side, high executive and legislative officials who must acquire new attitudes and points of view; administrative supervisors; technical specialists; village workers; the members of the training staff itself; and, from the popular side, village leaders — both statutory and traditional leaders — and other village people: men, women, and youth.[2]

Community development aims at social and economic change, and all those who are either implementing or affected by the planned change should be trained simultaneously in order that the process of change may be smooth and effective in terms

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[2]Robert A. Polson, "Theory and Methods of Training for Community Development," Rural Sociology, 23, no. 1 (March 1958), pp. 34-42.

of acceptance of new attitudes and ways of living. As community development is "planned change," the emphasis of this study will be on the training of the most directly active agents of change; orientation for the administrative supervisors and technical specialists; and especially on preservice training for the village workers whose multipurpose role is quite new.

Training Content

In general, all training curricula are, or may be concerned with, knowledge, skills, and attitudes. It has been suggested that "change agents" —which would include community development workers — should have training in the following subjects[3]:

1. Conceptual-diagnostic training needed to recognize:

   The internal process of the systems in which they work, the structural conformations of such systems, and the interactions between the systems and their environment.

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[3]Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Westley, The Dynamics of Planned Change, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1959), pp. 276-279. Compare Lippitt's list with the following:
(1) Background knowledge, e.g., of human behavior, of society and of basic economic principles;
(2) Knowledge and skills applied to the program in its general aspects, including methods of working with people;
(3) Specialized knowledge and skills for particular services in United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Study Kit on Training for Community Development (ST/SOA/SER. O/24, December 1956. New York, 1956), p. 14.

Thus the community development curriculum must include a study of the (a) culture pattern of the society or, more precisely, of the community, (b) basic concepts of community development, (c) skills in diagnosis through such methods as interview, observation and measurement, and using reliable methods to collect, analyze, and interpret data.

2. Orientation to theories and methods of change

(a) Working with people (individual and group behavior: attitudes and relationships)

(b) Methods of work in community development:

community organization (problem solving, program development)

adult education

3. Knowledge of the sources of help.

This means an understanding of the interdisciplinary bases of community development of the (a) types of contributions of various sciences and professions; (b) ways in which these interrelated specializations can be used in working out solutions to particular situations.

4. Training in planning, in the practice of applying the knowledge of the previous points to concrete situations.[4]

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[4]Prof. Ronald Lippitt recommends the addition of this aspect of training to his categories listed in The Dynamics of Planned Change, Interview, April 19, 1961. Batten also stresses training in planning and team planning as a means of involving field workers, changing their attitudes, and improving their morale. He writes, "In the training of this kind the relationship the agency's senior officers establish with their workers

This type of training has two aspects:

a. The planning team should consist of all members of the community development team: the community development officials proper - both supervisors and field workers - and the technical specialists in various fields involved in community development projects.

b. Training in planning emphasizes the habit of conceptualizing planning, of creating a plan for action through weighing various alternatives concerning the use of resources,

- presenting the plan of the program for testing
- replanning.

5. Knowledge and actual practice in exercising skills in operation and human relationship.

The operational skills in community development include: knowledge and skills in special areas (agriculture, animal husbandry, construction, health, etc.), and principles of public administration, knowledge of

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is of first importance. If they regard the workers as subordinates trained and paid to receive and carry out orders, the workers will work for money or because they are hoping for promotion, but they will not necessarily be interested in the policy they are paid to carry out, convinced that it is good, and eager for it to succeed. .....

Field workers become more interested and involved in the work they do if they have a real share of responsibility for the work done - planning it as well as carrying it out." T.R. Batten, "Some Criteria for the Evaluation of the Training of Extension Workers in Fundamental Education Programs," Fundamental and Adult Education, 8, no. 3 (July 1956), pp. 95-98. (Underlining not in original.)

administrative procedures, training in the handling of records and the writing of thorough but concise reports. Skills in human relationship help trainees to integrate their theoretical knowledge and operating experience through learning by doing.

6. Orientation to the ethical and evaluative functions of the change agents.

The community development curriculum should include a study of social values involved in community development and an analysis of and emphasis upon personal motivations. This last point must be stressed in training; it will serve as a "moral anchor" to community development workers to stand against the expected and unexpected obstacles.

Methods of Training

Training methods may be classified into five broad types: classroom teaching, field work, observation, living situations, and fact finding.

Classroom Teaching

Among classroom methods, at least three major types can be distinguished: lectures, which may be followed by question periods; group discussion; and audio-visual methods.

Group discussion has many merits:

1. It takes in all the members; everyone is expected to participate and to make his contribution; thus trainees are

"on their toes," as they must be aware of the session's developments in order to be able to give their viewpoints when they may be asked to do so unexpectedly.

2. It fosters the natural spirit of inquiry which, as children, participants usually have, but which may be somewhat stifled when, as grown-ups, participants have to fit into set patterns of behavior. When well conducted, discussion meetings often close with unanswered questions; they may produce in the minds of participants a desire to continue inquiry independently. Learning does not stop when the discussion meeting is over.

3. The awakened spirit of inquiry leads to an experience of responsibility, supported by others.

> One cannot be told to be free. He must experience freedom to understand it. A free people must also be a disciplined people. And the degree to which they are free depends on the degree of personal discipline they have achieved. The discipline of effective group discussion can help to restore confidence and therefore foster the desire to accept responsibility.[5]

Group discussion gives a sense of freedom because participants are weighing the alternatives and deciding by themselves.

The merits of group discussion explain the success of seminars, "buzz sessions," conferences, and small group sessions as training methods instead of straight lectures which may not "involve" trainees to the same extent. A seminar or group

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[5]Paul Bergevin and Dwight Morris, A Manual for Discussion Leaders and Participants, (Greenwich, Conn: The Seabury Press, 1954), p. 10.

discussion presupposes prior preparation, developing knowledge which is to be explored and "internalized" during the discussion meeting. In addition, task-oriented study groups — as are the small working groups — may be more effective in producing the behavior and personality change than regular discussion groups; therefore they may be useful as training methods.[6] Group discussion methods may be used in general class discussion of case reports, problems, reports of work groups ("buzz" groups), committees, panels, symposia, and seminars.

Emphasizing the group discussion methods does not mean belittling the value of lectures. The choice of either method depends rather on the nature of the subject matter. In general, group discussion methods are likely to be more effective in bringing about basic changes in feelings and attitudes, while the lecture method may be most appropriate in teaching specific technical skills, or in conveying definite scientific information.[7] A carefully prepared lecture, illustrated by relevant audio-visual materials, may be a very effective way of imparting a great amount of knowledge in a limited period of time.

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[6]John H. Mann and Carola H. Mann, "The Importance of a Group Task in Producing Group-Member Personality and Behavior Changes," Human Relations, 12, no. 1 (1959), pp. 75-79.

[7]A. A. Liveright, Strategies of Leadership (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 27.

Field Work

Pattern.- Community development work is actual work with people. Community development also emphasizes manual labor, as village workers should be able to demonstrate new agricultural techniques and provide "first-aid" help in other fields. Thus field work is a "must" in community development training.

There are two patterns of field work:

1. Part-time field practice, or field work concurrent with classroom teaching.

2. Block or full-time field work in which the trainees function as they would as regular workers; the difference is that they are still trainees, they do not yet have official status, and they work under closer supervision.

One problem in field work assignment is the extent to which the local people are familiar with community development activities, are receptive to outsiders, and have accomplished physical improvements in community development projects through joint efforts. Areas of field work should be fairly representative of the environment — psychological, geographical, and cultural — in which the trainees will be operating on their own. Thus, while the villages around the training centers could be used as testing grounds for field practice concurrent with academic teaching, they may not be appropriate for block field work.

Nature of field work.- The following patterns determine the nature of field work: in part-time field practice, trainees are given demonstrations of the skills taught theo-

retically in class; then they will try to practice those skills by themselves. Begun simply, field practices gradually increase in difficulty. In block field work, the trainees reproduce the "real job" as nearly as possible. They will consult the technical specialists on difficult or new field developments which are beyond their capacities.

As the field work increases in difficulty, the supervision of trainees also varies in nature: being very close at the beginning, supervision becomes gradually teaching rather than directing. In field work, supervision involves regular conferences which also help to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses in the trainees' operations. For efficiency, trainees should do their field work in the areas where they will be assigned upon graduation in order to cut down adjustment costs.

There are various methods of placing trainees for field work; trainees may work alone, in teams, or may be assigned as assistants or understudies to regular community development officials.

Observation

Training by observation is done through study tours and visits.

Study tours may be organized either locally within the national boundaries or abroad, according to the types of trainees. In general, the purpose of local study tours is: for the visitors to gain more experience, greater knowledge, and new ideas; and for the visited to be given recognition of their

achievements, encouragement for greater effort, and a feeling of pride that their areas have been selected as showpieces. The impact of tours is heightened by nationalism when the tour is made in a foreign country; the visitors are likely to say to themselves, "They have done it; we can do at least as well, if not better."

Living Situations

A fourth training method consists of creating opportunities in which trainees may gain direct experience in group living; in addition to training camps of a few days' duration, the training center itself provides such a learning experiment through the cooperative sharing of operating responsibilities of the center among the students themselves. Thus trainees learn concepts and principles of human relations, group behavior in classes; they practice them, knowingly or unknowingly, in the group living situation of the training center. For example, they may form committees, such as mess hall committee, administrative committee, recreational committee, and editorial committee to plan extracurricular activities of the training center. Such relationships among trainees of different backgrounds require a certain degree of personal adjustment, of compromise and tolerance of each other's personal traits and viewpoint; group living promotes solidarity and greater understanding.

Fact-finding

The fifth method of training is training in fact-finding, a part which is not often properly stressed in community develop-

ment training; such training aims to give trainees an overall view of the villages where community development operation will begin. First-hand fact-finding will help the trainees to "diagnose" the problems encountered before a realistic community development program can be developed. Fact-finding may involve sizing up a village by getting basic data and comparing the data of several villages.[8] Fact-finding covers both quantitative methods, such as compiling statistics, and qualitative methods of ascertaining attitudes, opinions, etc.

Training Materials

Types

In community development, training materials include documents and audio-visual methods. These may include the following:

A. Documents

1. Textbooks on general community development literature

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[8] An excellent tool in making such a survey is found in: "FAO Agricultural Studies," Essentials of Rural Welfare, no. 27; Rome, Italy: FAO, 1953) 43 pp. The tabular analysis consists of three classified lists of elements, determinants or facilities, and indicators of rural welfare. The indicators are capable of qualtitative expression.

These classified lists are very thorough and could be used either in qualitative or quantitative evaluation of a community development program. Another helpful document is "Educational Studies and Documents," The Use of Social Research in a Community Education Program, no. 10; (Paris: UNESCO, October, 1954), 50 pp. A fact-finding checklist developed by the National Fundamental Education Center of India is published in The Indian Journal of Adult Education, 21 (June 1960) and is reprinted as "Social Education Checklist," in Fundamental and Adult Education, 12, no. 4 (1960), pp. 204-208.

2. Handbooks, manuals prepared by the community development training staff

3. Case records in forms of (a) published books;[9]
   (b) separate records from administrative files;
   (c) questions and comments on specific situations

4. Case problems. These differ from case records; they state the community development situations without giving the solutions to such situations which appear in complete case records.[10]

5. Outlines, questionnaires, etc. to fill out

6. Course outline and documents

7. Book of readings

8. Pamphlets and leaflets

9. Periodicals

10. Plays and stories to be acted out in role playing situations or otherwise

11. Other work materials

B. Audio-visual materials

Slides	Blackboard
Movies	Pictograms
Flash cards	Charts
Flannelgraphs	Puppets
Posters, cards, etc.	Radio
	Television, etc.

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[9] Two books each dealing with all the aspects of a single case are: (1) Albert Mayer, K. Marriot and R.L. Park, Pilot Project India (Berkeley: California University Press, 1958), 367 p. (2) John Bathgate (ed.), Experiment in Extension: The Gaon Sathi (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956) 239 p.

Books compiling collection of cases are, for instance (1) B.D. Paul (ed.), Health, Culture and Community (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955). 493 p. (2) E. H. Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), 301 p. (3) Clarence King, Working With People in Small Communities (New York: Harper Brothers, 1958), 130 p.

[10] Case problems may be reported by trainees themselves describing various situations they have encountered in their field work. In-service training seminars may be ideal occasions to collect such teaching material on cases where problems need to be solved yet cannot be solved because they do not fall within the "felt needs" of the local people.

Importance of Empathy as Underlying Principle

The effectiveness of community development training methods depends to a considerable degree on their "empathic" content; empathy should be the fundamental principle underlying all community development training methods. Empathy has two aspects: (1) the ability to identify oneself with others and put oneself in their places, with an accurate awareness of how they feel about themselves and the situations they are in; (2) the ability to see oneself as others see one and to be aware of others' feelings in reference to oneself.[11] People can more readily make the transition from reading or hearing about other people's problems to their own situations than from unfamiliar or abstract ideas. This means, for training purposes, that trainees are more receptive to ideas that are stated in terms of the personal experiences of people than when they are stated as abstract propositions.[12]

In short, the efficiency of training methods is determined by the degree of identification between the personages depicted in the training material and the trainees.

Methods with empathic potentiality.— The methods in which there is identification of role between actors and audience have been listed in a decreasing degree of intensity as follows:

[11] Margaret E. Barron Luszki, "Empathic Ability and Social Perception" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dept. of Psychology, University of Michigan, 1951), p. 206.

[12] Rensis Likert, Public Relations and the Social Services, a paper presented at the meeting of the Public Relations Society of America, Inc., Washington, D.C., Nov. 1952, p. 30.

1. Direct purposeful experience
2. Continued experience
3. Dramatized experience
4. Demonstrations
5. Field trips
6. Exhibitions
7. Television
8. Motion pictures
9. Still pictures
10. Recordings - radio
11. Visual symbols
12. Verbal symbols[13]

Both documents and audio-visual methods are important in the training of government officials; in the training of the people, audio-visual methods prevail, as documents are not of help to peasants who are still illiterate, and training camps of short duration do not lend themselves to the use of documents which require time for reading and digestion.[14]

In the training of the people, another effective use

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[13]Note taken during visit to the Audio-Visual Center of The University of Michigan by members of the Community Development seminar in June 1960.

[14]The prevailing role of audio-visual methods in training the people is illustrated by social change in Japan as described in Sidney Weinstein, "The Documentary Motion Picture as an Instrument of Social Change in Japan, 1949-51" (unpublished Master's thesis, Columbia University, Department of Sociology, 1953). The Reorientation Program of Japan was carried out by direct action and by mass media approach through documentary films produced by the New York Field Office, Reorientation Branch, Department of the Army. Those motion pictures fulfilled three purposes in the "reorientation" of the Japanese people:

- to educate by communicating accurate and useful information,
- to increase understanding and stimulate correct and desirable attitudes by portraying democratic processes in action which will help to counter authoritarian political, economic, and social ideology,
- to take up where the commercial entertainment film leaves off in order to give balance to the twisted impression an Asian audience often forms from films produced in Hollywood primarily for an American audience.

of audio-visual methods is found in the village festival, during which dramatic representations and traditional dances are familiar channels of communication which may be capitalized upon to convey community development ideas to the audience. In the drama, the same empathic principle of role identification prevails; yet drama has the advantage over simple role playing of possessing a local color setting, insuring a better audience participation, a greater sense of intimacy; it creates a more permeating environment of communicability. In addition, drama can emphasize both cultural values and instructional ends; carefully planned, dramas help to retain and bring out the traditional form while providing new themes and stories.

Organization and Training Personnel

There are several broad types of training:

1. Preservice training of village workers and administrators
2. Orientation by which the technical specialists are introduced to the nature, objective, concepts, and methods of community development
3. Continuing training, which may be carried on in at least three ways: supervision, institutes, or workshops; and refresher courses. Continuing training activities help community development workers to keep up with the latest techniques in their fields.[15]

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[15] Cf. induction, orientation, continuing training, the terms used in U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Bureau of Public Assistance, California: Guide for Training Analysis, January 1956, pp. 7-8.

Training may be also made continuous through the actions of both the training staff and the community development workers. Community development training does not end outside the classroom for the trainer and with the demonstration for the village worker. There is no use teaching villagers to boil their drinking water if one does not practice it oneself. Trainers should practice what they teach. Thus training is done informally through training courses and informally by example.

Pattern

The organizational pattern of training — centralization or decentralization of training courses — depends on many factors: the scope of training programs, the availability of training staff, and the ecology and size of the country.

Community development training is carried out by (a) either a unit within the community development organization itself, or (b) another governmental or voluntary agency closely connected with community development operation.

Source of Training Staff

In either type of organization for training, community development training staff formation usually has a "catch-as-catch-can" pattern.[16] Trainers are drawn from at least

[16] Jean Ogden, Conference Summary: Community Development Training, May 3-9, 1959 (ICA: Washington, 1959), p. 23.

three sources: colleges and universities, community development field staff, and technical instructors from specialized government departments. With time, training of trainers has become a regular common feature of training, as the quality of the training staff has an important impact on the success of community development workers and consequently on their field operation.

The provision of systematic staff training determines to a great extent the competency of trainers.

Provision for Evaluation

The fifth element of a community development training program is its provision for evaluation of the training program. Evaluation is the process by which the effects of a program are appraised. Following this, adjustments may be made in order that the goals of the program may be reached more efficiently. There are two types of evaluation: quantitative evaluation concerning the progress of program execution and qualitative evaluation concerning the effectiveness of methods by which the program is carried out. It is difficult to have a clear-cut distinction between the two types of evaluation in community development.

Evaluation, in order to be thorough, should be followed by research as to defects pointed out in evaluation. In research, problems encountered in field operation are investigated and alternative solutions explored, reported, and

implemented in training.

Evaluation is to be distinguished from research.

> Evaluation implies, and indeed in practice consists largely of measuring performance against a predetermined goal .... Research, on the other hand, is, or should be, an inquiry into the nature of the processes involved. Research does not accept predetermined goals against which to measure results, but rather inquires into what is happening.[17]

Evaluation of community development training may be done at various levels by:

the training staff;

the community development staff not connected with training;

a national evaluation agency outside the community development administration;

foreign experts sponsored by an international technical assistance organization at the request of the host government.

In the three countries surveyed, whether evaluation has been done in all these ways depends on the size of each country and the consequent scope of its community development program.

Morale in Training

A training analysis, in addition to covering the elements previously listed, should also take into account morale.[18]

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[17] M. Brewster Smith, op. cit., quoting Cora Du Bois, "Research in Cross-cultural Education," Institute of International Education News Bulletin, 28, no. 9 (June 1953), pp. 5-8.

[18] Batten diagnoses three main constituents of training: content, method, morale: A.G. Dickson, "Batten on Community Development," Review of Communities and Their Development, by T. R. Batten, Community Development Review, no. 8 (March 1958), pp. 70-77.

While morale in training depends largely on the personal traits of those involved and on their "commitment to the rural cause," some factors in administrative organization and practice, such as rigidity of administration, destructive criticism, and vagueness of responsibilities, do affect morale negatively. Some elements likely to promote good morale in training are:

1. Security of tenure of trainers.

2. An adequate system of incentive rewards; this point holds true for community development trainers as well as for all the government officials engaged in the community development operation.

3. Clear job descriptions are needed for each type of community development official in order to avoid conflict in responsibilities and overlapping functions; such job descriptions would help to make training more efficient.[19]

4. A congenial administrative climate, one which allows free flow of opinion and stimulative thinking.

5. An efficient system of communication regarding the changes in administrative policies and procedures.

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[19] An ICA adviser, Dr. Lincoln D. Kelsey comments,

> When you set up a training programme you are implying - or you are imagining - that you know what the job is. Someone else in your organization may be imagining another and you may run into grief. The operations division or the field supervisors may have in mind one kind of a man, and you may have in mind another, to do the job. You may find that you didn't teach your trainee to do this or that. If you are not given a job analysis it is well to draw up one and announce that this is the kind of person you hope to turn out unless you are given some other instructions.

Lincoln D. Kelsey, "Philippines - Some Problems of Training," Community Development Bulletin, 10, no. 4 (September, 1959), p. 74.

6. Above all, tactful supervision is likely to foster "esprit de corps" among community development trainers and workers.

Summary

In summary, the following elements in training are to be used for purposes of description, comparison, and evaluation of the three community development training programs covered by this study:

1. Trainees: types, recruitment, qualifications
2. Training content
   a. conceptual-diagnostic training
      - purpose of community development; basic community development concepts
      - knowledge of the cultural, administrative milieu in which community development takes place
      - skills for problem diagnosis
   b. skills for problem solving: human relations, group dynamics skills
   c. knowledge of the interdisciplinary character of community development
   d. skills in formulating and testing a plan for action
   e. knowledge and practice of the skills needed in the implementation of community development plans
   f. analysis of the general values and personal motivation in community development.
3. Training methods: classroom teaching, fieldwork, observation, living situations, research.
4. Training materials: documents, audio-visual material.

5. Organization and training personnel: types of training courses, organizational pattern, source of training staff

6. Provision for evaluation of training

7. Morale in training

CHAPTER VI

TRAINING VILLAGE WORKERS

> The key to solution of most of the problems facing our barrio people lies within themselves. They have it within their power to lift themselves out of the deep mire of poverty into which they have sunk all these years. What they need most — human as they are — are understanding and guidance. They need to be shown that there is a better life for them. They need to be convinced that this better life would be theirs if they put their hands and minds and souls together to achieve it.[1]
>
> — Ramon P. Binamira

This chapter deals with the core of community development training programs: the training of the multipurpose village level worker. The analysis will include the conditions of recruitment, the patterns of preservice, and in-service training, the curriculum content, the methods of training, and the training of women workers.

Definition of Role

The multipurpose role of the village level worker is justified by (1) the new "welfare" role of the government requiring a new type of public servant who actually "serves" the people; (2) the face-to-face environment of the rural

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[1] PACD, "Foreword", Community Development, The War Against Want, Hunger, Illiteracy and Disease (Manila, Philippines: PACD, 1959), p. 6.

communities where he works and where life is one fabric and is not divided into neat sections to correspond with the different governmental services.

"The bewildering effect of a team, each member of which is trying to indoctrinate the village in his own way, can be easily imagined. They (the villagers) will turn in relief to the multipurpose worker.... (In Ghana) the multipurpose worker, to use the medical analogy, is the general practitioner ... He may call in specialists in various techniques to help him in particular matters, but such specialists must work through him and in close conjunction with him."[2] In India, "the workers at the village level, otherwise known as the village level workers, or Gram Sevaks, constitute the most vital link in the whole chain of development functionaries today. They act as guides and friends of the rural folk, tackling all the major problems of their living and link them up with the specialists and experts entrusted with the solution of the problems."[3] Similarly, the Philippine barrio worker is "a worker who is not only proficient in handling people and in organizing them to action, but also one who can be the connecting link between the barrio people and the technical services of the government. This new type of civil servant should be a generalist or a multipurpose worker,

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[2] Du Sautoy, op. cit., p. 165.

[3] "Community Development," India Today (Washington, D.C.: Information Service of India, Jan. 26, 1960), pp. 5-6.

an extension of all the agencies of government engaged in community development."[4]

According to Batten, the village level worker is, in various circumstances, a consultant-resource person, a sponsor, an adviser-coach, and also a member of the village. Du Sautoy bestows upon him the label of "spark"; Jack Gray of ICA calls him a "first-aider" and social technologist. A more familiar but telling name is "jack-of-all-trades." Louis Miniclier, Chief of the ICA Community Development Division, sets forth the new role of the multipurpose worker as follows,

> Community Development provides an approach to the problem of poverty through a new kind of public servant who is trained to see the village as a whole — as a social organism with all parts interrelated. He is trained in the art and science of human motivation and organization and social action. He also carries with him certain elementary practical knowledge in agriculture, sanitation, engineering, and other skills which may help people move forward from poverty. Probably his most important task is gaining access to people's mind and guiding self-help actions out of which arise a sense of community and experiences in the democratic processes.[5]

In general, we may identify two main functions of the village level worker: (1) that of a social technician whose equipment includes group leadership skills, insight and warmth, a capacity for empathy or the ability to put himself in "other

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[4] Handbook for Community Development Workers (Manila: PACD Office, 1957), p. 12.

[5] Louis M. Miniclier, "Address at U.S. National Conference of Social Welfare, May 1959," Community Development Review, 4, no. 21 (June 1959), p. 1.

people's shoes" in order to understand their problems from their viewpoints; (2) that of extension worker for other agencies. The Bandarawela Conference on Community Development Training has recognized that

> Village level workers should be made to understand clearly that they are specialists only in Community Development — their extension role is secondary. The greater the degree they can utilize technical personnel and not perform these duties, the more effective they will become. The extension function is a temporary phase — one due to the dearth of technical personnel. As a country develops, this function should disappear and other problems, social and civic, should require more of the community developer's help.[6]

Ghana

Requirements

In Ghana the village workers or Mass Education Assistants (hereafter designated as MEA's) are employed under renewable annual contracts;[7] however, they may be dismissed with a month's notice.[8] The criteria of selection were:

Good knowledge of local customs

A warm sympathy for the illiterate and his aspirations

The ability to read and write in at least two dialects spoken in the region

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[6] Jean Ogden, Conference Summary: Community Development Training (Washington, D.C.: ICA, 1959), p. 21-22.

[7] Owen Barton, "The Ghana Training Program," Conference Summary: Community Development in Africa, March 17-20, 1958, Tripoli, Libya (Washington, ICA, 1958), p. 29.

[8] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., p. 168.

A keen interest in village development and a record of voluntary service to the community

The ability to convey a sense of enthusiasm to rural communities.

In addition to these qualities, applicants should have the Middle School Certificate[9] and be at least twenty-three years old.

Recruitment

Their recruitment, intensively advertised in the local press, was done regionally. Interviewing boards of local representatives headed by the Community Development Officer were organized for each region.

Content and Methods

The curriculum for Mass Education Assistants covers:

1. The Laubach methods of literacy.

2. Physical training and games aimed at developing teamwork and a sense of achievement while making the students alert and physically fit for the demanding rural work. Another purpose is that of public relations. Pyramid displays, for instance, could be used as an entertaining device to "break the ice," opening the village for community development work.

3. Building techniques.

4. Elementary principles of treating wounds, cuts, bruises.

5. Principles of community development and the democratic way to impart new ideas to villagers.

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[9]This is the equivalent of 10 years of school; the DSWCD is gradually raising the standard to high school education.

6. Village drama, with a single predominant theme; the details are to be filled in according to local customs and songs with a view to promoting local identification and participation.

7. The Constitution and governmental process.

8. Techniques of teaching adults, of handling visual aids, mainly the cinema van and the film strip projectors.

9. Relationship of the DSWCD with other departments and with the District Development Committee.

The degree of emphasis on each subject varies with the particular needs of the region as the training is carried out at the Regional level and organized by the Principal Community Development officer, who is the Regional Head of the Department.

This curriculum was used until 1955, but was changed after independence. It now includes Adult Education techniques, Literacy Methods, the use of Visual Aids, Environmental Sanitation, Food and Nutrition, Diet, etc.[10]

The training consists of three months of institutional training with concurrent field practice consisting of organizing literacy groups, building, carrying out village improvement work, visits of observation to demonstration farms, attending Local Development Committees' meetings.

> [In Ghana] it is considered essential not to move the trainee from his environment for training since it would lead to unreality; an effort is

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[10]A.I.K. Quainoo, Personal communication, April 19, 1961.

made to break up complicated subjects into simple components in which the lowest level worker may be drilled; and he is thus merely taught a series of simple techniques, relying for more complicated analysis on a supervisor of the officer grade.[11]

India

Requirements

About recruitment in India, Douglas Ensminger writes,

> The several states differed greatly in their methods of recruitment of village extension workers. A few states took the position that existing field personnel should be assigned to the training centers and, once they were graduated, should then be placed in the blocks as extension workers. The majority of states, however, wisely took the decision that young men currently employed in field assignments must compete in the selection process with young men who were outside government. Most states established a small selection committee, usually chaired by the State Development Commissioner with additional members including such people as the principals of the training centers and the State Director of Agriculture.[12]

The standard qualifications, methods of recruitment, pay scale vary greatly among the States.[13] The following measures are those of the Himayatsagar Training Center.

Recruitment is announced in all Hindi and English papers and papers published in the regional language; in villages by beating of drums. Applicants must:

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[11] United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, Community Development Group, The Social Training of Front-Line Rural Development Workers, First Draft, March 27, 1961 (New York: United Nations), p. 22.

[12] Douglas Ensminger, "The Ford Foundation Program Letter, India," Training for Community Development, report no. 100 (June-October 1958), pp. 4-5.

[13] See Government of India, Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Administrative Intelligence Unit, Details Regarding Recruitment Rules of Village Level Workers. 4 p.

be matriculates (high school graduates);

be between 18 and 30 years old; and

have village background or experience.

For veterans, the upper age limit is raised to 35 instead of 30.

At present about 2 per cent of the Gram Sevaks are graduates or postgraduates, 12 per cent undergraduates, 67 per cent matriculates, and the remaining 19 per cent below matriculation.[14] Gram Sevaks are put on probation for a period of time and made permanent thereafter, however there is no ready information about the length of the probation period prescribed by the various States.[15]

[14] V.R. Rao, Director, Administrative Intelligence, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Personal communication, June 2, 1961.

[15] In Rajasthan, the Gram Sevak belongs to the Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Service. This service covers village workers, gram sevikas, primary school teachers, ministerial establishments, field-men, stock-men, and vaccinators; it excludes the secretary of the Zila Parishad, the Vikas Adhikari (the Block Development Officer) and the Extension officers.

Under the new system, personnel procedures are transacted by two bodies with overlapping membership — the Selection Commission and a District Establishment Committee — for each district. The Commission consists of two persons appointed by the State Government and the Pramukh of the Zila Parishad of the district for which selection is made. The Committee consists of one of the appointed persons of the Commission, the Pramukh and Collector of the district. In Class IV Service covering the maintenance personnel: peons, attendants, chaukidars, etc.; all the persons holding positions classified in either of these two services become automatically members of the service unless they choose not to be covered by those Services (Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Service and Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Class IV Service) Ralph H. Retzlaff, "Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan," The Indian Journal of Public Administration, 6, no 2 (April-June 1960), p. 143.

Recruitment

Those who meet the qualifications are interviewed by the State Selection Committee. Those who pass that first screening test undergo tests at the Training Center by the Center's Principal and staff. These include:

1. An interview to assess the applicant's disposition for village life;

2. A written test of two parts: the first part consists of filling in blanks so as to answer simple questions about general knowledge; the second part is a memory test, describing the facts about a single-page story which is given to applicants to read;

3. A physical test to evaluate the applicant's physical fitness, aptitude, and willingness to do manual work, such as ploughing, digging a compost pit, scrubbing latrines,

4. A medical examination.

5. A discussion to find out about the applicant's character, resourcefulness, and maturity.

Trainees are given fifty rupees each month from which they pay for their food, clothing, and other miscellaneous maintenance expenses.[16]

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[16]Recruitment conditions vary greatly among the States. These procedures are applied at the Himayatsagar Training Center, as described in Training for Village Service (Hyderabad, India: Office of the State Development Commissioner, no date).

Content and Methods

In India, the initial Gram Sevak training course of six months covered the fields of animal husbandry, public health, village industries, cooperation, panchayats. However, from field experience grew the recognition that six months is too short and that more emphasis should be given to agriculture. A revision of training policy was thus made in 1956. Trainees were sent to a Basic Agricultural school for a year before they were trained in extension principles at the Extension Training Centers. Following a recommendation of the Study Team of the Committee on Plan Projects, the training program was again revised to integrate basic agriculture and extension principles into one integrated syllabus; the length of the new, integrated training course is for two years instead of one and a half years. As accepted at the Abu Conference in May 1958, Gram Sevaks who were then under training and had not completed the one-and-a-half year's course should complete the two-year course. Gram Sevaks who received a one-and-a-half year's training and had experience in field work for over six months should undergo a supplementary course of three months. Gram Sevaks who have only taken the six-month extension course, but who have at least two years' experience should undergo a supplementary training course of six to nine months.[17]

The integrated training program includes:

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[17] Govt. of India Ministry of Community Development, Annual Conference on Community Development at Mount Abu, May 20-24, 1958 (Delhi: Govt. Printing, 1958), p. 53.

1. A period of institutional training of twenty-one months during which classroom study and practical training at camp and in the field are carried out concurrently.

2. A two-and-a-half-month block field work as apprentice village workers. In this on-the-job training, the Gram Sevaks-to-be are given the opportunity to work almost independently, to test their knowledge and find out solutions by themselves so as to gain self-confidence before they come out on their own.

3. A two-week evaluation period at the training centers.[18]

The content of the training, as planned, covers almost every aspect of agriculture: soil manuring, agricultural engineering and crop husbandry, horticulture, and plant protection; also other subjects such as cooperation, panchayats, and public health. Initially, only 34 training centers were set up in 1953; their number was raised successively to 44, 75, and 93 at present.

The Philippines

Requirements

In the Philippines, the academic requirement for candidacy as a barrio worker is college graduation or two years of college and two years of working experience in teaching or rural development. Other conditions are:

Age between 21 and 44 years

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[18] United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, Community Development Group, The Social Training of Front-Line Rural Workers, First Draft of March 1961, p. 42. Another source says the institutional training is fifteen months: Govt. of India, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Study, Research and Training for the Community Development Personnel (New Delhi: Govt. Printing, Jan. 22, 1960), p. 18-19.

Willingness to live in the barrio and work with the barrio people

A good moral character and good physical health

Willingness to train for six months without pay and to serve the PACD office during a minimum period of two years after completion of training.

Recruitment

Candidates who meet these conditions are allowed to take a Civil Service examination; after passing this, their training begins. During training, they receive 30 pesos as monthly pocket money; after graduation, there is also a six-month probation period.

Recently the foregoing recruitment steps were changed in sequence; it has been found that candidates who pass the Civil Service examination specially set up for community development work do not follow through; once they are on the Civil Service register, they request to transfer their eligibility to other positions. The revised recruitment procedures evolve as follows:

1. Qualifying test
2. Six months' training
3. Civil Service examination
4. Probation

The qualifying test consists of three steps: entrance test, group interview, personal interview. The entrance test has two parts: a general intelligence test and a test on Philippine rural life and rural economics. It is planned centrally, given at different places on a decentralized basis, but

corrected at the Central Office by a Committee of Correctors. While the entrance test is administered locally by a Test Administration Committee composed of the PCDO, the MCDO as Chairman and Vice Chairman, and four or five BCDW's as watchers, the Interview Panel consists of the PCDO, the chief of the Training and Information Section, a trainer, and other staff members from the Central Office. Examinations are announced with wide publicity, through advertisement in newspaper, posters, and radio. The first revised recruitment entrance test was held on November 6, 1960.[19] For candidates from Moslem and non-Christian areas, the conditions were the same as those above, with the following exceptions:

High school graduation and four years of rural work could be substituted for college graduation.

Candidates must be born or have lived in those areas five years before applying for community development work. A special examination was held on April 26, 1958 for some 2,080 candidates; only 120 were qualified for interview, after which 60 started training in September 1958.

Content and Methods

In the Philippines, the six-month training period is divided into:

1. Two weeks of orientation during which trainees are introduced to the philosophy of community development, and are

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[19] Circular No. 14, Series of 1960, Revised Recruitment Procedures for Prospective Community Development Workers (Manila: PACD, Oct. 14, 1960).

given the opportunity to try out the physically exacting life they would have as barrio workers.

2. Sixteen weeks of basic Community Development training covering five topics:

Understanding Community Development

Role of Government in Community Development

Human relations and group dynamics as tools in Community Development work

Rural Sociology and Agricultural Economics

Practical skills

3. Six weeks at supervised field practice in which trainees go out to work in barrios by teams of three: an agriculturalist, a home demonstrator, and a Community Development worker.

4. Two weeks of evaluation summing up the field experience in the light of subjects taught in the courses.[20] As of July 1, 1960, the PACD Office has trained 1,574 workers out of the maximum 2,000 barrio workers needed.

In-Service Training

In-service training is the element which makes training a continuous process. Its purpose is:

To help workers keep up with the latest technological developments

To find solutions to the practical problems which the workers experience in the field and to revise the training program in those aspects, making it more efficient in anticipating the field conditions

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[20] The curriculum is now being revised.

To develop an esprit de corps among Community Development workers by bringing them together to share in and benefit from each other's experience.

Informal in-service training has been done regularly through meetings between field supervisors and village level workers. As part of the administrative routine, however, such meetings do not lend themselves to a real assessment of problems because considerations as service ratings or chances for promotion may deter the workers in speaking frankly, thus blurring the issues. Formal in-service training is usually done in three ways: refresher courses, periodical meetings or seminars, and study tours.

Ghana

About in-service training in Ghana, Du Sautoy comments,

> When the pupil has qualified for entry after his initial course, this is really only the beginning of his training. He will have to attend specialized courses for particular public campaigns; if he has shown aptitude in building he will need to have further training in this; and a yearly staff refresher course at regional level, at a time of year when the people are on their farms, or during the height of the rainy season, is very desirable.[21]

The yearly courses mentioned above are usually held at Christmas time. They cover: review of all work, discussion of field problems, restating of objectives, upgrading training techniques, and discussing the coming year's program.

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[21] Du Sautoy, op. cit., p. 962.

India

In India, not much information on in-service training of Gram Sevaks can be obtained. Of course, there are periodical meetings which are, as said previously, part of the administrative routine, and annual seminars which, however, are attended by a cross-section of Community Development officials and not solely by Gram Sevaks. During the first three years, 1954-56, the annual seminars were sponsored by the Central government and oriented toward the problems encountered in community development. Starting in 1957, the centrally organized seminars have centered on the subject-matter of training programs instead of problems. The first of such seminars was held in Kashmir in 1957 concentrating on agriculture in conjunction with the Indian Second Five-Year Plan's attempt to bring an increase of 28 per cent in food production.[22] Beginning also in 1957, the States have organized annual seminars of three or four days for the in-service training of Gram Sevaks.

The Philippines

In the Philippines, in-service training is an integral part of the operation, the more so because the preservice training period is relatively short, compared to those of Ghana and India. Formal in-service training seminars of one to six weeks are also being held every year or so.

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[22] D. Ensminger, op. cit., p. 11.

Women Village Workers

The presence of women village level workers is a positive measure implementing the saying, "Educate a man and you educate an individual, educate a woman and you educate a family." All three programs have acted to train women workers who, in turn, will reach the "builders of homes." It is only when members of both sexes and of all ages are equally involved that community development is likely to have lasting effects.

Ghana

In Ghana the place of women workers as staff members of the DSWCD was officially recognized in July 1954, although women's work had begun earlier in 1948 with the Togoland campaign. Official provision is made to reserve a one-third quota of the total staff membership to women workers. In the DSWCD, women have occupied the ranks of MEO, AMEO, and MEA. While men Mass Education Officers are in charge of districts, the women MEO's are in charge of all the women's work within a region, under the direction of the regional Community Development Officer. Groups of villages are chosen by their location so as to enable the women Mass Education Assistants to reach all of them conveniently from their residences, staying three or four days in each village. Women MEA's work in pairs. They choose their headquarters in one village adjacent to the two areas that each has to cover respectively; in this manner they work separately but still may have each other's companionship during off-hours.

Special training in Home Economics is given at the Women's Rural Training Center at Achinakrom. Trainees are given a training manual covering Health and Sanitation, Principles of Nutrition, Child Care, Home Decoration, Home Sewing Handicrafts, and Preparation of Visual Aids. During the course, trainees apply their new knowledge in practical projects ranging from surveying village homes to making pens for babies and devising measures to keep goats and sheep under control.[23]

India

In India the training of women village level workers called Gram Sevikas started in 1955 after the Bangalore Conference of Extension Workers of 1954, which recognized the home as the nucleus of the community and the necessity of relating community development activities to the home in order to ensure lasting results. Thus "Home Science Wings" were added to Extension Training Centers to train Gram Sevikas; beginning with eight in July 1955, they number thirty-five at present and will reach forty-seven by 1961. In the recruitment of Gram Sevikas, the "matriculation" requirement has not been rigorously upheld due to the small number of applicants meeting the required standard, coupled with the necessity of having trained Gram Sevikas.

In each Home Science Wing, training is done by a chief Instructress and two assistants; the course extends over one year. As rural home conditions vary greatly in the various

[23] Women's Work Handbook (Accra, Ghana: DSWCD, 1960).

TABLE IV

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF VILLAGE WORKERS

Points of Comparison	Ghana	India	Philippines
Age	23 - 35	18 - 30 (maximum of 35 for veterans)	21 to 45
Educational requirement	School certificate	Matriculation	College graduates
Recruitment methods	Interview by regional boards	Recruitment conditions vary greatly among states.	Entrance test* - intelligence test - test on Philippine rural life Group interview and discussion Personal interview
Training period	For mass education asst's. 3 months For asst. mass education officers ‡ Introduction (2 weeks) Academic term (11 weeks) Field work (11 weeks) Second academic term (11 weeks)	Academic training and concurrent field work: 21 months Block field work: 2 1/2 mons. Evaluation: 2 weeks	Orientation: 2 weeks † Academic training and concurrent field work: 18 weeks. Block field work: 6 weeks Evaluation: 2 weeks
Civil Service examination	Final examination for asst. mass education officers	None	Yes
Probation	For MEA's: Renewable annual contract For AMEO's: 3 years	Measures not uniform among states	Six months

* The revised method in operation since November 6, 1960.

† The Philippine training course for barrio CD workers is being revised.

‡ Training described in Chapter VII.

parts of the country, each Home Science Wing works out the details of the training curriculum within a broad outline laid down by the Directorate of Extension and Training of the Ministry of Agriculture. In addition to their training, the trainees also learn to manage the Home Science Wing, taking turns in running the household, cleaning, cooking, etc. Since the revision of the Community Development stages in 1958, each block has two Gram Sevikas who are supervised by a Woman Social Education Organizer.

The Philippines

In the Philippines, the PACD Office purposely omitted the training of women barrio workers at the beginning for various reasons, including the insecurity of the countryside at that time, and the irregular and demanding work schedule thought to be incompatible with the feminine physical constitution. "... On account of the exigencies of the service, only male applicants would be admitted."[24] Thus, although there were women in the municipal team as Home Demonstrators[25] and as members of the Rural Health Unit (nurses and midwives), there were no women barrio workers.

This policy was revised in 1958 after a reappraisal

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[24]Ernest Neal, et al., First Annual Report on The Philippine Community Development Program, July 1, 1956-June 30, 1957 (Manila: ICA and Philippine National Economic Council, 1957), p. 16.

[25]The number of Municipal Home Demonstrators was 63 in the first group of 327 trainees, 66 in the second group of 179 trainees, and 8 in the third group of 723 trainees according to Ernest Neal et al., loc. cit., p. 18.

of the security conditions and the recognition of a need to organize women constructively as they represent a rich untapped source of labor in the rural areas. The first Civil Service examination open to women was held in July 1958. At present there are over 150 women barrio workers serving as trainers. They hold CD-WAY Institutes (Women and Youth) introducing the barrio women and youth to their civic responsibilities, making the women aware of the multiple activities they may undertake to beautify their homes and communities. As of July 1, 1960, 23,469 women and youths have been trained in CD-WAY Institutes. The CD-WAY workers undergo the regular six-month training and a special additional training.

Comparative Analysis

Recruitment Conditions

The three programs have different approaches on the training of the village level worker, approaches which present the impact of the two factors previously mentioned, size and bureaucratic heritage. Regarding age requirement, India seems to be very strict compared to the age range of 21-44 set by the Philippines. However, it is quite reasonable if we consider the comparatively low average life expectancy of the Indian village people, estimated at 32 years.[26] Logically, the required standard of education for village workers is related to general level of education in the country as a whole.

[26] L.S. Kudchekar, "Training Problems in Community Development in India," India Journal of Social Work, 18, no. 2 (September 1957), pp. 67-77.

The Middle School Certificate required in Ghana is relevant to the educational output of Ghana where the main problems in education are lack of funds for building schools and lack of trained teachers.[27] The DSWCD is trying at present to raise the standard requirement to high school education.

At the Bandarawela Conference on Community Development training in 1959, it was recognized that "educational requirements in the Philippines are high because they have 80,000 unemployed university graduates with civil service eligibility. It has been found they are successful as barrio workers." Such a realistic measure should be credited to the Presidential Assistant himself; it is reported that at the beginning of the Philippine community development program, the late President Magsaysay was quite skeptical about sending out college graduates to the countryside.

> The President's temper was near the breaking point when he interrupted them (the Presidential Assistant and his friends, a senator and a lawyer) and stressed that high school graduates would be immediately assigned in the field and that college trained people were afraid to do manual work.[28]

Training Patterns

The three programs have a common training pattern: a period of concurrent classroom study and field practice followed by a period of straight on-the-job field training.

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[27] "Ghana's School Gap," West Africa, no. 2206 (Sept. 12, 1959), p. 707. The education standard required from Mass Education Assistants is being raised to the School Certificate level.

[28] Jose V. Abueva, op. cit., p. 641.

However, the ratio of concurrent academic and practical training over block field training varies among the programs. The Philippine schedule is most systematic with orientation and evaluation steps at the beginning and at the end of the course.

Methods

The Indian and Philippine recruitment methods are quite similar, with procedures such as written test, group interview, personal interview, although their sequence is different; one major difference lies, however, in the fact that the orientation period — during which applicants are exposed to the demanding conditions of village work — is an integral part of the Philippine training period proper, while it is included among the recruitment steps in India.

Concerning the creation of village level jobs for women, the three programs — as shown in Table V — have approximately the same lapse of time between the initiation of training for men and for women, although the PACD has purposely postponed the admission of women village workers.

Curriculum

The curriculum content of the three training programs is geared to the respective "point of leverage," the aspect of village life, in which social change is first induced. In Ghana literacy serves not only as the opening wedge but also the symbol of independence of the "equality of opportunities" available to all through the door of education. To understand fully the meaningful role of literacy in Ghana, we may borrow the following passage from an anthropologist,

TABLE V

INITIAL TRAINING DATES FOR MEN
AND WOMEN VILLAGE WORKERS

Countries	1st Training Date for Men	1st Training Date for Women
Ghana	1952*	1954
India	1953	July 1955
Philippines	April 1956	July 1958 †

*First training date after the renaming of the department as the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development.

†Date of Civil Service examination admitting women village workers.

> With the advent of British rule in the middle of the Eighteenth Century the position of the chief changed.... Even his religious significance was somewhat diminished as some of his subjects became Christians .... Foreign traders, missionaries, and administrators had to have intermediaries and assistants in the performance of their tasks. To become one of these, the African had to learn a new language, new skills, and a new role. The schools, operated for the most part by the mission until recently, provided the opportunity to learn these new things..... When the opportunities for power and wealth attainable through becoming attachés to the foreigners became clear, however, the mass of the people were anxious to send their children to the schools which provided the stepping-stones towards these new positions.... Chiefs and other men of importance sent their sons and nephews to England to be trained, since no secondary schools were available in the Gold Coast until the 1920's, and no universities until the 1950's.[29]

Thus in the Gold Coast, there was a great demand for schooling which was not met until the first elected Legislative Assembly passed the "Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education" as the symbolic landmark toward independence, the means provided by the government for its people to secure "knowledge of their own potentialities, of their village's possibilities and of their country's place in the world." With independence, the emphasis on literacy has seemed to lessen as technical subject-matter is added to prepare workers to meet the demands of self-help projects stimulated by the feeling of political freedom and national citizenship.

In India, the gloomy shadow of food shortage always lurks in the background of community development; so agricultural production has made its weight felt in the training curriculum, which emphasizes agriculture over other subjects.

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[29]Steven Polgar, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

In the Philippines, although the curriculum tips toward agriculture, great attention is given to human relation skills as barrio workers are meant to become effective agents of change successful in dealing with people, helping them to develop self-confidence and initiative. The over-all aim of the Philippine program is primarily change of attitudes rather than physical achievements; the farmers need to be helped in becoming politically articulate for only then can the Philippine society "maintain and preserve a more stable and democratic way of life."

In short, the village workers of the three countries studied are trained differently; but they have the common aim of awakening their rural fellowmen out of apathy and complacency and of showing them the path to a better life.

Factors Behind the Village Worker's Training

In the training of village workers, three factors seem to influence the conditions of training:

1. The demand and supply position in the employment market which determines the availability of trainees.

2. The general level of education which determines the recruitment standards of education and the amount of pre-service training to be given.

3. The value patterns of contemporary society. These three factors are closely interrelated as shown below.

Among the three countries, the common value pattern is a high appreciation for white-collar positions and a low esteem of manual ones.

In Ghana, in a study done a few years ago, students were asked to name the kind of job they hoped to have after college graduation and what they would like to be doing in twenty years. The answers showed that only one-fourth of the respondents had chosen scientific work and engineering as a long-term aim; "the prestige of white-collar jobs still remains in spite of the felt need for technicians. Their long-term aspirations are authorship, politics, the legal profession, and the top rungs of the civil service."[30]

In India the problem of unemployment among university graduates has been acute. This could have been alleviated by diverting available persons to rural work; however such a measure is not acceptable to them. Under the British influence, the educational system has reflected an intellectual mentality that glorifies in the white-collar type of work, a fact which developed from an identification with the former British lawmakers and givers; recently in inaugurating an Agricultural University in Uttar Pradesh, Prime Minister Nehru condemned the clerical mentality,

> "Babus" (clerks) had a job to do but to think that they are superior to those who work with their hands is wrong and this mentality must therefore be "uprooted, crushed, and totally eliminated."[31]

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[30] K.A. Busia, loc. cit., p. 429 quoting Gustav Jahoda, 'The Social Background of a West African Student Population', British Journal of Sociology, 6, no. 1 (March 1955).

[31] "Nehru Condemns 'Babu' Mentality," The Asian Student 9, no. 12 (December 3, 1960), p. 4.

He hailed the University for teaching the "gospel of dirty hands."[32] The reluctance of university graduates to do manual work and to live in rural areas was clearly shown in a study by Indian anthropologists among the holders of the master's degree of Lucknow University five years after their graduation, 1949-1953, and published by the M.I.T. Center of International Studies. In regard to willingness to accept various types of jobs of national importance, some of which are rural

> only about half (of the persons studied) show any inclination towards rural extension work. Even more negative is the attitude towards working as a village teacher. Only one-third would be willing .....
>
> Manual labor is no more acceptable even though it does not imply leaving urban areas. Under 30 per cent of respondents are willing to do manual work, a large proportion being positively averse to it. .... Only women differ markedly from the average. None of them were willing to do manual work. Most men, but not all, felt the same way.[33]

Table VI gives us an idea of the specific responses. In addition to the "value" factor, another factor which explains the lack of attraction of rural work for educated people is the sharp dichotomy between urban and rural living in India.

The urban-rural gap is not so wide in the Philippines, — as many visitors who have been to both countries have observed — yet in the Philippines, much the same spirit has

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[32] Ibid.

[33] D.N. Majumdar and S.K. Anand, Unemployment Among the University Educated: A Pilot Inquiry in India (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Studies, M.I.T., 1957), p. 35.

TABLE VI

WILLINGNESS TO WORK AS A RURAL EXTENSION WORKER, VILLAGE TEACHER, OR MANUAL WORKER

	By Field of Study			By Sex		
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	Total
Rural Extension Worker						
No	44	64	33	48	56	48
Yes, if within own state	25	21	41	27	17	26
Yes, even in another state	31	15	17	25	28	26
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	(151)	(39)	(30)	(208)	(18)	(226)
Village Teacher						
No	66	69	54	65	68	65
Yes, if within own state	13	21	15	15	19	16
Yes, even in another state	21	10	31	20	13	19
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	(134)	(39)	(26)	(190)	(16)	(206)
Manual Worker						
No	64	56	46	58	100	60
Doubtful	8	12	20	11	-	10
Yes	28	32	25	31	-	29
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	(144)	(41)	(35)	(210)	(14)	(224)

Source: D. N. Majumdar and S. K. Anand, Unemployment Among the University Educated: A Pilot Inquiry in India (Cambridge, Mass: Center for International Studies, M. I. T. 1957), p. 35.

prevailed. Education in modern schools is considered as a means for satisfying a purely personal ambition, largely at the economic and material level and not as an end in itself. Education and wealth are status symbols.

The educational system in schools should change if it is desirable that education prepare the youth of newly developing nations to face their duties as responsible citizens. Such a change in educational aims should capitalize on the cultural aspects of the country and at the same time introduce vocational programs of technical training. In that direction the three countries have begun to carry out positive measures— Ghana has established the Builders' Brigade[34] to channel the unemployed labor of high school youths toward the building of the country while introducing vocational programs in the schools at the same time.

In India, the warning about the inappropriateness of the school system was given long ago by Gandhiji. At the primary level Basic schools have brought a remedial measure, enhancing the value of manual work. The Rural Institutes and Agricultural Schools are also positive proofs of a change in educational goals. A few Indian universities have established courses in Community Development since 1958 and summer work camps where college students — as apprentices to Gram Sevaks — are introduced to the rural life as well as to the perspective of working in a rural environment.

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[34] For a description of the Builders' Brigade, see Chapter X.

In the Philippines, the Community School is accepted — since 1949 — as a means of amalgamating the local cultural heritage with modern knowledge. At the high school level another attempt in that direction is the introduction of the so-called 202 plan in which all high school students take common subjects for the first two years; in the last two years, those who have aptitude for manual work or cannot go to college for financial reasons are advised to take the vocational curriculum.

Vocational education is promoted in three ways in the Philippines:

1. Adoption of courses on manual training, domestic science, household arts, and gardening.

2. Attempt to orient the academic subjects in the elementary curriculum to economic activities and everyday life of the community.

3. Establishment of agricultural and vocational schools. However, the system is not very successful because of the lack of guidance counselors, lack of facilities for the vocational curriculum, and lack of interest from the students which result in heavy absenteeism in vocational classes.[35]

Obviously, the training of village workers cannot be studied separately from the national programs of school education and adult education.

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[35] Joseph D. Soberano, "Economic Planning in the Philippines: Ecology, Politics and Administration" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1961), p. 94.

CHAPTER VII

TRAINING ADMINISTRATORS AND TECHNICAL SPECIALISTS

> The administration should have faith in the objectives of social and economic development and social justice. It is the duty of everyone engaged in it to bear this ideal in mind in whatever he does. This means a radical change in outlook, in our way of looking at every problem coming before us. Broadly, a "law and order" State has to become a "Welfare State".[1]
>
> — V. T. Krisnamachari

This chapter is devoted to the training of administrators and technical specialists working at government levels between the national and village ones; the emphasis is on those operating at the level right above the village. Training here designates the process by which the stiff and aloof attitude of administrative supervisors and the competitive tendency peculiar to technical specialists could be overcome and changed into a more friendly and constructive outlook. Mention will be made of the training of technicians in their special subjects only when such a training is indirectly supervised by the agency in charge of community development as is the case in India.

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[1] V.T. Krisnachari, op. cit., p. 105. Sri Krisnamachari is Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Member of the Central Committee on Community Development of India; he also has been Chairman of the Annual Conferences of Development Commissioners.

Ghana

The Assistant Mass Education Officer (AMEO)

In Ghana, although the district has disappeared as an administrative unit, the work of the DSWCD is still organized on that basis for practical purposes; in each district, the MEO, helped by an AMEO, supervises from six to eight Mass Education Assistants (MEA's). The AMEO is the village level supervisor, working very closely with the Mass Education Assistant. His training is, however, different from the former's training. Following is the description of the training program for AMEO's and MEO's.

Recruitment.— The AMEO is either promoted from the lower grade of MEA or recruited directly from outside. In view of the promotion from within, every year a short refresher course is given to MEA's at a Regional Rural Training Center; at the end of the course, an examination is held covering English, General Knowledge, and Arithmetic of School Certificate standard (high school level); those who pass are academically qualified for the grade of Assistant MEO. Their preservice training as Assistant MEO's begins with their appointment.

Applicants who do not come from the lower grade of Mass Education Assistant are required to meet the following conditions:

1. Be at least 23 years and not over 35 years of age.
2. Possess the West African High School Certificate or

its equivalent or the Teacher's Certificate A and five years of teaching experience; they must also know at least one language from each of the following two groups:

(a) Twi, Fanti; (b) Ga, Ewe, Hausa.

Once admitted, they undergo a preservice training course which was initially seven months; it is now nine months. Their training is centralized at the School of Social Welfare in Accra. The course is open to both men and women. Trainees are required to sign an agreement to complete the training and to serve the government of Ghana for a period of five years after the completion of the course. Successful trainees are eligible for appointment to vacancies in the Department as Assistant Welfare Officers or Assistant Mass Education Officers, for which position the probationary period runs for three years.

They may be promoted to be Senior AMEO's. Their training consists of regular refresher courses organized at Panfokrom, forty miles from Accra.

Time Schedule.— The nine-month training period for AMEO's is divided into

1. Introductory course (two weeks)
2. Academic term (eleven weeks)
3. Field work (eleven weeks)
4. Second academic term (eleven weeks)

Curriculum.— The introductory course gives the students the current background on the social and economic aspects of Ghana and the problems of development as presented by various guest lecturers coming from other departments. The course includes the following topics: Economics, Sociology and Social Surveys, Social Psychology, English, Current Affairs, Group Work and Youth Work, Community Development, Casework, Probation and Delinquency, Social Administration, After Care Services, Audio-Visual Aids, Mass Literacy Techniques. The training content is general and common to both prospective social workers and community development workers except during the field work period.

Methods.— The instruction methods include lectures, seminars, and visits to institutional projects and places of interest. Once a week, there is a lecture on current international affairs by an expert on the subject. Audio-visual materials are also used during the course. At the end of the third term a final examination is held on:

1. English
2. General subjects: Economics, Sociology, Psychology, Social Administration and Current Affairs
3. Professional subjects; this examination is taken separately by Mass Education Trainees and Welfare Trainees.

Mass Education Officers (MEO's)

Recruitment.— At this level, direct entry from outside requires a university degree; promotion from within is

also implemented by three steps:

1. A refresher course is held by the School of Social Welfare (the departmental training unit) for Senior Assistant MEO's, who have had five or more years of service.

2. At the end of the course, a University College Entrance Examination is given.

3. Senior AMEO's who pass the entrance examination are given a two-year leave with full salary and tuition paid to study at the University College of Accra. The course has been operating since January 1956 with an annual grant of LGs.5,000 (Ghanaian pounds) from the DSWCD to the University. At the end of the two-year program, the trainees are awarded a Certificate in Social Studies, which is recognized by the University of London.[2] Du Sautoy justifies the necessity of the course:

> Some such break before promotion to the Senior Service is very necessary. It removes the psychological barrier which comes to those who are in the ranks one day and are senior officers the next.[3]

On another ground, university training is advocated,

> apart from the development of scholarship and the pursuit of learning for its own sake ... there is the general discipline of learning, the development of powers of judgment, training in social obligations, training in leadership and responsibility.[4]

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[2] "In-Service Training," Advance, no. 10 (April 1956), p. 6.

[3] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., p. 170.

[4] J. L. Lewis, "Community Development and University Training," Advance, no. 10 (April 1956), p. 1.

Methods and curriculum.— The Certificate of Social Studies syllabus covers Social Administration, Sociology, Political and Administrative Structures, Social Economics, Social Psychology, and Social Philosophy. The emphasis is on integrating theory and practice in problem solving. The program requires campus residence during six academic terms and a minimum of six months of field work. In field work care is taken not to place students in the part of the field from which they come.[5]

Orientation training of MEO's directly recruited from outside.— Mass Education Officers coming straight from the university are given a short course of orientation. Subjects covered are:

Adult literacy, teaching methods, and class organization.

The conduct of social surveys to determine the needs and the order of priority of such needs.

The organization and stimulation of village communities and the organization of communal labor; the importance and bearing of local customs on community development.

The use of visual aids in community development.

The course, both theoretical and practical, winds up with an interneship under experienced field officers before final posting.[6]

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[5]Phyllis M. Scott and Peter Hodge, "University Training for Community Development," Community Development Bulletin, 8, no. 8 (June 1957), pp. 59-65.

[6]A.I.K. Quainoo, Assistant Director for Community Development, DSWCD, Ghana, Personal communication, May 5, 1961.

Training for Extension Campaigns

In Ghana the regular technical work backstopping the community development activities has been done by the Technical Field Units, the Assistant Surveyors of which have a refresher course organized by the Survey Department; in addition, the Foremen of the Units attend annual evaluation meetings organized by the DSWCD's engineering adviser.

Regarding the specialists of other departments, their training occurs only when a special campaign is in view; such a campaign is organized by the DSWCD at the request of the sponsoring department about six months ahead of the actual date. An extension campaign is a deliberate plan to introduce new ideas to conservative people by interpreting those ideas through familiar events or by explaining them in terms of local practices; to use a familiar expression, an extension campaign aims to "sell new wine in old bottles" without discrediting the old type of wine.

In such a campaign, the DSWCD staff constitutes the active medium through which the technical specialists convey the intended information and furnish the supply and equipment necessary in the implementation of the above information. In Du Sautoy's words,

> An extension campaign must have a single theme and, while there may be several aspects of that theme, they must be all connected .... The receptivity of the human mind is limited and one must never forget the quality of one's audience, for the rural communities, among whom the extension worker is most commonly found, are notoriously conservative, and

> it is best to introduce new ideas one at a time and allow them to be absorbed.[7]

Extension campaigns always begin by a spectacular opening with music and a drama; the actors act as "hidden persuaders" suggesting positive attitudes to the spectators. In the tax-collection campaign, on behalf of the Ministry of Local Government in 1955, the drama featured a man who wounded himself in venting his anger against the tax collector, whom he had sent away unpaid. Taken to the clinic to have his wound treated, our man was pleased with the care given by a nurse. A conversation followed during which our remorseful hero learned how taxes met the expenses of public services such as the provision of the clinic of which he was now a beneficiary. The drama ended with our "enlightened" farmer paying his tax, encouraging indirectly the audience to follow suit. Other campaigns were organized in the same fashion for the Department of Agriculture against the cocoa pests in 1955, for the Ministry of Housing in 1956, etc. Extension campaigns are usually successful relative to the purpose for which they are promoted because they are carefully planned. Combining education with entertainment, they represent something new to break the monotony of rural life and to endow it with a novel viewpoint which may gradually materialize - through systematic follow-up work — into physical improvement for the village.

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[7] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., p. 138.

India

The Block Personnel

Defects.— In community development, there is always the administrative pitfall of measuring results by the number of projects achieved, a tendency which explains why some projects are carried out to the detriment of self-help and cooperation. The danger is greater when community development projects are part of Five-Year Plan targets, as is the case of India. The Ford Foundation Representative in India observes:

> In general, the entire block staff was eager to show visible results and therefore was perhaps too aggressive in setting physical targets and in pressing villagers to build roads, construct schools, pave village streets, dig wells, etc. There was only a limited sensitivity to the real objectives of the community development program: namely, to create a new outlook on the part of village people, to encourage and help village people to take initiative and to gain experience in working together towards solving their traditional problems of disease, poverty, and ignorance.[8]

Similarly there are many cartoons in Kurukshetra (a monthly magazine published by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation of India) with captions such as these: "Look, here goes our BDO (Block Development Officer) Sahib on the Jeep. I now understand why our foreign friends say that our program is moving fast."[9] "We BDO's are engaged in developing the blocks, yet some cynics have a feeling that we block development."[10] Training is a remedy to such situations; it is a

[8] Douglas Ensminger, op. cit., p. 8.

[9] Kurukshetra (July 1957), p. 5.

[10] Ibid. (June 1958), p. 682.

reminder, if not an indoctrination, to the Block personnel that the principles of self-help and cooperation which they try to impart to the people must be applied by themselves in working among themselves as members of a team and in working with the people.

The Block Development Officer

The block personnel consists of:

The Block Development Officer (BDO), the administrative head and nerve center of the block

The Block Technical specialists or Extension Officers (EO's) for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Health, Cooperatives, Industries, and two Social Education Organizers (one man and one woman)

Other auxiliary workers such as Stockmen, Lady Health Visitors, Sanitarians, Compounders, etc.

Ten Gram Sevaks and two Gram Sevikas.

BDO's come from three sources:

1. Transfer from the junior administrative cadres of the States
2. Promotion from the position of Extension officers
3. Direct recruitment from outside through Public Service Commissions

A substantial quota of BDO positions is reserved for direct entrance for which applicants must meet the following conditions:

Be between 20 and 40 years of age

Possess a university degree

Have a rural background with knowledge of agriculture.

The training of the BDO's and EO's is integrated as a means of promoting teamwork. Since 1958, the BDO's and EO's

undergo a common course of six weeks on the principles of Community Development at the Orientation Centers. At present, eight Orientation Centers are in operation, each holding five orientation courses annually; there is a plan to open nine more centers in the near future.

In addition to the common orientation courses, both BDO's and EO's are given job-training in their particular fields. The job-training course of the BDO runs for six weeks and covers different aspects of the community development program as well as administrative techniques such as program planning, organization, execution, and evaluation.

Job training for Extension Officers.— The job training of Extension Officers, although beyond the scope of this study, is nevertheless briefly described below because it is supervised by Section II of the Training Division in the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation. The Extension Officers in Cooperation must hold bachelor's degrees in either commerce or economics. Their responsibility is to educate the people in the principles and advantages of cooperation, to assist them in setting up cooperatives, marketing, warehousing, obtaining short-term and long-term credit from cooperative societies. Their training lasts eleven months; at present there are eight centers, accommodating 100 trainees each; the centers are managed by the Central Committee of The Reserve Bank of India. Extension Officers in industries are responsible for the development of cottage industries. The academic requirement

for entrance is a college degree in either chemical, mechanical, or electrical engineering, or in commerce or science. The training runs for one year, divided into a four-month stage at a Service Institute at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, or Madras and an eight-month stage at the Khadi Boards.

In addition to the orientation training in community development and preservice training in their special fields, Extension Officers are also given in-service training in twelve centers through refresher courses and study tours; such in-service training helps them to keep up with the technical development in their respective fields as well as to acquaint themselves with developments in other areas.[11]

The Social Education Organizer

Among the Block personnel the Social Education Organizer (SEO) has an important and controversial role: therefore he deserves particular attention. Social Education is to stimulate people to (1) a greater awareness of the advantages of the pattern of society as conceived in the Constitution; (2) a persistent desire for progress toward such a pattern; in short, Social Education is the stimulation of civic consciousness and the guidance to make that consciousness conducive to constructive actions benefiting the whole community. With "Panchayati Raj," the SEO has the additional responsibility of explaining

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[11]Government of India, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Study, Research, and Training for the Community Development Personnel (New Delhi: Government Printing, Jan. 20, 1960), p. 22.

the Panchayat system and its contribution to community development to the village people.

SEO's are recruited by Selection Boards appointed by state governments; the required academic qualification is a university degree. After admission, SEO's undergo an orientation course together with other Block Extension Officers, after which their job training begins at the SEO Training Centers. At present, there are twelve such Centers, of which six have two separate units for men and women trainees, two are for men trainees only, and four for women trainees only.[12] Of these centers, only one, the Nilokheri Center is operated directly by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation; the other centers are managed by voluntary societies and nonofficial organizations or State governments and financed by national grants-in-aid.

The curriculum emphasizes the promotion of community organizations, such as Youth Organizations, Farmers' Organizations, Women's organizations, Panchayats; and includes other activities such as training village leaders, organizing literary courses, and providing reading rooms and libraries sponsored by one of the above organizations. The training period is six months; SEO's who are to work in tribal areas undergo an additional training of three months at the Ranchi Center.

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[12] Ibid.

Women Social Education Organizers

Women SEO's now called Mukhya Sevikas should be, in theory, college graduates. However, due to the reluctance of urban qualified persons to work in villages, leading to a paucity of applicants meeting the academic requirement, the standard of recruitment has been lowered to the Intermediate level or even to the Matriculation level (Junior College and High School graduation levels, respectively), provided Matriculate applicants have three years of experience in social work.

Whereas men SEO's have their orientation training, together with other extension officers, Mykhya Sevikas take a combined orientation and job-training course of ten and a half months at the Mukhya Sevika Training Centers where Mukhya Sevikas of the Central Welfare Board are also trained.[13] Women SEO's supervise the work of Gram Sevikas in the villages.

The Philippines

Administrative Supervisors

In the Philippines, the Provincial Community Development Officers and Municipal Community Development Officers (PCDO's and MCDO's) are responsible for all community development activities at their respective levels of administration. In addition, there are also field supervisors located below the central PACD office and the provincial level.

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[13] Ibid., p. 15. The community development work among women and children is coordinated with that of the Project Implementation Committee of the Central Social Welfare Board.

> Field supervision was initially concentrated in the central office. With the growth of the organization to a staff of 1500 field men, authority was decentralized to six area offices under the direction of an area development officer and assisted by one regional field supervisor for each of approximately six provinces.[14]

All promotions are from within; at the beginning of the program, barrio workers who had shown supervisory abilities were given additional training on the principles of public administration and public finance, after which they were appointed Municipal Community Development Officers; in some cases MCDO's were also appointed Acting PCDO's.[15]

Orientation of Technical Specialists

In the training of technical specialists, the PACD Training Division has made an attempt to select trainees in proportion to the total number of each department. The course runs for six weeks; its content is a condensation of the human relations units of the Barrio worker's training syllabus, while the "skills" unit is eliminated because trainees are already qualified in their area of specialization. The course is held centrally at Los Baños. As of July 1960, 843 municipal officers have been trained.[16] The ICA Consultant has recommended the

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[14] Richard V. Bernhart, Chief of the Community Development Division, ICA/USOM Manila, Philippines, Personal communication, January 15, 1961.

[15] In 1956, the starting monthly salary of a BCDW, MCDO, and PCDO were ;50 pesos, 200 pesos, and 300 pesos respectively; they might have already increased at this writing.

[16] ICA, Community Development: A Joint Project of the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines (Manila: ICA/USOM, July 1, 1960), p. 2.

decentralization of orientation training on an area basis at first and, with the trainees' improvement in communication skills, on a provincial basis. It has also been found that the six-week period is too long for "key" men to leave their work. As a result, only "men who could be spared" have been sent to Los Baños; a further consequence is that, as they do not hold "key" positions, trainees do have the opportunity to execute their program in the new light of community development understanding.[17]

Comparative Analysis

In this aspect of training, the three programs present both similarities and differences. With regard to recruitment, Ghana and India both have provisions for promotion from within and for direct entrance from outside, while in the Philippines all promotions are from within; but the ICA Community Development Division in Manila is suggesting to the PACD "that the time may now have arrived where it would be desirable to introduce a few outside specialists who have not come up through the ranks."[18]

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[17]Robert A. Polson, A Report on The Training Aspects of the Philippine Community Development Program (Manila: USOM/ICA, April 9, 1960), p. 25.

[18]Richard V. Bernhart, loc. cit.

Ghanaian and Philippine Programs

The influence of British and American traditions is markedly brought forth if we compare the training programs of Ghana and the Philippines.

1. In line with the British tradition of Civil Service as a career, the DSWCD's training has provided refresher courses as means to implement promotions from within at each step.

2. In line with the British general education background of civil servants, the Certificate of Social Studies is quite general although geared to the political and social framework of Ghana.

On the other hand, the Philippine program is quite pragmatic. "All PACD workers ... are exposed to an identical six-month pre-service training program. This common background of training includes all but the original top cadre of four or five leaders in the program including the Presidential Assistant. In addition, as workers are assigned or promoted, they are given relevant in-service training at approximately yearly intervals."[19] Thus, not only with each promotion, but also with each assignment, additional training is given to meet the required qualification for the new position or task. Training for a special task is also done in the preparation for extension programs in Ghana; however, in the Philippines the common six-month course and the additional training at each promotion show the influence of American techniques of efficiency and specialization.

[19] Ibid.

Ghanaian and Indian Programs

Although both have the British bureaucratic heritage, the Ghanaian and Indian programs present, nevertheless, differences which are seen in the comparison of the Block Development Officer's training versus

1. The Senior Assistant Mass Education Officer's course in Social Studies to qualify for promotion to the rank of Mass Education Officer
2. The Mass Education Officer directly admitted

In the first case, the BDO's training is more realistic to the needs of India; the job-training course, geared to prepare the BDO to be an administrator, covers mainly public administration principles and the interdisciplinary aspect of community development; this is justified by the role of community development as part of the national Five-Year Plans as well as by the influence of American consultants brought over by the Ford Foundation. On the other hand, the Ghanaian curriculum for the Social Studies Certificate at the University College, Accra, is quite reminiscent of the general training background favored in the recruitment of civil servants of the British system. However, such a training is justified if one takes into account its rationale, the provision of an opportunity for promotion from within; in this aspect it is similar to the recent Indian provision of giving scholarships to qualified Gram Sevaks to go back to college.

There is not much difference between the training of the Block Development Officer and the Mass Education Officer, both coming directly from the university.

In short, in the training of administrative supervisors and technical specialists, the three programs bear many characteristics of their respective bureaucratic heritages from Britain and the United States. The Indian program, although having a British background, yet under the influence of the Ford Foundation's consultants, presents American traits of administrative efficiency as seen in the integration of the orientation training of Block Development officers and Extension officers, the separate job training for Block Development officers, and the training of Extension Officers in Cooperation and Industries.

CHAPTER VIII

TRAINING HIGH EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE OFFICIALS

> [The task of operating by democratic methods] requires a higher order of administrative competence of all those in key positions, but it also requires on their part a deep understanding, and appreciation, of local relationship and organizations as well as administration; a knowledge and appreciation of local village values as well as of physical and economic values; and a knowledge of how to develop and use volunteer local leaders as well as how to direct technical and administrative personnel.[1]
>
> — Douglas Ensminger,
> Ford Foundation Representative in India

Community development is new and unknown; it arouses political suspicion, administrative rivalry, and personal jealousy. Those in charge of the program feel the need of explaining the aims and nature of community development, clarifying the working relationships between community development and other governmental activities to those upon whom the success and continuity of community development depend.

Such efforts can be designated by the term "orientation," the subtle way by which cooperation and understanding are being sought. Orientation has a quasitactical implication of winning by presentation of problems, discussion, and persuasion. A new program must be understood to be accepted. This chapter describes the efforts made to earn the goodwill of high executive and legislative officials toward the community development program.

[1] Douglas Ensminger, "The Ford Foundation Program Letter, India," Significant Programs Emerging, report no. 69, January 21, 1956, p. 8.

Ghana

The DSWCD vs. Other Departments

In Ghana, one of the problems encountered in the growth of the DSWCD has been "to convince the informed public and the other Departments of government that, despite its outward glamour, community development is fundamentally sound and worthwhile .... Ultimately only time and tactful relations can remove the initial suspicion of the more orthodox Departments."[2]

The DSWCD vs. Politicians

However, in Ghana, we may safely say that rural development does not need to fight for its life; mass education is the symbol of independence, right to literacy is the most elementary right of the people. The DSWCD has always publicized its activities by inviting — on Literacy Days — Cabinet members, members of the Legislative Assembly, department heads, Chief Regional Officers, and other civic personalities to give speeches and to distribute literacy certificates to students and merit badges to voluntary literacy leaders. The DSWCD does not lack political support for its activities as all legislators naturally wish to have Mass Education in their constituencies.[3]

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[2] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit., p. 187.

[3] For examples of pressure from politicians, see Steven Palgar, "Akan Clerks" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Ahthropology, University of Chicago, 1956), p. 56. The dissertation is on the role of social change in Ghana; a large part

The DSWCD's Senior Service

As reported, the DSWCD has little difficulty in getting support from high executive and legislative officials. As for the senior officials of the Department, their training is quite informal. The Senior Service of the DSWCD consists of the Directorate: the Director, Deputy-Director, and the three Assistant Directors. At this level, training is done by observation study tours abroad through UNESCO fellowships and similar ad hoc study courses. A regular training feature is the annual course jointly sponsored since 1955 by the Department and the University College Institute of Education. Each year the theme varies; in 1955, it was "In-Service Training," in 1956: "Organization and Administration of Social Services," in 1959: "Visual Aids." The course is conducted by means of:

1. Formal lectures by the University College staff and the staff of other departments followed by group discussions.

2. Discussion of papers written by members.[4] Sometimes, the course's activities include also observation trips to different projects.

The proceedings of the Senior Annual Study Course — as it is called — are published for internal circulation.[5]

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deals with the role of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development and its field workers as seen from an anthropologist's point of view.

[4] A written paper was not always required.

[5] The lectures and papers of the first Senior Annual Study Course are published in a booklet: L.J. Lewis (ed.) Perspectives in Mass Education and Community Development (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1955). 101 p.

India

The Mussoorie Institute

As an obvious effect of the number of trainees to be handled, India unlike Ghana has a formal training establishment for the training of the administrative and technical personnel above the block level and for members of the Parliament (MP's) and members of Legislative Assemblies (MLA's): the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development. The Institute has been operating since June 1958. It has two wings:

The Study Wing, which holds orientation courses of four to five weeks, prepares community development literature to be circulated to field members, and guides the training program of Training Centers.

The Research Wing, which, as its name indicates, carries on research on problems of community development. State governments nominate the persons to be trained from the ranks of:

1. Development Commissioners, Commissioners of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputies to the government
2. Additional, Joint, Deputy, and Assistant Development Commissioners
3. Heads of Technical Departments, Regional or Range Officers of Technical Departments
4. Collectors
5. Senior District Planning Officers and Senior Subdivisional Officers
6. Nonofficials (MLA's and MP's).

Central government officials and legislators are invited to come by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation. There are about thirty-five trainees in each course.

The training methods consist of:

Individual presentation of community development problems encountered by members in their respective positions;

Intensive group study of chosen community development topics;

Lectures by guest speakers;

Talks by some participants who possess firsthand knowledge on special topics, and

Book review program on a selection of books on Sociology, Public Administration, Public Finance, and Community Development.[6]

Study Camps

In addition to training courses, study camps are also a means to acquaint legislators with the problems and progress of community development. A study camp was held for the first time during the five days from January 29 to February 4, 1959, for the members of the Informal Consultative Committee on Community Development of the Central Parliament. Participants enjoyed the frank exchange of ideas among themselves

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[6]Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development, Report on Activities 1959 (Dehra Dun: Vanguard Press, no date), 16 pp.

so that the camp therefore set a precedent of understanding and success which would lead to the organization of more such camps.[7]

The Philippines

Community Development Orientation Sessions

Whereas in India the Central Institute of Mussoorie reports on the training of the key personnel in terms such as the election of trainees, the PACD office writes, "The word 'training' would be resented. Nevertheless, there is a need that this is a fact. The problem is how to establish a training program called by some acceptable name. It would seem that orientation would be best under the circumstances."[8] Community development orientation, however, takes different forms according to the level of hierarchy of officials and the importance of occasions. For members of Councils at the ministerial, interdepartmental, provincial, district, or municipal levels, community development orientation takes the form of briefing sessions coming up after other items of the meetings' agendas. For Cabinet members and legislators and councils of new areas

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[7] Govt. of India, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Dept. of Report Community Development, Report 1959-60 (New Delhi: Govt. of India Printing, March 9, 1960), p. 25.

[8] Ramon P. Binamira, Training Community Development Personnel and Voluntary Leaders. A paper prepared for the Six-Country Seminar on Planning and Administration of National Community Development Programs, Bangkok, Thailand, February 15, 1959 (Manila: PACD, 1959), p. 27.

to be opened up for community development work, orientation is done through special briefing sessions performed by the PACD himself to give weight to the occasion.

Observation Tours

Observation tours are also a means of letting the physical achievements speak for themselves for the community development cause. In fact the Philippine community development program bwgan with an observation tour abroad to India, Pakistan, and Thailand; the tour was jointly sponsored by the United States ICA and the United Nations. The group, led by the Presidential Assistant, included one senator, two governors, five other members of the PACD Office, and three senior officials of three other government departments: Health, Agriculture, and Social Welfare Administration. For one month, from November 14 to December 14, 1956, the group studied various aspects of the Community Development programs of the host countries, including:

> Methods by which interdepartmental coordination was effected between government departments as well as between the official and private agencies at various levels
>
> Training methods
>
> Technical methods that might be adapted to the Philippine Community Development Program[9]

Community Development Seminars

Another effective way to get across community development principles to high officials in a short period of time

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[9] An Account of A Study Tour of India and Pakistan by Philippine Community Development Officials, Nov. 14-Dec. 14, 1956 (Manila: PACD, 1956).

is the seminar. It provides officials of different working experiences with the opportunity to come together for a short but intensive period of three or four days. To date, the PACD has held six four-day working seminars for 1,102 provincial officials including governors — January 10-13, 1957, and January 17-20, 1957, in Baguio City for the Northern Region and Cebu City for the Southern Region, respectively.

The trip to India and Pakistan by twelve Philippine high-ranking officials was made five years ago; during this period the Philippine community development program has achieved remarkable progress; it has become itself a showpiece as proved by the existence of a third-country training unit in the PACD Office Training Division, in charge of accommodating foreign trainees.

Comparative Analysis

Trainees

In the orientation of high executive officials and legislators to the philosophy and progress of the community development programs, the three countries have totally different approaches. In Ghana the compactness of the country does not justify having "training" courses. Ghana is small enough for most persons of influence to know one another and to seek private discussions during which to clarify any misunderstandings. In addition, self-help projects are popular with the politicians. Although there are discussions and

briefing sessions, such sessions are not considered "formal training"; it would be regarded as a loss of prestige for the politicians if civil servants of the DSWCD were to give formal training to their political masters.

In India the large number of State and Central Officials who are to be introduced to the concepts of community development requires a different type of organization. The Central Institute of Study and Research of India organizes common courses for all government officials above the Block level, from high-ranking administrators to technical specialists and legislators of both the Central and State governments; with the coming of "democratic decentralization," the chairmen of the Zila Parishas (District Assemblies) also are to attend community development training courses at the Institute along with the above officials. The advantage of bringing together people with various experiences in the policy-making and operating phases of community development is the two-dimensional understanding of mutual roles: a vertical one among the central and state officials; a horizontal one among legislators, administrators, and technical specialists. That the course membership includes all types of officials does not mean, however, that there is an absence of politics in the Indian community development program, as is demonstrated in the following passage on the Program Evaluation Organization's reports,

> Each member of parliament received all PEO [Program Evaluation Organization] publications. Each member of parliament may question before the whole body, any minister — confronting him with data, charges, accusations, demanding explanations. Similarly, the execution of development programs

> in the several states is subject to vigorous overhauling in the state legislative assemblies. So the PEO reports can be and have been used as hot ammunition in political discussions. Community Development could not work in silence or in privacy faced with constant exposure to argumentative citations of PEO reports in active public discussion....[10]

On the other hand, orientation of policy-makers is a necessity in the Philippines where the system of checks and balances has been developed to some extent; often, among the recommendations of community development seminars, is that of "getting members of Congress interested in and securing their active support to community development."[11] In the Philippines, as in most newly developing countries, the gulf is wide between the "have's" and the "have-not's"; the Chinese excluded, economic power is coterminous with political power among Filipinos and every move which might alter the status quo is subject to scrutiny by vested interests. In that social milieu community development in the Philippines aims ultimately "to give meaning to social justice and translate it into reality."[12]

After President Magsaysay's death, the following

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[10] Howard Beers, "The Ford Foundation Program Letter India," Program Evaluation in India, report no. 108 (May 1, 1959), p. 13. This report is published in Rural Sociology, 25, no. 4 (December 1960), pp. 431-441; also as "Evaluation in Community Development - The Indian Experiment," International Review of Community Development, no. 5 (1960), pp. 203-209.

[11] PACD, Annual Report (July 1, 1957 - June 30, 1958), p. 53.

[12] PACD, "Policy Statement," Community Development: The War Against Want, Hunger, Illiteracy and Disease (Manila, PACD, 1959), p. 3.

proposals proved the political significance of community development in the Philippines: (1) a petition signed by sixty Congressmen to replace the Presidential Assistant by "a more mature man of proven competence"; (2) a proposal to create a Department of Community Development, an attempt to gain control over the appointment of the Director; (3) the passage by both houses of a rider to the 1958 Appropriation Act stipulating that "no expenditure of funds allocated to the community development projects shall be made within 120 days immediately prior to the day on which general elections are to be held."[13]

> Political interest in the community development program has continued unabated but with a new switch, the Congress has steadily increased its support to the program as evidenced by sizeable annual increase in appropriations to it. The funds have not always been available in the amounts appropriated, but the Congressmen have supported the project. Currently sixty of the 109 Congressmen of the Lower House have co-authored a bill providing permanent status to community development in the creation of a Philipine Administration for Community Development (PACD). There is every likelihood this bill will become law and the present Presidential Assistant be made the first Administrator.[14]

Methods

The recognition of political factors as dormant obstacles in the Philippine community development program has emphasized the meaning of the 1956 study tour abroad made by twelve high-ranking Filipino officials. The PACD office has

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[13] Ernest E. Neal, "Community Development in the Philippines," Community Development Review, 6 (September 1957), p. 41.

[14] Richard V. Bernhart, Personal communication, April 3, 1961.

summarized in these terms, the situation which had prevailed before its creation:

> ... Soon after the late President Magsaysay assumed the highest office in the land, many government agencies enthusiastically directed their activities to the rural areas in line with President Magsaysay's pledge to improve the lot of the barrio people. However, these agencies undertook individual and unintegrated community development endeavors resulting in many cases in duplication of activities and overlapping of functions. Confusion and jealousies arose. These, in great measure, accounted for the distressingly slow pace at which the rural development had moved, and in time projected to the fore the need for the integration and coordination at all levels of all government agencies engaged in rural betterment work.[15]

The psychological outcome of the tour was that the representatives of the Bureau of Agricultural Extension, the Social Welfare Administration, and the Bureau of Health "were successful in securing the participation of their agencies in supporting the community development program after their trip to India and Pakistan."[16] That tour illustrated eloquently the far-reaching effect of study tours as training methods. In general, the outcome of study tours is: for the visitors, to gain more experience, greater knowledge, and new ideas; for the visited, to be given a due recognition of their achievements, an encouragement to greater efforts, and a feeling of justifiable pride that their area has been selected as a showpiece. The impact of tours is heightened by nationalism when

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[15] PACD, Annual Report July 1, 1957-June 30, 1958, p. 46.

[16] Ernest E. Neal et al., The Philippine Community Development Program, July 1, 1956-June 30, 1957, op. cit., p. 11.

the tour is made in a foreign country; the visitors say to themselves, "They have done it; we must at least do as well, if not better."[17]

Again the Philippine methods of training illustrate the impact of American bureaucratic heritage: specialization and pragmatism. Officials of various status levels are introduced to community development principles in specific ways: special briefing sessions by the PACD himself, regular briefing sessions, seminars, and study tours. Throughout the planning of these there is a sense of strategy and a deliberate psychological timing.

On the other hand, the British pattern of general education is found in the Mussoorie course for key officials:

1. The general content of the course: as trainees come from various levels of administrative hierarchy, the course content must be general and not geared to meet the training needs of any specific category of officials.

2. The academic nature of the course: although it lasts from four to five weeks, there is no study tour included in the curriculum.

3. The fact - common with the Ghanaian program, - that participants have to write a paper on their specific problems[18] encountered in community development, which they will present

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[17] I experienced the same emulative feeling during my field observation in community development in Puerto Rico in 1959.

[18] A paper is not always required in Ghana.

orally to the group.

The Indian program has also presented many training features similar to those practiced in the Philippines: the simultaneous use of work groups (called syndicates in India) and plenary sessions in discussions. The adoption of such seminar techniques is due partly at least to the advice of Ford Foundation consultants.[19]

Length

While training content and methods depend largely on political factors and the bureaucratic tradition, the length of courses is conditioned by the number of trainees. In India, possibly the small coverage of courses (thirty-five in each course) compared to the vast number of people to be trained — members of Parliament, state legislators, state administrators, technical specialists of the Districts and States, chairmen of the District Assemblies — has meant a slow rate of rotation in training. This, in turn, explains why the course runs from four to five weeks because it will be a long time before the same trainees can be reached again. On the contrary, in the Philippines, briefing sessions to Cabinet members and legislators are done by the PACD himself as the need arises, whereas seminars for governors are held more or less regularly every year; also in Ghana, annual courses are held for the DSWCD senior officials.

[19] For instance: the Ford Foundation brought to India Dr. Paul Leagens of Cornell University, an Extension Methods training consultant, for eighteen months starting June, 1958. Douglas Ensminger, op. cit., p. 19.

In conclusion, the community development training of high-ranking officials may be considered the barometer of the role of community development on the national scene. In Ghana, there is no need for a formal training course for Cabinet members and legislators due to several factors, which include the compact size of the country and the keen interest of politicians in self-help projects. In India, apparently all categories of officials are trained together because it is recognized that community development is a common concern of all officials, an integral part of the national Five-Year Plans, which must bring a satisfactory answer to the vital question of food shortage. In the Philippines, the various methods of "orientation" for high officials and legislators suggest the extent to which political motives play a role in community development programs.

CHAPTER IX

TRAINING THE TRAINING STAFF

> Many of us must unlearn our time-worn training methods and accept new methods and procedures. For some, this is a drastic change, but one that proves worth the effort. After all, if those concerned with training cannot accept change, can they rightly expect others to, or are they qualified to teach the fundamentals of change?[1]
>
> — William E. Davis
> CDD/ICA/Washington

Staff Training in Ghana

In Ghana, when mass education first started, the team members conducting the literacy campaigns were borrowed from and returned to other departments once the campaigns were over. Actual training of a permanent mass education staff started when the need to carry out follow-up courses was recognized. In 1952, an American citizen, W. L. Shirer, joined the Senior staff as a community development officer in the North where he had worked before. A former missionary, he felt that community development work was the way by which he could help to improve both the spiritual and material well-being of the people. Another missionary, Brother Aidan, was also temporarily released by the Roman Catholic Mission as

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[1] Jean Ogden, op. cit., p. 4, excerpt from speech introducing the subject at the Conference on Community Development Training, Bandarawela, Ceylon, May 3-9, 1959.

mass education officer.[2] The formation of the training staff is explained by Du Sautoy as follows:

> In regard to training those who start a training program we have again adopted an empirical approach. It was necessary, in the early days, to recruit senior staff who had shown aptitude for training staff in other spheres and give them the community development approach. In other words, to start a training program you may have to import outsiders; when it is already going you can pick out new staff trainers from among those who have been trained in the service and show aptitude for training others. This is not so difficult in a community development department when one of the professional needs of staff is to be capable of training the public in new ideas. There is, therefore, little difficulty in transforming good field workers into good staff trainers.[3]

Other trainers came from international or regional technical assistance organizations, among which UNESCO is very active in Ghana, where the emphasis of community development is on mass education and literacy. Three UNESCO experts were sent to Ghana in 1954 and 1956 to help in training the personnel of the Vernacular Literature Bureau (now called Ghana Bureau of Languages) in editing, producing, and distributing the bureau's publications.[4] Although such training relating to the editorial and publishing of reading materials in the vernacular language is not directly concerned with the training staff of the DSWCD, it was part of the efforts following up the mass education activities. The training of the mass education staff on the preparation of visual aids was

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[2]Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit. p. 54.

[3]Du Sautoy, Personal communication, October 10, 1960.

[4]Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, op. cit. p. 97.

done by Norman Spurr, also from UNESCO. The training of the women mass education assistants in Home Economics was the responsibility of an American Home Economics graduate under an agreement between the Ford Foundation and Haverford College. Later, the training was continued under FAO specialists. The British Red Cross, Overseas Division, cooperated with the DSWCD in training and supervising the mass education staff in health and sanitation. The International Voluntary Service in England also provided a nurse; an appeal has been made to UNICEF for aid in the women's work. Under the technical assistance program of the "Commission de Co-operation Technique en Afrique" (CCTA), a French expert was provided by the French government, who gave training courses for trade instructors.[5]

The training of technical specialists of the Mechanical Field Units has been undertaken by seven U. S. engineers under the ICA-Near East Foundation contract already mentioned. Along with the field of village construction, in 1957 an

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[5]The "Commission de Cooperation Technique en Afrique au Sud du Sahara" (CCTA) was a regional technical assistance in planning. It was formed in January 1950 by an Intergovernmental agreement signed in London on January 18, 1954. Its members are Belgium, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, France, Ghana, Liberia, Portugal, Union of South Africa, and Britain. Its objectives are to ensure technical cooperation between territories for which member governments are responsible in Africa South of Sahara. It meets at least once a year and has a joint secretariat with the "Consul Scientifique en Afrique." It is administered by a Secretary General and a Secretary for FAMA (Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara). It has two seats: London, England, and Bukavu, Africa. Ghana has recently left the CCTA: Du Sautoy, Personal communication, April 3, 1961 .

architect sent by the International Voluntary Service in England was instrumental in the operation of the technical Advice Center of the Western Region, the center serving as the clearing house for the mechanical units, approving the plans for the major projects, and producing type plans.[6]

Community Development Staff Training in India

In India, technical assistance comes from two separate organizations: the Ford Foundation and ICA. How they began in India is told in Chapter III.

The U. S. Technical Co-operation Mission

The U.S. help in India has been in the form of commodity equipment: jeeps to get technicians out to villages; mass media communications to reach as many as possible; road-building equipment. The equipment consisting of the two types of items provided by the U.S. Technical Cooperation Mission (TCM) amounted to U.S. $10,000 for each of the first 44 Extension Training Centers. In addition, the U.S. TCM has provided technical assistance in extension teaching at the extension wings of agricultural colleges in five states.[7]

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[6] There are now two such centers in Ghana; they are supported with Local Development Funds, not by the DSWCD. For a detailed description, see William Mann, Jr. "Ghanaian Rural Construction's Brain Center," The Ghanaian, no. 19 (January 1960), pp. 34, 36-37.

[7] Douglas Ensminger, "The Ford Foundation Program Letter India," Training for Community Development, report no. 100 (June-October 1958), p. 31.

Training of Trainers

In India, at the beginning, there was no systematic training of trainers. The Expert Committee on Training of Project Personnel wrote in 1957:

> There is no regular system of training in teaching techniques and methods the persons who are selected to work as instructors in these institutions and they are largely left to their own devices to work out their own techniques. Such of them as have had fairly long tenures in the institutions have managed to evolve some methods but where, as has happened frequently, there has been a rapid turnover of teaching staff it cannot be said that the instructors are adequately equipped to effectively communicate knowledge to the trainees. The difficulties of the instructors have been further accentuated by the fact that teaching aids, particularly notable books to be followed, are not available.... There is no regular system of refresher training of the instructors either.[8]

This situation has been remedied with the series of ten all — India training seminars held during five months from early April to late August 1959 in Dehradun. Each seminar is an intensive training course of two weeks' duration. These seminars reached nearly 900 principals and instructors of extension training centers, or 98 per cent of the total training staff. The first seminar was attended by principals and the subsequent ones, by the instructors. The seminars emphasized better techniques of communication and the correct and effective use of audio-visual aids as teaching media.[9]

[8]Government of India. Ministry of Community Development Report of the Expert Committee on Training of Project Personnel, August 1957 (Delhi: Govt. Printing, 1958), p. 24.

[9]J. Paul Leagans, "New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University: Comparative Extension Program," India's Experience with Training in Extension Education for Community Development, no. 15 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press, May 1961), p. 9.

For regular in-service training a proposal has been made to open at least three Extension Education Institutes with adequate library facilities to train instructors of the extension training centers in improving their teaching procedures and to carry out a continuous program of research in extension methods. The course content is a synthesis of field experience, improved classroom communication techniques and research, and new subjects such as agricultural economics and farm planning.[10] Such in-service training courses will be of three months' duration each; the first courses are scheduled for the summer and fall of 1961. In short, in India the training of trainers as a formal part of the general training did not materialize until after the program was in full swing.

In the training of the people, the trainers' training was carried out in two stages.

1. In August 1957, the Ministry of Community Development organized two camps, one at Jurnool for the southern states and another one at Rajgir for the northern states. Those who attended these camps are: (a) the State Directors of In-Service Training and Youth Leadership; (b) the Instructors for Agriculture of the Extension Training Centers in the states.

2. In their respective states, these officials in turn train: (a) the Extension Officers for Agriculture, and (b) the Social Education Organizers of all the blocks. These officials would be the people who actually conduct training camps for Gram Sahayaks, the village leaders.

[10] Ibid.

Community Development Staff Training in the Philippines

The training of trainers was done through the joint efforts of U.N. and ICA experts, on the one hand, and through the staff of the University of Philippines College of Agriculture and the PACD staff on the other. During the first training course, April 9, 1956 to October 8, 1956, nine-tenths of the hours of instruction was covered by the College of Forestry, the Departments of Health, Education, Public Works, Agriculture and Natural Resources, National Cooperative Services, UNTAA, ICA, and ACCFA (Agricultural Cooperative and Credit Financial Corporation) provided the training personnel for the rest of the hours of instruction.

Among the graduates of the first course 50 community development workers and 8 agriculturists and Home Demonstrators were selected to be retrained as junior staff members of the PACD office. A new four-day orientation period was held by the PACD training officer, the U.P. College of Agriculture Committee on Community Development, the ICA—Cornell University advisor on community development, and the Heads of Departments and trainers-to-be. The junior training staff members were trained from October 22, 1956, to February 1957; and by March 1957, they were ready to undertake the training of the second batch of trainees at eight local training centers already mentioned.[11]

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[11] Those training centers operated only during the training of the third group of trainees.

Trainers have been continuously trained through special courses to carry out special assignments, observation trips, and study programs abroad through the U.S. "participant training" scheme. Indeed a substantial part of the U.S. technical assistance to the Philippines has been done in the form of participant training, the conditions of which we have seen earlier, in Chapter III.

Due to the importance of participant training, we shall list below the various institutions where participants are sent for academic training and observation. Not every participant visits all the places listed; each program is geared to meet the particular background and needs of the participants who might be either administrators, supervisors, or trainers.[12]

Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University
Upper Peninsula Project, Michigan State University
Antioch College
University of Washington
University of Southern Illinois
Institute of International Studies, University of California
School of Social Work, University of Michigan
West Georgia College
Agricultural Development Council, Asheville, North Carolina
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Tennessee Valley Authority
Division of Community Education, Puerto Rico
Various institutions in Jamaica[13]

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[12] I met Mr. H. Borromeo of the PACD office at a community development seminar at the School of Social Work, University of Michigan, in the Summer of 1958. The papers written by Antonio Perpetua, PACD training officer during his training in rural sociology at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, were also made available to me by ICA officials.

[13] For details on the U.S. participant training program see two articles: Louis M. Miniclier, "Training for International Community Development in the U.S.A. Progress Report," Community Development Review, 4, no. 2 (June 1959), pp. 2-17, and William E. Davis, "Opportunities for Training Outside One's Country from the Introductory Statement by William E. Davis,

On the participant's training, Robert Polson has suggested that the ICA community development Division should request the PACD to synthesize all the experiences of trainees into a useful set of recommendations on which to base future training in the United States.[14]

Comparative Analysis

Methods

The training of trainers reflects many characteristics particular to each country, as already stated in the previous chapters. In India the pressure of setting the program in operation coupled with the vast scope of action affected adversely the quality of the trainers at the beginning. We may safely say that these trainers had only "on-the-job-training." Recently "in-service training" of trainers is a new element introduced to remedy the poor quality of communication skills of instructors. Ghana and the Philippines have a more systematic pattern of training trainers. Of the three programs the one in the Philippines has the most methodical preservice training for trainers, a fact which denotes the American heritage of efficiency.

Content

A general training feature for trainers is third-country training in two types of environment:

ICA/W," Conference Summary: Community Development Training (Washington: ICA) Appendix A, pp. 56-58.

[14]Robert A. Polson, A Report on The Training Aspects of the Philippine Community Development Program (Washington: ICA, April 1960), p. 27.

1. The U.S. where the programs of rural development and community organization are much more advanced than in those countries where the visitors come from; in such cases, training provides a vivid introduction to the interrelationships of the social sciences as perceived and practiced in various community settings.

2. Areas like Puerto Rico, where conditions are more or less similar to those existing in the visitors' countries; in such cases the visits provide trainees with a wide range of possibilities for action, of activities which might be adapted back home; in short, it gives the visitors an emulative enthusiastic feeling as mentioned in Chapter VIII.

The training of community development trainers is, in addition to purely technical training, cross-cultural education, about which we may list some characteristics.

1. It gives trainees a graphic illustration of the dignity of manual work in the U.S. where the employing of "domestic help" is almost nil in the average family.

2. The entire sojourn in the U.S. is more or less a period of successive phases of adjustment in achieving personal security and self-esteem in relation to U.S. culture and the people encountered.

3. There is a certain degree of ambivalence about responsibility, authority, and autonomy in the various parts of the training programs, the trainees being already government officials and not "regular" foreign students.

4. The outcome of cross-cultural experience seems to be conditioned by the trainees' age or stage of development in their careers. This factor, taken into account in the choice of trainees, will contribute much to the success of training follow-up activities.[15]

In conclusion, the pattern of technical assistance in the training of community development trainers is particular to each country. The Ghanaian program starting in the Trust Territory of Togoland and emphasizing literacy has led to a close association between the DSWCD and UNESCO. On the other hand, India with its policy of neutralism has found a most satisfactory solution in securing a combined system of aid from a private nonprofit organization and equipment for the training centers from the U.S. TCM. Although many consultants on the Indian training program are American, they are sponsored by the Ford Foundation, not by the U.S. government, a fact which makes a great deal of difference in the eyes of the sensitive Indian government. As regards the Philippines, a long tradition of association with the U.S. has made it natural that ICA is its most active partner in technical cooperation.

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[15] M. Brewster Smith, op. cit., p. 395.

CHAPTER X

TRAINING THE PEOPLE

> The only real, true incentive is an inborn desire for something better for its own sake and not to please some outside authority. No village can be permanently improved from outside and no home can be permanently improved until its inmates themselves want to improve it. For permanence we must have spontaneity, and spontaneity means a burning desire for better things in the hearts of villagers themselves.[1]
>
> — F. L. Brayne

Community development is a government's program to be supported by the people in the first phase and hopefully it is to become a people's program in which the government provides technical assistance and material resources in the second phase. However, there exist many obstacles to community development, such as opposition from certain groups in the village which aim to strengthen their own positions by maintaining the status quo; suspicion resulting from ignorance of factual information on the real problems of the community; mental defeatism in the minds of peasants; and a great degree of dependence upon planning by governmental bodies. In community development, training of the people aims to erase all these obstacles in order to pave the way for cooperation and to foster in an informed citizenry a sense of community

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[1] F. L. Brayne, Better Villages (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).

consciousness and belonging. An Indian authority on education is convinced that "human societies find their highest fulfillment in the intimate relationships of the small community which alone can offer the stimulation of collective effort."[2]

As the community is the unit of action in community development, any program of change should be sponsored by all parts of the community. Training change in attitudes should encompass all classes of members: the village traditional and statutory leaders, other lay leaders, and the women and youth. Training programs for the people vary with the local setting in which people live; we shall describe thus the local environment before we describe the training of the local people.

Ghana

The Traditional Setting

The traditional society of Ghana consisted of tribal tightly knit communities ruled by a chief and a few subchiefs together with Elders and the Queen Mother, who was either the chief's mother or sister.

> Of the two stools, the Queen Mother's and the Chief's, the Queen Mother's was a senior one. It was the Queen Mother who together with both the male and female members of her clan chose a Chief. The nomination was then discussed by the Sub-Chief and Elders and invariably approved. The new Chief was then enstooled in the presence of the Queen Mother who from that day, accompanied him on every royal

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[2] V. T. Krisnamachari, op. cit., p. 72.

> progress and sat on his left in his councils of state, and heard cases with him. She had a Court of her own, in which she had primary jurisdiction over women. She adjudicated in all disputes which arose between the chief and his wives and her Court was the final Court of Appeal for those who were not satisfied with the Chief's verdicts. Thus not only women had equal right with men but also a woman held a senior place in the society and government of the tribes. With the recognition of the Chief's stool by the English, the Queen Mother's stool appeared to decline in importance; actually, the Queen Mother and other prominent women of the community continued to hold the reins behind the scene.[3]

The system of indirect British rule through the Chiefs was abolished in 1951 with the passing of the Local Government Ordinance providing for the election of local councils. Although their official position was abolished, the Chief and the Queen Mother still enjoy great prestige in rural areas. This cultural factor explains how women's work has been a predominant part of the DSWCD's activities since the beginning of the Togoland campaign, why the department aims to have one-third of its staff membership reserved to the women officials, and why the National Assembly has a quota of ten seats reserved for women. However, even without that traditional status, the important role of women in the home justifies including women's work among the activities of the DSWCD. It is a recognized fact that men whose wives have attended women's courses have provided the most efficient free advertisement for the DSWCD.

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[3]Angela Christian, "The Place of Women in Ghana Society," African Women, 3, no. 3 (December 1958), pp. 57-59.

Training Village Leaders

The relationships between the DSWCD and the village traditional and statutory leaders are generally harmonious as the villages are always "opened up" to community development work with a visit to the chiefs and elders. For local councilors, courses in local government are held at the Rural Training Center; in addition, the successful extension campaign "Pay Your Rate" (tax) on behalf of the Ministry of Local Government has earned the goodwill of local councils for the DSWCD, although, in some cases, conflicts have arisen on whether projects should be built on a "self-help" basis or be executed through "contract account."

Training the People

Voluntary literacy leaders.— Another aspect of the activities of the DSWCD at the village level are literacy campaigns for which voluntary literacy leaders are trained. The vast number of such volunteers is a particular feature of the Ghanaian program because of the emphasis on mass education in Ghana.

Mass education programs in a new village pass through three phases: opening up the village, training of the lay leaders, training of the illiterate by the lay leaders. Opening up a village also consists of three steps: (1) explaining the purpose of Mass Education work to the chief, the elders, and literate leaders and asking for their cooperation; (2) showing movies in the evening and seasoning the shows with information about literacy classes; and (3) holding a public meeting

to organize those interested into a literacy committee to raise funds for the purchase of kerosene and lamps to be used during the classes which are held at night; others recruited as voluntary leaders register for week-end courses.

Initially the training of lay leaders was planned for two weeks during the Togoland campaign, the training of literates being an end in itself. However, with the tides of illiterates clamoring for the knowledge of the three R's, the emphasis of such training was shifted in later courses to training the literate people to be volunteer leaders in literacy classes for illiterates. Thus, the training period has been shortened from two weeks to a weekend during which the Laubach methods are imparted to lay leaders--such trainees are not paid but are provided transportation back and forth and food and housing during the courses which are held at the Regional Rural Training Centers. The actual literacy classes operate for three months after which examinations are held consisting of simple dictation, reading an unfamiliar passage, and answering questions on it. Those who pass are given Literacy Certificates at a ceremony inaugurated by important guest speakers. During the same Literacy Day badges of voluntary service are also presented to voluntary leaders; the badges have the form of a red, blue, and white torch with white bars showing the number of persons taught, each bar meaning five new literates.

Women.— The training of women in Ghana has many aspects; for queen mothers, it takes the form of four-day conferences in which the discussion centers upon the place of

women in Ghana and the need to improve living conditions of women through mass education. The training of women in Ghana takes on many aspects: (1) regular work of the women staff members; (2) week-end courses concurrent with the training of literacy leaders; (3) special courses at the Rural Training Centers. At the village level, courses in home economics for village women are held once a week in each of the villages in which the DSWCD operates. Each female Mass Education Assistant covers between six to eight villages, and each meeting lasts for about two to three hours. Short courses are concurrently held with the week-end literacy training for lay leaders. In such cases, the wives accompany their husbands and take courses in homemaking, including practical methods of home improvement, child care, and family relations. Basic education is also provided for wives whose educational standards are too low.

Special training courses are also held at the Regional Rural Training Centers for representatives of women's groups in the villages. The selection of representatives, although made by the whole group, is often ratified by the chiefs and elders or the Queen Mother. These women, on their return to their villages, try to increase the membership of their groups, impart to other members what they have learned, and carry on women's work on a voluntary basis. It is through such groups that the female Mass Education Assistant operates in villages.

Such special courses may last from one week to a

month, depending on the aim of the course and the content to be imparted to trainees; the lessons are planned as a regular working schedule. One practical illustration accounts for the immediate success of such courses: women are encouraged to bring their infants and toddlers with them and the latter are actually fed with what their mothers just learned to prepare. The result is that after a month's course, for instance, the appearance of these children has much improved, to their mothers' delight.

The rural home economics courses held weekly by the women Mass Education Assistants are carefully planned to appeal to the older women; they are so designed as to win the grandmothers to new ideas. Often, in the extended family system the ideas acquired by the young people in school tend to clash with the traditional viewpoints of their elders; in Ghana where the role of women is culturally prominent, grandmothers wield a great influence in the running of the household. In training grandmothers, the DSWCD's ultimate purpose is to convert grandmothers to new ideas, the very same ideas their grandchildren are taught in school; by accepting these ideas, grandmothers help to reinforce school education by an attuned family education, thus removing the conflict between the older and younger generations in the process of social change.[4]

Training of youth.— The training of youth is a step taken (1) to better the conditions of life and the opportunities

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[4]Peter Du Sautoy, "Educating Grandmothers," Fundamental and Adult Education, 12, no. 4 (1960), pp. 200-203.

in the villages as part of a policy for improving agriculture; (2) to meet the demands of villagers who are no longer content with their primitive and traditional way of life; (3) to retain educated youth in the rural areas by demonstrating to them the dignity of manual work, and the possibility of success in agriculture as a means of livelihood. This point is very important because youngsters attracted by the prestige of "white-collar" jobs migrate to the towns, only to find themselves jobless; and joblessness in a strange and unfamiliar place often leads to juvenile delinquency. Thus the training of rural youth is a program linking the two sections of urban welfare and rural welfare of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. Youth training activities are of two kinds: (1) training of village building techniques: simple carpentry, masonry, etc. and (2) agricultural course.

Rural Builders' course.— The Rural Builders' training course has originated as a result of the building of the Rural Training Center at Kwaso and partly because of the great shortage of masons and carpenters in the more remote areas. Village building techniques, primarily taught as a means to attract literacy leaders to work in literacy voluntary campaigns, have become the main subject matter of training courses due to increasing popular demands for such teaching. To attend a Rural Builders' Training Course, a young man must be sponsored by his community, which guarantees that the trainee will return to his village after his two-year training. Trainees are given

a daily allowance and dressed in Mass Education uniforms. The experimental agricultural course is also of two-year duration; it covers modern techniques of farming, marketing, and accounting principles. The purpose is to show that prestige and pecuniary success are possible with the status of the modern farmer.

India

Traditional vs. Statutory Panchayat

In India, the panchayat, the cooperative, and the school are called the three pillars of the village. Recently, with the inception of the "democratic decentralization" scheme, the panchayat has outranked the other two and has increasingly assumed greater importance in the rural life of India. The traditional panchayat is described by a foreign expert as

> an involved system of decision making and not an established institution as such.... Many intra-villages disputes properly may come before a body of village elders who sit as a group for the particular case and are accepted as judges because of their peculiar qualifications for the given case only.... The operative, informal panchayat system has been effective because it has taken into account the power structure of the village and has tended to support existing strength and to disregard, when expedient, the claims of the weak....
>
> The statutory panchayats that have been established by law since the 1930's, and increasingly since 1947, do not take into account the informal panchayat system that has been relatively effective as a stabilizing element in village India's past. Officials may assume that the statutory body has supplanted the informal; but the facts seem to indicate that the two co-exist, with the statutory body more often than not being manipulated simply as the recording office for decisions actually

> made informally (and, incidentally, illegally) by the older, officially unrecognized, panchayat system.[5]

Such was the ambiguous position of the panchayat system in India until it was given a new impetus shortly after the revision of the stages of community development in the Indian Second Five-Year Development Plan. The revitalization of the panchayat system or "Panchayati Raj" (democratic decentralization) aims to bring about a greater participation of the local people through a larger measure of financial local autonomy.[6] Panchayati Raj has been adopted by all the states at various paces of implementation. Rajasthan and Andhra started in October and November 1959 respectively and the reform has been completed in Rajasthan.

> In all states, execution of the local works programme in the blocks has been entrusted to Panchayats and wherever Panchayat Samitis have been formed the control of the Community Development programme has been fully transferred to them together with the resources and the staff.[7]

The functions of the new Panchayat in the formulation and implementation of village plans are listed in the Second Five-Year Plan as follows:

1. Framing programs of production in the village

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[5]Richard L. Park, Administrative Reorganization and Economic Development in India, mimeographed paper (revised February 1961).

[6]This reform has been described in Chapter IV.

[7]Government of India, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Department of Community Development, Report 1959-60, op. cit., p. 26.

2. In association with cooperatives, framing budgets of requirements for supplies and finance for carrying out the programs;
3. Acting as a channel through which an increasing proportion of government assistance reaches the village;
4. Developing common lands such as waste lands, forests, abadi sites, tanks, etc., including measures for soil conservation;
5. Construction, repair, and maintenance of common village buildings, public wells, tanks, roads, etc.
6. Organization of mutual aid and joint efforts in all activities
7. Promotion of co-operatives
8. Organizing voluntary labor for community works
9. Promoting small savings, and[8]
10. Improvement of livestock

Training the Functional Leaders

The foregoing list of functions appears to justify the demand for an intensive training of village panchayat members; however, there has been very little information on the training of panchayat members except that it was approved at the Annual Conference on community development held at Mysore in July 1959.

Panchayat secretaries.— "Panchayati Raj" has also added another question mark in training at the village level: administration requires efficiency and some states have already taken the initiative in training panchayat secretaries with a per capita grant provided by the central government. The training course lasts from ten to twelve months.[9]

The difficulties in selecting panchayat secretaries for training are pertinent to their tenure. There are various types of panchayat secretaries: honorary secretaries,

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[8] V. T. Krisnamachari, op. cit., p. 77.

[9] Ibid.

part-time, combined full-time, with different salaries. The question whether they should be recruited, appointed to, or removed from service by the State Governments or by Panchayats themselves is still to be solved and such solution is unlikely to be uniform among states.

Block level.— At the block level, the training of the Samitis' members has begun in different states. (Samitis are composed of the heads of the villages' panchayats and a few nonofficial members.) It consists of two steps: (1) the training of trainers is organized by the central government in the form of two-week camps, and (2) the training of samitis members is sponsored by the State Governments through nonofficial organizations with financial assistance from the central government. A ceiling of Rs. 50 is set for a daily per capita cost. Each course runs from seven to ten days. The course syllabus was prepared by a committee of ten members of Parliament led by Balwantrai G. Mehta.

Pradhans, or Presidents of the Block Samitis are to have the same orientation training together with Block Development Officers and Extension Officers. In such orientation courses, a quota of 30 per cent will be reserved to nonofficials.[10]

District level.— The Pramukhs, or Presidents of the District Zila Parishad are trained together with other officials at the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community De-

[10] Ibid. Thus the Block Development Officers, the Block Extension Officers, and Pradhans receive a common orientation training.

Development, Mussoorie. In each course ten seats are reserved for them and for members of States' legislatures.

Training the People

Gram Sahayaks.— The most widespread type of educational training among the people is that of progressive farmers, the Gram Sahayaks. Begun in October 1957, the training is organized in camps which run during three, five, or seven days varying from state to state. Participants numbering around fifty persons in each camp are chosen by the farmers themselves in consultation with their headman, the local Gram Sevak and Social Education Organizer. These two officials are responsible for the organization of the camp as well as the technical staff of the Block.

The emphasis of the camps is to introduce farmers to: (1) better techniques of agriculture, which should lead to increased production,[11] and (2) methods of communication which would promote greater cooperation and community leadership among villages. From October 1957 to October 1959, the camps' programs covered agriculture, animal husbandry, minor irrigation; and recently Panchayati Raj and Cooperation have been added to the syllabus.

On these camps, the Ford Foundation representative in India comments,

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[11] In fact, such training of Gram Sahayaks has led to more abundant crops of kharif and rabi in India.

> All observers who have seen these camps and the effects on the 'trainees' have been strongly and deeply impressed with the initiative and growing sense of responsibility the training has awakened among the village leaders, and the potential leadership the camp has uncovered. In block after block today, the dynamic and aggressive force for development is coming from these newly found and newly trained village leaders.[12]

For such camps to be truly effective in the long run there is a need for a close follow-up by establishing warm working relationships between Gram Sevaks and Gram Sahayaks. In some cases, training in the camps appears too academic and unrealistic; for instance, the use of dusters, sprayers, and pesticides is demonstrated when there is no stock of these appliances for use in the village — training is ahead of supply items. Thus careful timing of camps during the slack season, good organization, and a close follow-up will ensure a greater efficiency return of training.

Study tours constitute another feature of the training of Gram Sahayaks. However, they should be planned carefully, concentrating the visit to a few places of interest relevant to the point to be gotten across to villagers. It is also advisable that study tours be concluded with a discussion session which would help villagers to compare their impressions and crystallize the most pertinent ones so as to make subsequent study tours more fruitful.

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[12] Douglas Ensminger, "The Ford Foundation Program Letter India," Training for Community Development, Report no. 100 (June-October 1958), p. 31.

Women.— In India the important role of rural women in community development work has been officially stressed by the National Seminar on development work among rural women held in Alipur in September 1956. Although not formally organized on a great scale, the training of women voluntary leaders has been carried on by camps and seminars; such trained persons assist the Gram Sevikas and Mukhya Sevikas (lady Social Education Organizers)as volunteers; in Uttar Pradesh, they are called "Gram Lakhmis," in Rajasthan "Gram Kakis." The Mysore community development conference of July 1959 also gave great consideration to the training of women volunteers.

Training of village artisans.— Along with the efforts to increase agricultural production and village cooperation, attempts have also been made to diversify the range of rural occupations. In 1954 under a Ford Foundation grant twenty centers were set up as "wings" of the Extension Training Centers. Those "Workshop Wings" initially set up to train village artisans per se, later gave a greater emphasis to research and testing new tools, following which experienced smiths are given the opportunity to manufacture improved tools and to repair them. The training of artisans-to-be runs for one year while that of experienced smiths runs only for a month or six weeks.[13]

Youth.— At the request of the Ford Foundation, the National 4-H Club Foundation developed a special India exchange as part of its International Farm Youth Exchange Program.

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[13] Ibid., p. 34.

This permitted young farmers from India to live and work for six months on farms in the United States, while young American farmers spent a shorter period on three months on Indian farms. The program has been in operation since 1952; but it has a very limited impact since knowledge of English is a prerequisite for exchange to the United States. A village youth's training program with a wider scope is sponsored by the Ford Foundation through the activities of both the Ministries of Community Development and Agriculture.

The Philippines

The Barrio

Administrative setting.— The Philippine barrio consists of informal puroks or small areas in which neighborly solidarity is a constructive factor. Politically, the barrio was part of the municipality; each municipal councilor was in charge of one or more barrios and appointed a barrio lieutenant, an unpaid official, to act as his deputy. Financially, all taxes from the barrio went to the municipal fund so that the barrio was dependent on the municipal officials' goodwill for such services as fire protection, roads, schools, and other facilities.

Actual administration was thus in the hands of municipal officials and "these officials are usually under the influence of the large landowners whose concern with government facilities is limited to the poblacion (municipality) and

whose principal interest is to maintain order and keep down taxes."[14]

Reforms.— Such was the relationship between the barrio and the municipality until recently when two administrative measures have brought a new lease of life to the barrio: (1) Republic Act no. 1408 taking effect January 1, 1956, provided for the popular election of the barrio council; (2) Republic Act no. 2370, also called Barrio Charter Act in effect January 1, 1960, gave a greater financial autonomy to the local barrio councils. The barrio council with a two-thirds approval by the assembly (the body of voters) is given the power not only to raise local taxes but also to keep a share of 10 per cent of real estate taxes going to municipal funds. The barrio people now elect their own officers biennially.

Training the People

Lay Leaders' Institutes.— Local autonomy means greater responsibility for barrio councilors; training is necessary in order to prepare them to meet such responsibility. Their training is oriented toward promoting an awareness of barrio affairs. Such training is conducted through four-day Lay Leaders' Institutes organized by the PACD Field Arm for elected barrio officials and leaders of socio-economic organizations at the village level. The methods of training are laboratory methods in which the trainees analyze their village conditions,

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[14] Chester L. Hunt et al., Sociology in the Philippine Setting, (Manila: Alemar's, 1954), p. 239.

consider various alternatives to improve such conditions, taking into account the local resources available and the kind of external assistance required. Another experience the group has is in cooperative living as they make their own rules during the duration of the training. The printed materials given out are in the vernacular language of the trainees. Study tours called "Farmers' Caravans" are an additional way to get lay leaders acquainted with projects done in other areas and to stimulate their sense of creativity, which could be practically applied in their own villages.

With the financial autonomy law coming into operation, it is foreseen that Lay Leaders' Institutes will become more meaningful to the people and there will be a greater demand for them to help barrio councilors interpret the new law and clarify the potential scope of their functions. In order to cope with the problem, there are suggestions that barrio officials meet witn municipal technical specialists to discuss specific barrio improvement projects and to obtain the relevant information; and barrio officials meet with their municipal counterparts to be trained in their respective functions.[15]

Women and Youth Institutes.— Training activities at the barrio level include in addition to Lay Leaders Institutes, Women and Youth Institutes (WAY Institutes) drawing the rest of community members, women and youth, into cooperative action. One purpose of such training is to foster civic

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[15]Du Sautoy, op. cit., p. 166.

consciousness in order to turn out responsible leaders having initiative in local improvement projects. "The outstanding impression of this new phase of community development work is that it has greatly increased the participation of women and youth in barrio improvement and thus has resulted in more overall activity in projects."[16]

WAY Institutes are conducted by CD-WAY trainers responsible to a training chief at the area office level.

Comparative Analysis

The three programs of Ghana, India, and the Philippines recognize the need of involving all members of the community: statutory and natural leaders, women and youth in community development activities; yet the methods by which such involvement has taken place and the extent to which members are successfully involved vary among the three training programs. Below the three programs are analyzed, using as a basis the different types of trainees.

Village Leaders

In Ghana the training of village leaders concentrates on literacy leaders since mass education serves as the opening wedge of community development in that country. Although occasional courses were planned for the local government officials, such a training is not a regular feature of the DSWCD's training program. In addition before the administrative reorganization, the Ministry of Local Government had held a few

[16]Robert A. Polson, op. cit.

training courses for local officials; it is likely that the Ministry will continue to do so. Therefore such a training does not fall under the scope of the DSWCD program. A European observer writes about local government in Ghana,

> Local Government in Ghana is of a species yet to reach full fruition. The Western concept of it is only now at early stages of growth. The highly developed, uniform and orderly system of England was grafted into a native system organized to suit tribal warfare. From the beginning the grafting was not direct, did not cause either system to completely lose its identity. Indirect rule rather preserved both systems as a logical means of transition from the ancient to the modern. If the concern was, as in African sculpture, with creating an image in which a spirit could live, success can be claimed. For Ghana has kept some of the respect for authority learned under the Chiefs and had added enough modern administration from Native Authority to Local Government. The task now for an independent Ghana is to establish a system of local government which meshes smoothly with other gears of the machinery moving toward a thriving welfare state. The Ministry of Local Government is working with great care and vision within this sphere formed of the past, present and future to bring a completely proficient system to bear.[17]

Independence has brought an upsurge of community development activities, especially in self-help projects; in fact, one of the Second Development Plan slogans was Second Development Plan--Self-Help Develops the People.[18] Also, independence has fortified the self-help spirit; it has revived the traditional "communal labor' because "the people are convinced that they are helping to build their own nation,"

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[17] William Mann, Jr., "Ghanaian Rural Construction's Brain Center," The Ghanaian, no. 19 (January 1960), pp. 34, 36-37.

[18] Ibid.

and when "the element of paternalism in community development comes from their own Government they are likely to co-operate with greater willingness."[19]

In India although Panchayati Raj was concurrent with the administrative reform of Ghana, the two programs were carried out in opposite directions: the Indian program is decentralization while the Ghanaian is amalgamation of numerous small units into fewer but larger units of local governments. The Indian administrative reform, a controversial subject at the beginning, appears to be received with gradual optimism from observers. One Indian author wrote, "...Panchayati Raj has been generally understood to be not decentralization of power and administration but decentralization of bureaucracy, as I have been told so often by persons who ought to know better."[20] A Western scholar remarked that it was "empty formalism for the benefit of the visitors."[21] With time, recent reports have brought more comforting news announcing brighter prospects for "Panchayati Raj." One argument runs that democratic opportunity could only follow economic opportunity; without economic opportunity panchayats would be filled with high-caste persons, and there would be no change in the local power

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[19] Du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana, Op. cit., p. 179.

[20] Jayaprakash Narain, "Community Development and Sarvodaya," The Indian Review, 41, no. 11 (November 1960), pp. 564-566.

[21] David G. Mandelbaum, "Social Organization and Planned Culture Change in India," India's Villages, M. N. Srinivas (ed.) (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1960), pp. 15-20.

structure.[22] It is asserted that the success of "democratic decentralization" depends upon the calibre of local leadership, "upon the extent to which traditional village leaders with a vested interest in the maintenance of the social, economic and political status quo are replaced by a new type of village leader who will strive to improve the condition of the entire village community."[23] Such a local leadership is given the opportunity to develop and emerge through both community development training and the actual implementation of community development projects. Thus community development, Panchayati Raj, and local leadership are the three stages of the circular feedback process which should bring about a satisfactory solution to the problems of India and in which training plays a fundamental part.

The test of the real nature of the community development training emphasis of each country lies with the training of the lay leaders. Ghanaian lay leaders are given week-end courses in literacy techniques. In India Gram Sahayaks' camps tend to emphasize new techniques of agriculture, while the Philippine lay leaders' institutes seek to promote democratic discussion and develop initiative and self-confidence among members. The Philippine emphasis on the democratic process may be seen in the common training of both functional and

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[22] Jayaprakash Narain, Loc. cit.

[23] Ralph H. Retzlaff, "Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan," The Indian Journal of Public Administration, 6, no. 2 (April-June 1960), pp. 141-158.

lay leaders. It is likely that with the application of the Barrio Charter Act, local councils' members will need to have special training on their enlarged functions with regard to the exercise of local autonomy.

Women and Youths

The three programs give equal emphasis to the training of women; however, the Ghanaian program appears to be more advanced in this aspect partly because of its early beginning and partly because of the DSWCD's wise policy of molding its training activities to the matrilineal customs of Ghana.

About women's training in India, it is interesting to know Vinobaji's vision of the role of women in India:

1. All future primary education should be in the hands of women.
2. There should be in panchayat's budget an amount earmarked for the welfare of women and children.
3. Certain village and cottage industries should be reserved to women.[24]

Regarding youth training, Ghana had a special feature outside of the framework of the DSWCD. Recently, the Builders' Brigade was created with the purpose of relieving unemployment; forming a disciplined body of men trained in citizenship and service to the country; and giving each man a trade, technical and agricultural. A new approach to solving unemployment, it provides useful occupation to the unemployed and an opportunity to render patriotic service to Ghana in the

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[24] "Vinobaji and Women's Program," Kurukshetra, 9, no. 2 (November 14, 1960), pp. 19-20.

execution of development projects, especially in the rural areas.[25] Begun in November 1957, the Brigade now has a total of 11,500. It also has residential camps for women trained for either a career or domestic life. The organization of life in the Brigade camps was patterned after the Israeli "Kibbutzim." In addition, another movement is being started for boys and girls from eight to sixteen years of age called Young Pioneers.[26]

Obstacles to Overcome in Training the People

The training of the people is only an elementary step in social change. There are many problems yet to be solved in the process of developing an informed citizenry. There is a distinct correlation between the adult literacy rate and the percentage of total national income spent on education. Countries having low rates of literacy seem to be spending a small proportion of their national income for education.[27] The Ghanaian community development program's emphasis on literacy is a direct measure to educate the people. In India, the problem seems enormous because of the huge Indian population. The 1951 census gave a literacy percentage of 16.1 broken down to 20.87 among men and 7.17 among women. Compared to the 1941 census showing a literacy rate of 14.6 per cent,

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[25] "The Builders' Brigade: Ghana's Other Army," The Ghanaian, no. 22 (April 1960), pp. 23-25.

[26] "Ghana's Young Pioneers," West Africa, no. 2278 (January 28, 1961), p. 93.

[27] C. L. Jha, "Illiteracy--An Acute Problem for India," The Indian Review, 41, no. 11 (November 1960), pp. 590-592.

1951 has shown an increase of 1.5 per cent, and it is reasonable to expect the same rate of increase every ten years. Although Adult Literacy Centers and Community Centers have been organized, there have been many cases of relapse into illiteracy due to inadequate follow-up.[28] A study in the communication of modern ideas and knowledge in Indian villages in 1955 has shown a dark picture of "thousands of villages still untouched, and most are only gradually coming into contact with the agencies of progress and development."[29] There has been some progress in five years, but there is still much to be done. It would appear that India would have to spend more on education if the general level of adult literacy is to be substantially raised. Indeed, although free education is stipulated in the Constitution, it is only recently that a Four Point program for implementation of universal free and compulsory education for children between six and eleven is outlined clearly in the Third Five-Year Plan. Announced by the Indian Minister of Education K. L. Shirmali at the recent State Education Ministers' Conference, the program calls for:

1. Enactment of new laws by states to implement the constitutional goal.

2. Promotion of a sustained campaign to educate public opinion in order to ensure that parents send their children regularly to school.

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[28] C. L. Jha, loc. cit.

[29] Y. B. Damle, Communication of Modern Ideas and Knowledge in Indian Villages (Cambridge, Mass.: Center of International Studies, M.I.T., October, 1955), 27 pp.

3. Mobilization of community efforts for financial assistance to needy parents in procuring textbooks and school uniforms for their children and in providing them free midday meals.

4. Improvement of conditions of service of teachers by measures such as salary increase, high cost of living allowance on a par with other government employees, free tuition for teachers' children, and special scholarships to them for higher studies--measures which would render the teaching profession more attractive than at present.[30]

The program is realistic, however, its success depends much on the active role of states in carrying it out in line with the central government's policy.

In the Philippines, the training of the people is not confined to Lay Leaders' Institutes and CD-WAY Institutes. Civic training at the village level has been done indirectly through the Parent-Teachers' Associations and Rural Improvements Clubs. In addition there are the activities of the Adult Education Division of the Bureau of Public Schools. Indeed the Philippines has a long background of adult education; to cite a few relevant dates:

In 1908, by Act no. 1829, civico-educational lectures were promoted in towns and barrios.

In 1914 by Act no. 2424, the teachers were put in charge of those lectures covering topics such as:

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[30]"India Outline Free Education Program," The Asian Student, 9, no. 15 (December 24, 1960), p. 4.

The rights and duties of citizens
The housing of the public schools
The prevention of diseases
A garden for every home
Agriculture and other industries as honorable vocations
Good manners and right conduct
Care and treatment of domestic animals
The care of children

In 1926 the first literacy campaign was sponsored by Senator Manuel L. Quezon.

In 1933 Act no. 4046 created community assemblies for the purpose of developing a more enlightened public opinion on a wide range of subjects: citizenship duties, health, proper diet, instruction on improved methods of industry, agriculture and other means of livelihood.

In 1935, the University of the Philippines undertook adult education work.

In 1937, Commonwealth Act no. 80 created the Office of Adult Education.

In 1947 the office of adult education was abolished and its functions transferred to the present Division of Adult Education in the Bureau of Public Schools.[31]

From 1957 to 1959, the Bureau of Public Schools conducted adult education courses under an agreement with the PACD. This activity was stopped upon the discovery that PACD's payments to the teachers for the additional teaching load caused those teachers who were doing this work voluntarily to give up the undertaking. The net effect was a reduction in the total

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[31]Republic of the Philippines, Bureau of Public Schools, Division of Adult Education, Leadership Training for Community Education (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1957), pp. 13-15.

amount of adult educational work. This discovery was made through an evaluation survey of the Community Development Research Council.

Adult education covers two steps: (1) functional literacy given in a course which takes from three to five months to complete, covering reading and writing, arithmetic, health and sanitation, vocational occupations, citizenship, and social life, (2) Continued Education or the process of following up the first phase by personal reading, listening to radio broadcasts, taking interest in community activities as well as engaging in gainful activities. This long background of adult education explains, partially at least, why the Philippines has a less clearly defined urban-rural dichotomy than India.

In summary, in the training of the people two things must be remembered:

1. A people's culture is an integrated functional whole; change in one part of it produces repercussions and strains in all other parts. Such strains can be reduced only by eliminating the change or by bringing about readjustments of the related parts. Thus, the training of the people cannot be segregated from primary education because what this young generation learns at school is transmitted to their parents during their mutual interactions in the home. Only when both the younger and the older generations are educated in a parallel fashion but in varying degrees are conflicts in social change likely to be avoided.

2. In order that social change be not too drastic, those who plan and operate social change programs must have a knowledge of folk beliefs and try to link the new ideas to traditional ideas which bear some resemblance to them.[32] In this aspect community development which emphasizes community group action draws upon the sound traditional pattern of the "Gemeinschaft" – cohesive rural life – while implementing constructive social change. Training the people for community development thus helps to develop the individuals as members of the community, the group.

> Groups serve as supporters of convictions, the esprit de corps thus developed for the common cause fertilizes "inert ideas" with emotional fervor and provides the push to carry them through into actuality. This urge to action is, and often should be, met by a similar push from opposing groups but it is only by the presence in society of such dynamic agents that change can be facilitated.[33]

Thus in the training of people for community development, the responsibility and opportunities are not limited to those of the organization in charge of community development training; such training is multilateral and continuous.

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[32]Margaret Read, "The Contribution of Social Anthropologists to Educational Problems in Underdeveloped Countries," Fundamental and Adult Education, 7, no. 2 (April 1955), pp. 74-78.

[33]Grace Coyle, Social Process in Organized Groups. (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930), p. 229.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

> Perhaps we are in a stage where we are creating a pattern, a habit of mind rather than achieving spectacular substantial results. After all results are to a large extent dependent upon experience and effort.[1]
>
> — Morris E. Opler

This chapter concludes the study by attempting a comparative evaluation of the community development training programs of Ghana, India, and the Philippines. The evaluation is based on the information included in the preceding chapters. The criteria of evaluation are parallel to the elements of training presented in Chapter V. These criteria are established on the basis of: (1) study of criteria of certain other educational programs[2]; (2) interviews with certain persons who have specialized knowledge of educational evaluation systems.[3]

[1] Morris E. Opler, op. cit., p. 71.

[2] Among the documents examined are: (1) Manual of Accrediting Standards of Graduate Schools of Social Work (New York: Council of Social Work Education, 1953). Mimeographed, no paging. (2) National Study of Secondary School Education Evaluative Criteria (Washington: American Council on Education, 1960), 376 p. (3) The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Policies and Criteria for the Approval of Secondary Schools, no date, 31 p. (4) Criteria for Accreditation (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, Bureau of School Services, Sept. 9, 1957), 24 p.

[3] The persons interviewed are all faculty members of various units of The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: (1) Robert W. Dixon, Professor of Education and Coordinator of Student Teaching in Secondary Education; (2) Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, School of Social Work; (3) Kent Leach, Director, Bureau of School Services and Associate Professor of Education; (4) Howard Y. McClusky, Professor of Educational Psychology and Consultant in Community Adult Education, Extension Service.

Summary of Criteria

The subjects of the criteria are briefly summarized below.

A. Trainees

1. Categories
2. Number
3. Qualifications

B. Training Content

1. Relevance
2. Length
3. Balance among subjects

C. Training Methods

1. Appropriate use of methods
2. Balance of use

D. Training Materials

1. Variety
2. Quality
3. Quantity
4. Availability and appropriateness
5. Relevance of use
6. Up-to-dateness

E. Organization and Personnel for Training

1. Nature of the organization
2. Degree of centralization
3. Flexibility
4. Availability of training facilities
5. Degree of rotation between trainers and field supervisors
6. Size of work load

F. Provision for Evaluation of Training

1. Regularity
2. Objectivity
3. Implementation of recommendations

G. Morale

1. Factors influencing morale

Evaluative comparisons of the three training programs are done criterion by criterion wherever possible; otherwise, each element is evaluated and compared broadly in order to avoid repetition of comments.

TABLE VII

COMPARATIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRAINING ACTIVITIES
FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Types of Trainees	Ghana	India	Philippines
Village workers	Mass education assistants	Gram Sevaks	Barrio CD workers
Length	3 months	24 months	6 months
Place	Regional R. T. centers	Extension training centers (93)	Community development center (Los Baños)
	Assistant mass education officers		
Length	9 months		
Place	Central School of Soc. Wel.		
Administrators	Mass education officers	Block development officers	Municipal and provincial CD officers special training with new assignment or appointment
Length	2 years	6 weeks CD orientation + 6 weeks job training	
Place	University College, Accra	Orientation training centers	Los Baños
Technical specialists			
Nature	Occasional training for special extension campaigns	6 weeks CD orientation + job training	6 weeks CD orientation
Place	Regional rural training centers	Orientation training centers	CD center (Los Baños)
High executive and legislative officials	Annual seminars for the DSWCD directorate and informal briefing sessions for policy makers	4 - 6 weeks courses at Mussoorie Institute	Various methods as required by statutes of those to be CD "oriented"
Trainers			
Initial training	Yes	Nearly none	Yes: Chosen first graduates retrained to be trainers
In-service training	Training for promotion Ad hoc training	Trainers' training Institute (August 1959) Extension education institutes	ICA participant training

TABLE VIII

COMPARATIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR THE PEOPLE*

Types of Trainees	Ghana	India	Philippines
Statutory leaders	Irregular courses at rural training centers	7 - 10 days courses for Samiti members	Lay leaders' institutes (4 days)
Natural leaders	Week-end literacy courses	Gram Sahayaks' camps (3-5-7 days)	
Women	Concurrent with literacy leaders' week-end courses One month courses for representatives of women's groups Conferences for queen mothers Regular work by women mass education assistants	Irregular camps and seminars for women volunteer workers	Women and youth (WAY) institutes
Youth	Agricultural course Rural builders' course	Indian-U. S. agricultural exchange Artisans' training Youth clubs	

*Includes only those organized by the organizations in charge of community development; for instance, activities organized by other groups such as the rural improvement clubs in the Philippines, and the 4-H clubs are not listed.

A. The Trainees

1. Categories

A community development training program should cover the following categories of persons, who should receive training as suggested below:

> Village workers and administrators: intensive training.
>
> Subject-matter specialists: orientation to the community development program.
>
> High executive officials and legislators: at least a minimum orientation to community development principles and programs.
>
> Trainers of community development workers: such supplementary training as may be necessary to give a thorough grounding in the subject-matter which they are to teach and in communication skills.
>
> Village people, and particularly village leaders and leaders of special village groups: such orientation — and wherever necessary, such special nonintensive training — as to fit them to participate and to play their respective roles in community development.

Government Officials

Village workers.— In Ghana, with regard to village workers, it is a question whether the Mass Education Assistants or the Assistant Mass Education Officers should be equated with the Gram Sevaks or Barrio Community Development Workers. The AMEO's work very closely with the MEA's at the village level, but their training is quite different; the Mass Education Assistants - except women MEA's who have a centralized course - are trained regionally. The AMEO's are selected and trained

regionally on an apprenticeship system. The Assistant Mass Education Officers are selected and trained centrally; an expert on the Ghanaian program is inclined to classify both the Mass Education Assistants and Assistant Mass Education Officers as village workers.[4] If so, then the training of AMEO's merits the qualification of "intensive" while that of the Mass Education Assistants does not. There is another peculiarity: Assistant Mass Education Officers are trained together with the social welfare officials of the DSWCD; although one-third of the final examination is taken separately on their respective subjects, the two types of officials do have the same academic training.

In India and the Philippines, both the Gram Sevaks and the barrio workers are given intensive training.

Subject-matter specialists.— In Ghana, the subject-matter specialists do not receive orientation to community development in regular orientation courses but such orientation occurs only whenever their respective departments request the DSWCD to prepare an "extension" campaign on behalf of their program. There is no pure orientation as such, but the subject-matter specialists and the DSWCD staff members cooperate in planning the steps of, for example, a campaign to promote war against cocoa pests or a drive for the payment of taxes or otherwise.[5] It would seem desirable that closer contact

[4]Du Sautoy, Personal communication, April 3, 1961, p. 5.

[5]Extension campaigns are not frequent as extension work "has tended to be 'gap-filling' arising out of a keen desire to avoid friction with other services and to gain their confidence." Ibid., p. 4.

be established between the DSWCD and other departments through orientation sessions which would help to clarify the role of the DSWCD in fostering self-help projects.

In India and the Philippines, although there are orientation courses, the extent of their coverage among technical specialists should receive more attention. Trainees should be representative of their respective departments in terms of the total staff memberships as well as of the geographical distribution of technical specialists.

It is commendable that in India all the Block personnel together with the President of Block Samitis undergo a common course. In theory, this should bring about more understanding of mutual roles at the same level of administration. Especially among the Block Development officers and Extension officers, this common course should develop a spirit of teamwork.

High executive officials and legislators.— In Ghana, the briefing sessions between the DSWCD directorate and the Minister appear to serve their purpose. Two factors explain the difference in the "orientation" pattern for high executive officials and legislators among the three countries studied:

1. The compactness of Ghana, which leads to quick communications at the top level of government.

2. The absence of formal Community Development Councils at each level of government in Ghana. Although there are local

Development Committees, they are subcommittees of local Councils and their membership does not include technical specialists like the Philippine Municipal Community Development Council.

In the orientation of high executive officials and legislators, there exists a continuum of decreasing formality. India is the most formal, with its courses that last from four to six weeks; next comes the Philippines with its briefing sessions and seminars; Ghana ranks last with informal behind-the-scenes briefing and discussions.

In training, one of the factors contributing to the efficiency of methods is frequency of training. For village workers and administrators, this means regular in-service training; for technical specialists, high executive officials, and legislators, orientation periods to community development – be it short courses, camp, or brief sessions – should be short but frequent. In this aspect, the Philippines has an advantage over India; the small number of officials of each type to be reached allows a greater frequency in reaching the trainees. In short, in orientation training, India appears to have "once for all" long courses while the Philippines has more frequent conferences and seminars.

Trainers.– Taking the first step as the point of comparison, the Philippine program has the most systematic provision for training of trainers. In India, trainers should be more prepared in communication skills; although the Extension Education Institutes emphasize this aspect, the trainers' training in India is a major subject to which more attention should be given.

Village People

The Ghanaian program has the greatest number of voluntary leaders in literacy as the Ghanaian community development opening wedge. Other training activities particular to the DSWCD's program are training village bands to read music and lorry drivers to drive safely.

The Philippine training of village leaders appears the most efficient with its laboratory methods. Training for local leadership is concomitant with the emphasis on local self-government present in the three countries. However, it appears that only India and the Philippines have actually trained local leaders. In Ghana, community development through literacy makes it appropriate that the training of local officials should not be the main responsibility of the DSWCD, although occasional courses for local officials are organized by the DSWCD; thus whether it falls within the work of the DSWCD or that of the Ministry of Local Government, the training of local leaders should receive greater attention than it has until now.

Among women's programs, that of Ghana seems to be most satisfactory, as it has tried to reach village women as well as "Queen Mothers" (titles of the mothers of tribal chiefs), grandmothers as well as young girls. In India and the Philippines the women's activities might be accentuated through promoting a greater number of women village workers.

Regarding the training of youth, the workshop training of rural artisans and craftsmen, as established in Ghana and India, is a commendable feature which at once contributes to rural life and helps to prevent the drift of young men to cities, a potential source of urban juvenile delinquency.

2. Number

The number of trainees in each category should be adequate to the needs.

In Ghana, there are now 109 Assistant Mass Education Officers and 372 Mass Education Assistants[6]; in India, 42,800 Gram Sevaks[7] and about 2,800 Gram Sevikas as of March 1961.[8] By 1963, when community development is supposed to cover the whole of India, there will be 52,240 Gram Sevaks and 10,448 Gram Sevikas operating in the country's 5,224 Blocks at the rate of 10 men and 2 women per Block.

In the Philippines, as of July 1, 1960, there are 1,574 barrio workers operating in 6,349 barrios of the total of 19,000 barrios.

Below the comparative evaluation is made on two points: ratio of people served by each worker and the rate of growth.

1. In Ghana, the ratio is one village worker to 13,900 people.[9] In India, the ratio is one village worker - Gram Sevak or Gram Sevika - to 9,733 people,[10] as of March 1961. In the

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[6] A.I.K. Quainoo, Personal communication, May 5, 1961, p. 1.

[7] V.R. Rao, Director, Administrative Intelligence, Department of Community Development, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Government of India, Personnal communication, June 2, 1961.

[8] Government of India, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Department of Community Development, Report 1959-60, op. cit., p. 197.

[9] 6.69 million: 481.

[10] 438 million: 45,100.

Philippines, the ratio is one barrio worker - man or woman - to 17,471[11] as of July 1960. The importance of community development in national policy is clearly illustrated by the ratios of India and the Philippines as well as by the expansion rate of their respective community development programs.

Begun in October 1952, the Indian program is to be completed in 1963, thus its rate of expansion is about 1/11 a year. The Philippine program has covered about one-third of the total number of barrios in five years, 1956-1961; its rate of expansion is 1/15 a year. This differential in annual rate of expansion of the Indian and Philippine programs - 1/11 versus 1/15 - shows that in the Philippine program the objective of meeting food needs is not so vital as it is in India; this point, in turn, allows more care and reserve in both the execution of community projects and the community development training program. By contrast, in India the pressure of expansion has influenced the rate of training - and in a negative way, the quality of training - although the dateline of total country coverage has been postponed from 1961 to 1963. Some Indian authorities have estimated that community development in India has a "hasty" nature; it would be preferable that community development be confined to a smaller area to be developed fully and completely.[12]

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[11] 27.5 million: 1,574.

[12] Rajeswar Dayal, Community Development Programme in India (Delhi, Kitab Mahal Publishers, 1960), p. 179.

In theory, the village workers and administrators should all be trained. They should be trained gradually until the whole country is under the community development program; then the preservice training could be adjusted to the rate of turnover. In the training of technical specialists and high executive officials, the number of each category should be proportionate to their respective total number. However, it is difficult to compare the three training programs in this respect. Although the number of technical specialists receiving "orientation" may be obtained, the total number is not available.

3. Qualifications

Trainees receiving intensive training in community development programs should have the following basic qualifications:

A liking for rural life and ability to adjust satisfactorily to rural living.
A belief in community development and a feeling of commitment to a community development project.
Willingness to do manual work.
Sound health and physical endurance.
Education relevant to the requirements of the job.

Recruitment tests should be devised so as to give a fair measurement of such qualifications; for instance,
Written tests to ascertain knowledge and understanding.
Practical tests to ascertain physical endurance and manual aptitudes, and skills;
Individual and group interviews and discussions to ascertain applicants' attitudes and values.

Regarding the methods of recruiting village workers, it appears the methods used by the Ghana DSWCD do not adequately measure the qualifications of applicants as listed in this criterion. However, recruitment methods are suited to various

conditions affecting the availability of applicants: the low literacy rate and the character of rural work, which is not very attractive to the educated youth fired by the glamour of city life. In addition, the DSWCD appears to give priority to attitudes and values more than to the educational standard, which is already measured by the school diploma, or practical skills, which can be developed through preservice training.

In India, among the States there should be homogeneous — if not uniform — steps of recruitment for village workers. At present they vary from written tests and interviews by a Selection Board in Assam to selection by the Rajasthan Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Selection Commission in Rajasthan.

In the Philippines, the recruitment methods are excellent for three reasons:

1. The two-week orientation period is long enough for trainees to experience:

- the realistic facets of his future work
- the educational aspects of group living

and therefore to decide whether it is worth while to go on with the training or to withdraw from it.

2. Practical tests often are burdensome and tiring, not only to the applicants but also to the examiners; it is more convenient and economical to give them after the applicants are screened to a reasonable number.

Difficult demonstrations of physical endurance and practical skills are more acceptable when those who engage in

them know that they are already accepted as trainees. Otherwise, such a drain on the energies of the applicants makes them wonder whether the effort is worth it if they are not to be selected. In the timing of practical tests, this psychological detail should not be overlooked.

3. In the written test, the presence of a test on the knowledge of rural life seems very appropriate.

In summary, regarding the types of trainees among government officials, the Indian and Philippine programs are both thorough; however, in the training of people, the Indian system of artisans' workshops deserves high praise; this is an aspect in which the Philippine program is lagging. In Ghana, the emphasis on literacy as the community development opening wedge explains the irregularity in training technical specialists and local officials, and the absence of formal briefing sessions for high executive officials and legislators. The Philippine program is excellent in its valid methods of recruitment of village workers.

B. Training Content

1. Relevance

The training content for any type of position should be appropriate to the requirement of that position.

2. Length

The length of the training period should be proportionate to the amount of content to be imparted to trainees.

3. Balance

There should be balance in emphasis among various subjects of the curriculum.

The comparison here focuses mainly upon the training content for village workers because it is the most important; in addition, information on other types of trainees is inadequate and cannot be soundly compared.

Ghana.— As mentioned previously, there is ambiguity as to whether the Ghanaian Mass Education Assistant or Assistant Mass Education Officer should be compared with the Indian Gram Sevak and the Filipino Barrio Worker.[13] It seems logical to include both of them, the emphasis of comparison being on the Assistant Mass Education Officer.

It is desirable that the applicant Assistant Mass

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[13] Du Sautoy's comments on the first draft of this dissertation, Personal communication, April 3, 1961. In addition, there is no mention of the position of Mass Education Assistants in the Scheme of Service issued by the DSWCD on the duties, qualifications, method of entry, and opportunities for promotion for each type of official in the DSWCD. Also there is no description of the MEA's training in the training Prospectus issued also by the DSWCD.

Education officers be trained separately from the Assistant Welfare Officers. The common training gives the former such subjects as Probation and Delinquency, Casework, After-care Services, and Social Administration, which are not relevant to the scope of community development. Although we must keep in mind that literacy methods and adult education techniques — instead of agriculture — constitute the community development opening wedge in Ghana, the absence of technical subject-matter such as health or elementary agriculture in the training curriculum is questionable. It seems more appropriate that health and agriculture be substituted for topics of social work; such substitution would be logical and in line with training of Mass Education Assistants.[14]

Taking into account the emphasis on literacy - instead of agriculture - of community development in Ghana, the informal training content of Mass Education Assistants seems appropriate while that of Assistant Mass Education Officers probably needs some change. Of course, considering the small number of personnel and the scope of the DSWCD's operation, some common basic training for Assistant Mass Education and Welfare Officers is justified by the factor of economy; yet these two types of officials could still have a common course on topics of general knowledge and separate sessions on their respective professional skills, in addition to the difference in field work.

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[14] A.I.K. Quainoo, Personal communication, May 31, 1961.

India.— One disadvantage of the Indian training syllabus for Gram Sevaks is that it is overloaded with details. This leads to two negative results:

1. Rigid teaching by the instructors, who feel the pressure of covering all that is listed.

2. Inflexible training which does not allow room for curriculum adjustments to meet regional conditions. The United Nations Evaluation Mission to India found the syllabuses "over-detailed and over-comprehensive."[15]

In regard to the content, it seems essential that agricultural economics, and especially the economic and land usage aspects of farm planning, should be added; this is true for both the syllabuses of village workers and cooperative Extension Officers. Such an emphasis in training content is necessary in preparing community development workers to explain the advantages of cooperative farming.[16]

A too-detailed syllabus has another defect: the content is out of proportion to the length of the training period. Batten criticized the Indian syllabus,

> . . . Some training courses for village level workers have immense syllabuses filling many closely packed pages with details of the topics the trainees have to study during the few months of their preliminary training. . .

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[15] M.J. Coldwell, R. Dumont and M. Read, Report of a Community Development Evaluation Mission in India, 23 November, 1958 - 3 April 1959 (New York: United Nations, Commissioner for Technical Assistance, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2 June 1960), p. 90.

[16] Ibid., p. 84.

> Even allowing for the very long working day common in Indian training centers one cannot but wonder how much of this syllabus was actually covered, by what teaching methods, and to what practical effects.[17]

Indeed, the training length must be adjusted to accommodate such a crowded syllabus: from six months, the training period has been changed to eighteen months and two years successively.

The Indian curriculum seems to be heavily tipped to the side of agriculture to the detriment of communication skills. In fact the training of Gram Sevaks is carried out by the Directorate of Extension and Training, Department of Agriculture, Ministry of Food and Agriculture; Gram Sevaks might almost as well be considered as village workers of the Ministry of Agriculture.[18] This situation is in contrast to that in the Philippines, where the Agriculture Department has its own barrio workers.[19]

Philippines.— The Philippine curriculum gives due attention to the part intended to increase the general knowledge

[17] T.R. Batten, Communities and Their Development, op. cit., p. 172.

[18] Jean Ogden, op. cit., p. 19, "Agriculture Department blames community development for drumming up more business than they can handle and, therefore, they need their own barrio workers. It is unlikely that any other department will have barrio workers."

[19] One observer suggests that Gram Sevaks belong to the same Department of Agriculture in order to smoothen the working relationship between Gram Sevaks and Agricultural Extension officers; see David C. Potter, "Panchayat Samiti Staff: Trouble Ahead," The Indian Journal of Administration, 7 no. 2 (April-June 1961), pp. 187-189.

of workers, the skills to be imparted to villagers and also the methods of imparting such skills. Such a balanced emphasis makes the Philippine worker a true "multipurpose worker."

The Philippine curriculum seems adequate from a general viewpoint. In the light of the regional peculiarities of the country, and from field experience, it seems desirable that the curriculum be revised to give more emphasis to the following aspects:

Agricultural and economic practices relevant to regional characteristics.

Supervisory and administrative procedures.

Practice in exercising communication skills such as making short speeches, organizing meetings, leading discussion groups.[20]

Training length.— At the Bandarawela conference on Community Development Training, the question was raised whether the six-month length is "adequate for all the Philippine community development training included."[21] At this writing, the Philippine curriculum is being revised; it is yet to be seen whether there will be specialized training and assignment to particular regions, the training period being still six months, or whether the training syllabus will be common to all workers while the training period will be longer. It is likely that the Philippine training period will be lengthened

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[20]Robert A. Polson, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[21]Jean Ogden, op. cit., p. 22.

as was done in India; perhaps it is no mere coincidence that the Philippine period is six months, the same length as the Indian initial course when Filipino community development officials visited India at the end of 1956.

None of the three training contents is perfect. A distinct feature of the Ghanaian curriculum is a course in English to help Assistant Mass Education officers improve the writing of their reports. In Ghana and India the length of the training period appears to be in proportion to the amount of content to be imparted to trainees. The Philippine content, although not perfect, has the most practical balance between the various subjects of the curriculum.

C. Training Methods

1. Appropriate use of methods

> Methods of training should be appropriate to the objectives, the content of the training, and the qualifications and needs of the trainees.

2. Balance of use

> Intensive training should normally include all the methods of training; namely, classroom teaching, field work, observation, living situations, and factfinding. There should be a balanced use of the various methods; to the length of the training period, the type of trainees, and other specific circumstances.

Village workers.— The Ghanaian program seems to be closer to the suggested standard than the other two programs for the following reason: all the five methods such as

classroom teaching, field work, observation, living situations, and fact-finding, defined in Chapter V, are used in the training of Assistant Mass Education Officers. The Indian and Philippine programs appear to have a common weakness in their lack of emphasis on fact-finding as one of the methods of training, while the AMEO's syllabus does include the topic of "Social surveys." Like a medical diagnosis, fact-finding is necessary to village workers in pinpointing the characteristics of their working milieus and in setting a list pf projects which may be adjusted to the local felt needs in establishing their priority of execution. Also in Ghana, the sequence of eleven weeks of field work sandwiched between two terms of academic study appears sound; thus times, field work provides trainees with opportunities of applying what they have learned during the first academic term; in turn, the field work period helps to sharpen the interest of trainees who can therefore get greater benefit from their second academic term in which problems encountered in field work will serve as topics of inquiry and discussion. In the Philippine and Indian schedules, the two-week evaluation period following the field work serves a similar purpose.

Among the classroom methods, there appears an overemphasis on the use of the lecture method in India[22] and of the discussion method in the Philippines.[23] In general, the

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[22] M.J. Coldwell, R. Dumont and M. Read, op. cit., p.90.

[23] Robert A. Polson, op. cit., p. 11.

lecture method followed by discussion is appropriate to convey information on technical skills and scientific knowledge, while the discussion method of conferences and seminars is most efficient in attitude training. Training content, however relevant it is to the training objective, is not effectively imparted if it is taught by inappropriate methods.

Administrators.— In the training of administrators, which should be intensive and should include all the previously enumerated five methods, little comparison could be made. There is little information on the training of administrators in the Philippines, other than the fact that village workers are given additional training when promoted; in such cases, we may safely assume that such training covers only the technical methods of public administration required by the positions for which they are prepared, whereas human relations principles and particularly, democratic techniques of supervision appear to be lacking.

The training of Mass Education Officers in Ghana compared to that of Block Development Officers in India, both newly graduated from universities, appears to be more efficient as it includes also a period of internship under more experienced officials.

In evaluating methods of training, the difficulty lies in the paucity of information, which makes clear-cut comparisons impossible. In general, it appears that in the training of village workers, classroom teaching, field work, observation, and living situations are commonly used among the three programs

while little attention is given to fact-finding except in the training of Assistant Mass Education Officers in Ghana.

D. Training Materials

1. Variety

Training materials should include both documents and audio-visual materials.

2. Quality

In particular there should be emphasis upon the use of such documentary materials as textbooks, case records and case problems, course outlines, documents, and other work materials.

3. Quantity

Audio-visual materials should be simple to manipulate, easily obtained or constructed, easily understood by the trainees, and adapted to their cultural backgrounds and experience.

4. Availability and appropriateness

There should be an adequate and available supply of training materials to be used during the training by trainers or to be distributed to trainees.

5. Relevance of use

The content of training materials should be relevant to the needs of the trainees; it should be well organized and clearly presented.

6. Up-to-dateness

Relevant findings of researches and conclusions of conferences on training should be incorporated into materials.

All three programs have both documentary and audio-visual materials although it is doubtful that audio-visual materials have been given the attention that their efficient use deserves. Throughout the available literature, mention has been made about (1) the use of audio-visuals in training people but not in training village workers; and (2) visual aids as a subject content of the curriculum but not as training materials in the teaching of other subjects in the curriculum. Thus the remark, "There is still too much material presented in lectures that could be better replaced with well-chosen exhibits, movies, demonstrations and reading materials."[24] While this was a comment on the Philippine training program it describes the Ghanaian and Indian ones as well.

In the training of the people, the audio-visual aids of Ghana are outstanding in terms of their simplicity, relevancy to the subject, and adaptability of their content to the cultural background of the village people.[25] This is an aspect in which the Indian program lags. In India and the Philippines, there is a possibility of capitalizing more than is done at present on the cultural customs as constructive means of conveying new ideas to village people. In India, the familiar personages in popular stories could be transferred and adapted in appropriate anecdotes pertaining to community development. In the Philippines, the barrio workers may take

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[24] Ibid.

[25] William C. Gibson, Hugh B. Masters, Ernest F. Witte, op. cit., p. 92.

advantage of the fiestas celebrating the local patron saints' days to further community development through relevant and well-prepared exhibits and shows which would be entertaining and instructive.

Little information could be obtained on the use of documentary materials listed in criterion D4; although handbooks are distributed to trainees, appropriate textbooks are not readily available, with a few exceptions, in most libraries of training centers; it is unlikely that other documents such as case records and case problems are utilized to any considerable extent.[26] This appears to be a common fault in the three training programs.

Regarding training materials, in general, all three training programs need to devote more attention to tapping the existing sources of such materials. Research findings, conclusions of conferences, and case records from field workers' reports should be prepared and, most important, made available to trainers and used as regular training materials. The Philippine program appears to have made some progress in compiling the findings of studies by the Community Development Research Council in concise abstracts.

All three training programs are handicapped by a shortage in documentary materials which might be remedied by (1) the purchase of newly published books in community development and

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[26] Ibid.; also M.J. Coldwell, R. Dumont, M. Read, op. cit., p. 91.

in social sciences, and (2) the compilation, indexing, distribution and actual use of information already available. In the training of village workers, and other officials, it is desirable that more emphasis be given to the use of audio-visual aids. In the training of the people, the Ghanaian program excels in reconciling the audio-visual aid to the local cultural milieu.

E. Organization and Personnel for Training

1. Nature of the organization

There should be an integrated national program covering the various types of trainees and aspects of training for community development.

2. Degree of centralization

There should be sufficient centralization in order to ensure the acceptance of common objectives and a broadly homogeneous system of training as relates to such matters as trainees, contents, methods, and materials.

3. Flexibility

Given this broad framework, the training program should be so organized as to take into account particular regional diversities in regard to the training and assignment of community development workers.

4. Availability of training facilities

The training centers should have adequate facilities as required by the various activities in the training program, including classrooms and necessary laboratory facilities, meeting hall, equipment, housing facilities, grounds, library, etc.

5. Degree of rotation between trainers and field supervisors

Wherever possible, there should be a certain degree of rotation of positions between trainers and administrative and technical workers.

6. Size of work load

The work load for both trainers and trainees should be reasonable.

Ghana, India, and the Philippines all have an integrated national training program; however, because of difference in size, there is also a certain difference in the actual training operation. In all three countries, in the respective administrative organization for community development, there is a unit in charge of the national training programs. In Ghana and the Philippines that unit both plans and operates training programs. In India the training unit only supervises the administration of training centers for Gram Sevaks while the actual training is carried out by the Directorate of Extension and Training of the Department of Agriculture, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, in direct cooperation with the States. A second difference in India is that the Training Division has two sections: Section I supervises the training in community development proper as previously stated; and Section II supervises the training of technical specialists in their subject-matter. Such training is undertaken by the various departments themselves.

In short, there appears to be a division of labor in community development training in India: the Department of Community Development is in charge of the administrative and policy aspects of training and the Directorate of Extension

and Training handles the technical aspects. In the supervision of job-training for technical specialists, the Indian program is ahead of that in the Philippines, where such training is now recommended but not yet implemented.[27]

There is a similarity in organisation between Ghana and the Philippines in that each country has a central training center with several regional smaller ones.[28] The pattern is different in India, where there is a distinct type of training center for each type of official.

Regarding the homogeneity of training operations, all three programs are sufficiently homogeneous within themselves; however, the degree of homogeneity varies in each country concerning various matters such as trainees, contents, methods, and materials. Ghana has the greatest degree of flexibility in training because the training is decentralized; there is allowance for regional diversity, although the syllabus for Mass Education Assistants is set by the DSWCD directorate. Still, suppose that the training of village workers were centralized in Ghana — as is that of Assistant Mass Education Officers whom we may also call village workers — such centralization would not lead to rigidity in content because the Ghanaian content emphasizes literacy methods and not agriculture. Therefore, it is not conditioned to a great extent by the geographical characteristics of various parts of that country.

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[27] Robert A. Polson, op. cit., p. 17.

[28] The regional training centers of the Philippines were used in 1957 during the training session only.

In India, the annual conferences have helped to standardize the training content, length of the training period, and types of trainees. However, the training content which is too detailed has led to—

1. The nearly exclusive use of the straight lecture method by instructors under the pressure of covering all that is prescribed.

2. The teaching of certain agricultural skills and practices, not relevant to particular conditions of the regions.

Thus although India has decentralized training – Gram Sevaks being trained in the 93 Extension centers scattered through the states – the overdetailed syllabus, coupled with the highly diversified geographical conditions of India, does not lead to efficient training.

In the Philippines the training program is extremely homogeneous in terms of trainees, content, method, and materials as the program is totally centralized with the exception of recruitment procedures. With the expansion of the program covering gradually more diversified areas, the training content no longer meets the field conditions as it had previously.

Regarding training facilities, the Ghanaian School of Social Welfare and the Philippine Community Development Center appear to be well equipped to meet training and living situation requirements. The locating of the Community Development Center on the campus of the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture was a wise decision because it combines

economy and convenience, taking advantage of the college faculty and laboratory facilities.

Pertaining to the training centers of India, little detailed information could be obtained regarding training facilities. However, from earlier reports of the Planning Evaluation Organization we may indirectly come to two conclusions:

1. There is no uniform degree of training facilities among the numerous centers of India.

2. Although housing facilities and living conditions may be adequate, it is likely that the laboratory equipment, library facilities, and lack of ground for agricultural experiments are the most defective items among training facilities.

Regarding the rotation of positions between trainers and field supervisors, so far the Ghanaian program is the only one in which this is done. Regional training is under the jurisdiction of the Principal Community Development Officer and is carried out by the Mass Education Officers of that region. In India, within a single state, rotation would be possible if the problems of salary and tenure among principals of training centers, government officials of various technical departments, and community development officials were made more or less uniform. The prospect of such rotation, however, is quite utopian in India.

There is little information on the work load for both trainers and trainees which would help in an accurate comparison of the three countries.

In summary, the Ghanaian program appears the most favorable regarding the organization and personnel for training. However, its problems are simplified because of the emphasis on adult teaching and Laubach techniques of literacy education in the DSWCD's training program.

F. Provision for Evaluation of Training

1. Regularity

   There should be provision for evaluation of the training program continuously or at regular intervals.

2. Objectivity

   Evaluation should be done by a competent agency or organization unit which is not concerned with the actual administration of the community development training program.

3. Implementation of recommendations

   There should be adequate implementation of evaluation findings and recommendations in order to improve the training program.

It is true that all three training programs of Ghana, India, and the Philippines have been evaluated; however, the nature of such evaluation varies in terms of adequacy, objectivity, and regularity. In Ghana, the narrow scope of operation renders evaluation of training very informal. The only report on the DSWCD's training was written by an ICA team in 1955.[28a]

[28a] William C. Gibson, Hugh B. Masters, and Ernest F. Witte, Report on Community Development Programs in India, Iran, Egypt, Gold Coast. Washington, D.C.: ICA, 1955.

In India, the Program Evaluation Organization, located in the Planning Commission, appears to be an appropriate agency which is qualified to evaluate training in community development; so far it has not done so, at least directly and methodically. On the other hand, official reports on the findings of annual conferences are not available to this author; the conclusions listed in various issues of Kurukshetra are mere listings of problems in training which do not yield technical critiques of training programs. Almost all the studies of critical value on community development training in India come from sources outside the government of India.[29]

In the Philippines, the most formal and thorough evaluation was done by ICA[30], and the training program is being slowly revised, although there is not yet any official revision implementing the report recommendations.

Among the three programs, the role of evaluation seems

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[29]By order of date, they are:
1. Douglas Ensminger, Training for Community Development, The Ford Foundation Program Letter India, Report No. 100 (June-October, 1958), 36 p.
2. M.J. Coldwell, R. Dumont and M. Read, Report of a Community Development Evaluation Mission in India, 23 November 1958 - 3 April 1959 (New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2 June 1960), 101 p. This report has an analytical chapter on Training, pp. 83-94.
3. J. Paul Leagans, "New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University: Comparative Extension Program," India's Experience with Training in Extension Education for Community Development, no. 15 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press, May 1961), 24 pp.

[30]Robert A. Polson, A Report on the Training Aspects of the Philippine Community Development Program (Manila, Philippines: ICA USOM to the Philippines, April 9, 1960), 44 pp.

to have less importance in Ghana than in India and the Philippines; literacy, although important, does not cover the fundamental physical needs of people as agriculture and food production do in the last two countries. Implementation of evaluation recommendations may be slow as it is in both India and the Philippines, but at least it is being done.

G. Morale

1. Factors influencing morale

> The training program should be carried on in such a way as to promote and maintain high morale among the trainers and trainees. Among the methods of promoting high morale are: adequate pay, security of tenure, fair treatment, satisfactory working conditions, sound organization and administrative procedures, a feeling of belongingness and partnership, and dynamic leadership.

This section will cover methods of developing and maintaining high morale not only among the trainers but also among all community development workers, especially when the two types of positions of trainers and field supervisors are identified as in Ghana.

In the Philippines, the trainers' grievances do not exist to the extent they do in India. In the Philippines, the training of village workers is centralized, and there are more or less regular conferences of governors and other officials; in short, the training efforts are not scattered

and therefore the problems regarding living conditions are reduced to a minimum. In India, the scattering of training centers — which in itself is a good feature of the Indian program — leads to additional problems such as housing and medical care for trainers' families, schooling of trainers' children, etc. In general, trainers come from technical departments; often their terms of service during such "loan" period to the community development programs are not taken into account in seniority promotion. It seems essential that these points on pay, security of tenure, and adequate housing should be clarified; only then could trainers devote themselves wholeheartedly to their work. The problem of pay in India is complicated by the lack of uniformity of pay among states. It is detrimental to trainers' morale when they ponder about the difference in pay for the same kind of work.

Regarding the payment of trainees, there is no uniformity among the programs. In Ghana, Mass Education Assistants are considered in service when they start to be trained; in the more formal training of Assistant Mass Education officers, the latter receive a stipend from which they pay their board, room, and electricity. In the Philippines, trainees receive only pocket money, although they are provided free room, board, and transportation. There is no adequate information on the Indian program about the trainees' financial arrangements; however, we may safely assume that the measures taken vary greatly among the States.

The subject of tenure is also arranged differently among the programs. In Ghana, the probation period is three years,[31] while it is six months in the Philippines. Little information could be obtained on the financial arrangement for trainees and their security of tenure in India. Yet, it may safely be ventured that in India the provisions for tenure as well as scale of pay vary greatly among the States. Regarding probation, the three-year length in Ghana appears excessive: rural work is hard work and six months is a reasonable period in which village workers could prove themselves sufficiently.

Besides the foregoing points particular to training, there are other problems of morale among all community development workers. The multipurpose nature of community development work, coupled with the large area to be covered by each worker, make community development a most demanding vocation. It demands a high degree of mobility which means irregular working conditions, substantial amounts of time away from home, and additional expenditures. Regarding morale, the flaws of the Philippine program are listed as follows:

1. Late salary and travel allowance.
2. Long periods on an acting appointment, especially when the expectation was that the maximum "acting" period would be six months.

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[31] DSWCD, Prospectus, (Accra, Ghana: The School of Social Welfare, no date), p. 3.

3. The increased cost of entertainment and contributions incidental to an "acting" position having to be borne on the salary of the lower rank.

4. The absence of merit increments in salary.

5. Husbands living too far away from wives, and vice versa.

6. Pork-barrel grants that destroy many days of diligent effort to promote self-help projects.[32]

Most of the foregoing problems, with the exception of the pork barrel grants, are not particular to the Philippine program alone. They exist in the Indian one too and to a greater degree. Common to both programs and undoubtedly to the Ghanaian one is the perennial question of supervision. The manner in which village workers are supervised often is not consistent with the human relation principles advocated in community development. Rigid supervision by superiors indicates a lack of the spirit of teamwork. Flexible supervision would admit the possibility of emergent, unseen conditions and allow field workers a certain freedom and initiative in decision making. In addition to subtle supervision, high morale might be fostered through the provision of field workers' participation in planning and through regular in-service training activities.

Thus in India, and particularly in Rajasthan, the morale problem is quite acute.[33] Almost every official — the Block Development Officer, the Extension Officer, and the

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[32]Robert A. Polson, op. cit., p. 35.

[33]David C. Potter, op. cit.

Gram Sevak — comes to have a "split personality" or "split loyalty," or both! The "split personality" results from the constant pressure for program fulfillment, on the one hand, and the emphasis on democratic process, on the other. The "split loyalty" fluctuates between the parent department and the Panchayat Samiti for both the Block Development Officer and the Extension Officer. As for the village worker, the question has been raised whether it would be more desirable that he belong to the Department of Agriculture instead of the Samiti Service; this suggestion is made in view of the close working relationship between the Agricultural Extension Officer and the village worker, who nevertheless belong to two different services.[34] Thus progress in community development in India may be hampered unless morale problems are solved. However, the pressure for an increase of agricultural production, coupled with the multiplicity of regulations about pay and tenure among community development trainers and other officials, poses a great problem about the morale of community development workers, which is further complicated by the creation of the Panchayat Samiti Service.[35]

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

Summary of Characteristics of the Three National Training Programs

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Ghanaian Training Program

The Ghanaian program is outstanding in two aspects:

1. the complete identification between trainers and field supervisors in the training of the Mass Education Assistants;

2. the balance in methods of training – the time sequence of field work scheduled between two academic terms in the training of the Assistant Mass Education Officers.

The main defect of the Ghana program – if this may be called a defect – is the informality of the whole program. The researcher may complain because of the lack of written materials; however, from an operational viewpoint, it is an advantage that the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development is not clogged with impressive but out-of-date reports or with reports on which no action is taken. The Ghanaian program aims to concentrate on field work and to reduce paper work to a minimum.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Indian Training Program

In its early years, the Indian training program was hastily improvised and was slow in implementing the recommendations of the annual conferences. However, during the last three years, credit should be given for the many important reforms effected: revision of the length of the training period in the Gram Sevaks' training, training of trainers,

establishment of the Mussoorie Institute, local government reforms, and the subsequent training of local officials.

The thoroughness in covering the various types of trainees is another safeguard of the Indian program. Efforts made to train those who operate the programs and to acquaint those indirectly involved in the community development program with its philosophy and problems cannot be overlooked when we consider the huge number who are already trained and also those who are still to be trained.

The Indian program has two major defects:

1. The comprehensive objectives of the community development program affect training in a negative way: the training content is so heavily loaded with subjects that the village workers have time to glean only a superficial knowledge of any one of them.

2. There exists an extreme diversity of administrative procedures among the States regarding trainees' recruitment standards, trainers' tenures, etc. ...

The Indian training program deserves infinite credit for the efforts already made, yet results appear not to be in proportion to the efforts. This discrepancy is explained partly at least by the rigid character of the Indian civil service inherited from the British. During the early days of the community development program in India, V. T. Krishnamachari wrote to R. K. Patil, then Minister of Planning and Development of Madhya Pradesh,

> ... Our official machinery is very rigid and inelastic. The British wanted to maintain it in that way for political reasons. ... There is now no need for this rigidity to be maintained; but as most of us have been trained in the old tradition, we regard this as an essential part of the conception of a 'service' ... Our existing conditions should be modified so as to ensure that promotion goes by merit and not by mere seniority. ...[36]

Thus it is recognized that — in Sri Patil's words — "it (the future extension service) should not assume the characteristic and form of a new Government department with all its old traditions," and that "it must be a vigorous new service, live and kicking all the time."[37] However, we must allow training in India enough time to alter the mental attitudes of government officials as well as to prepare them for more complex roles than before.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Philippine Training Program

The outstanding factors in the Philippine program are:

1. The thorough recruitment methods in operation since November 1960.

2. The excellent training partnership between the staff of the PACD training unit and the faculty of the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture. Such an organizational

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[36] Govt. of India, "Community Projects Administration Series," National Extension Service and Community Development Programme, no. 13-A (Delhi: Government Printing, January 1956), p. 9.

[37] Ibid., p. 7.

pattern allows a full use of the existing talents in the field of agriculture and the existing laboratory and classroom training facilities. It promotes at once efficiency and economy.

3. The Community Development Research Council is another happy arrangement of the Philippine program taking advantage of the existing educational resources.

The main weakness of the Philippine program is the high degree of centralization, which hampers the scope of training, especially in the orientation of technical specialists.

The Philippine program is young, relatively, compared to the Ghanaian and Indian programs; however, it has been quite dynamic in its rate of growth and sound in its organizational practices. The growth of this program illustrates what energetic leadership can do. The present program owes much to the Presidential Assistant for his strong faith and efforts which sustained it at the budding stage and after the death of President Magsaysay. Two factors would contribute to a healthier growth of the Philippine training program: adjustment of training content to regional agricultural field requirements and improvement of administrative measures so as to enhance the morale of field workers.

In summary the three training programs have different patterns of strong and weak points as pointed out in the preceding pages. Their common flaws are as follows:

1. Regarding trainees, the number of village women workers is insufficient.

2. Regarding training methods, there is the paradox of emphasizing audio-visual methods to be used by village workers to train the village people although audio-visual methods are not often used by the trainers themselves. The same paradox exists with regard to supervision: village workers are taught to display human relation skills in dealing with villagers, yet field supervisors frequently fail to demonstrate these skills in their supervision.

3. Training materials are lacking in variety, quality, and quantity.

An Attempt at Numerical Rating

An attempt will now be made to present a numerical rating and comparison, for the three training programs, of the criteria discussed earlier in this chapter.

The twenty-four criteria are rated for the three countries on the following scale:

Superior (sup.)	3 points
Satisfactory (sat.)	2 points
Unsatisfactory (un.)	1 point
Inadequate information	no point rating

In interpreting the rating, the following considerations should be borne in mind:

1. The rating arbitrarily gives equal weight to all subparts of the seven elements of training defined in Chapter V.

2. It differs in the corresponding elements of the three programs; this shows a varying pattern of strengths and weaknesses.

3. It involves a degree of subjectivity, but this is true of most attempts at rating individual workers, projects, or programs.

4. It may be valid at present but may not be so at the time this thesis is read or published; some aspects of training may also have changed in the meantime.

Tables IX and X give the detailed and summary rating of the three training programs.

The summary rating gives a clear comparison of the three training programs. The Indian and Philippine programs are almost on a par in average rating; however, the latter has more "superior" ratings and fewer "unsatisfactory" ratings than the former. On the other hand, although both the Indian and Ghanaian programs have the same number of "superior" and "unsatisfactory" ratings, the latter has the disadvantage of many neutral ratings due to insufficient information. Therefore its average rating is lowered.

In conclusion, the reader is reminded that the numerical rating is not absolute. The elements and criteria by which the comparative analysis is carried out are not wholly inclusive. This tentative research on training analysis illustrates that the extent to which any country may provide community development is a matter of national public and administrative policy which, in turn, depends upon conditions — such as bureaucratic background, size, and budgetary and human resources — which vary from country to country.

TABLE IX

DETAILED RATING OF THE THREE TRAINING PROGRAMS

Elements	Criteria	Ghana	India	Philippines
A. The trainees	1. Categories	Unsat.	Sat.	Sat.
	2. Number	Sat.	Sat.	Sat.
	3. Qualifications	Unsat.	Unsat.	Superior
B. Training content	1. Relevance	Unsat.	Sat.	Sat.
	2. Length	Sat.	Sat.	Unsat.
	3. Balance	Sat.	Unsat.	Sat.
C. Training methods	1. Appropriate use	Sat.	Sat.	Sat.
	2. Balance	Superior	Sat.	Sat.
D. Training materials	1. Variety	Inad. inf.	Unsat.	Unsat.
	2. Quality	Inad. inf.	Unsat.	Inad. inf.
	3. Quantity	Unsat.	Unsat.	Inad. inf.
	4. Availability and appropriateness	Inad. inf.	Inad. inf.	Inad. inf.
	5. Relevance of use	Inad. inf.	Inad. inf.	Inad. inf.
	6. Up-to-dateness	Inad. inf.	Unsat.	Sat.
E. Organization and personnel for training	1. Nature of organization	Sat.	Sat.	Superior
	2. Degree of centralization	Sat.	Sat.	Unsat.
	3. Flexibility	Sat.	Unsat.	Unsat.
	4. Availability of training facilities	Sat.	Sat.	Sat.
	5. Degree of rotation between trainers and field supervisors	Superior	Unsat.	Unsat.
	6. Size of work load	Inad. inf.	Inad. inf.	Inad. inf.
F. Provision for evaluation of training	1. Regularity	Sat.	Sat.	Sat.
	2. Objectivity	Sat.	Superior	Superior
	3. Implementation of recommendations	Inad. inf.	Superior	Sat.
G. Morale	1. Factors influencing morale	Inad. inf.	Unsat.	Unsat.

TABLE X

SUMMARY OF THE NUMERICAL RATING OF THE THREE TRAINING PROGRAMS

Rating Scale	Ghana Criteria	Pts.	India Criteria	Pts.	Philippines Criteria	Pts.
Sup. (3 pts.)	x 2	6	x 2 =	6	x 3 =	9
Sat. (2 pts.)	x 10	20	x 10 =	20	x 9 =	18
Unsat. (1 pt.)	x 4	4	x 9 =	9	x 7 =	7
Inad. inf. (0 pt.)	x 8	0	x 3 =	0	x 5 =	0
Total pts.		30		35		34
Average rating		1 25		1.46		1.41

Suggestions for Community Development Training

As a result of comparing the advantages and disadvantages of these three training programs, a few basic suggestions for organizing a community development training program are listed below:

1. Recruit trainees carefully.
2. Focus the training content on skills that are likely to bring tangible change in the rural environment. Increased agricultural production is the most eloquent visual and factual proof to convince villagers.
3. During preservice training, give a minimum academic training and emphasize field work as the basic method of "learning by doing."
4. Organize short but frequent in-service training activities; such courses, in addition to giving additional essential knowledge to community development workers, help to promote a vocational sense of "belongingness" in the community development workers.
5. Plan the training period and carry it out in such a way as to make it an eloquent demonstration of the subjects that are being taught.
6. Take full advantage of the existing professional and physical resources of the educational and vocational institutions in organizing and staffing the training unit.
7. Fit the right persons into the right positions:

a. Assign village workers to their native areas because:

they know those areas best;

they are more readily accepted by the local people; and

they are eager to win the recognition of their relatives and friends; therefore they will not spare themselves and are constantly stimulated by the prospect of such a recognition of merit.

b. Assign the right persons in the right positions because there is a scarcity of trained people in newly developing countries; appropriate assignment will maximize the use of talents and avoid waste.

8. Request grades for courses taken by participant trainees even though no academic degree is sought; when grades are requested and pride is at stake, preparing for an examination or writing a paper helps trainees to crystallize their newly acquired knowledge.

9. Emphasize that the best training method is training by example.

Postcript

This study has concerned itself with techniques of community development training. In an overall framework, training alone – however good – does not guarantee the success of community development programs. Within community development itself, training must be complemented by and coordinated with – in a feedback fashion – diligent execution and evaluation of community development programs and continuous applied research on community development problems. In addition, community development must be supported by other vital measures of national policy such as local self-government and land reform.

Community development training must be part of a comprehensive plan of training for all government officials. Such a training plan is made essential by (1) the interdisciplinary nature of community development work and (2) the fact that community development is the grass-root program for national economic development.

The role of public administration in newly developing countries should not be underestimated.

> A quantitatively inadequate or qualitatively defective system of public administration will not merely retard the development process but may defeat the entire development effort in an even more decisive manner than any temporary shortage of capital or inadequate technical skills or an unfavorable monsoon. ... (It) undermines the success of the nation-building process which is a corollary of economic growth in the underdeveloped world.[38]

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[38] William Kamp, op. cit., p. 198.

Prime Minister Nehru has acknowledged the problem of training in these words:

> Training becomes necessary today in whatever field of activity you may be engaged. ..... And the next question arises whether the type of trained men we want in the country are produced in our training centers, in our universities and the like. It is a difficult problem.[39]

Public administration in newly developing countries has a great challenge; government officials must be trained to face it. Such training must instill new knowledge, impart new skills, and also develop commitment, initiative, and creativity.

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