Some Services to be Provided by the State to Facilitate Social Development (with reference to experience in the Mediterranean area)

By Munir P. Benjenk*

*International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
Washington, D.C.
Some Services to be Provided by the State to Facilitate Social Development (with reference to experience in the Mediterranean area)

By Munir P. Benjenk*

Introduction

In this Seminar on Social Development we are primarily concerned with the effect on people of the rapid and sometimes brutal changes which economic growth brings to the accepted way of life of communities. We are anxious to find ways and means of helping the mass of the people in newly developing countries to understand the meaning of the upheaval which economic development necessarily implies and, understanding it, to adjust as painlessly as possible to a changing environment, an evolving system of values and new institutions and methods of work. We take as our basic assumption that only through such understanding and adjustment can human beings give of themselves to the full extent of their potential and become real participants in the struggle for a better life, which is the aim of all development efforts. We also know that the most skillfully constructed economic development plans can often be rendered meaningless and ineffective by lack of understanding, by scepticism, fear and passivity on the part of those for whose betterment the plans are intended.

The typical pattern of economic development in the world today is that of a basically rural society gradually giving way to a more urbanized community, where the proportion of people who earn their living on the land gradually diminishes and those engaged in industry and service activities gradually increases. In the literature on economic development it has become habitual to compare the most advanced countries with an agricultural population representing, say, 10 or 15 percent of the population, with the more backward countries where this percentage is 60 or 70 percent or more. While it is not always true that economic development must necessarily imply a process where a country travels the whole road from such very high percentages of agricultural activity to the very low ones (Denmark, for instance, is an example of a prosperous country with a considerable agricultural population), it is generally accepted that a higher standard of living can be achieved through a process of greater industrialization and consequent urbanization, more service or tertiary activities and a considerable reduction of the number of persons employed (or underemployed) in agriculture.

It is essential, however, to bear in mind that the process is a very slow one and that the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial community cannot be achieved in a few years or even decades. The Soviet Union, even after 45 years of a most gigantic effort at industrialization, employing methods of coercion the use of which is inconceivable in a democratic context, still has half of its population engaged in agriculture. We must face the fact that in countries such as

*International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D.C. The opinions expressed are those of the speaker and not necessarily those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
Turkey or Greece, and even more in countries in Asia and Latin America, we shall live all of our lives in a period of transition and flux during which a population, the majority of which has basically rural values and habits, will be expected to accomplish a major transformation of the face of their country and of its way of life.

For many this transformation will have physical consequences in the form of migration from village to city, from field to factory, and provision must be made in any development plan for measures to facilitate this change. It is, however, important to remember that a very large percentage of the people will continue to live on the land for a long time to come, and that consequently some of the most effective - though not the only - social development measures will be those directed towards the rural populations. Government plans in the social field should therefore be devised with full appreciation of the fact that, though many in the rural population will cease to be rural within the foreseeable future, many more and their children will continue to live in an agricultural setting all their lives.

There is a danger - and there are many examples of this happening - that economic development might bring with it a "schizophrenic" society, one in which two economies and two social patterns live side by side. On the one side, there might be expanding cities, with industries being established, with a network of relatively modern commercial and financial institutions, with an up-to-date social infrastructure, including social security and trade unions, into which is absorbed, always painfully, a flow of rural manpower which in a few years makes or tries to make the transition from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Although urban conditions may be hard, there is at least hope for the able and hard-working, and the excitement of life in the big city. On the other side, there may be a stagnant countryside, deprived of its most enterprising elements, but still containing the majority of the population, where many live from day to day and from hand to mouth, where people see little likelihood of improvement and where better communications have, paradoxically, had the effect of making rural populations realize for the first time how cut off from the main trends of civilization they really are - despite superficial changes here and there. Life continues as it has for many decades or centuries, but below the surface there is growing dissatisfaction with the hard, monotonous and unremunerative way of life.

The dangers of such a split society are too obvious to need elaboration. In many parts of the world the pattern of violent upheaval has been the same: the active leadership of social and political agitation has been supplied by the cities, often recruited among comparatively recent emigrants or students from rural areas, but revolutions have succeeded or failed depending on the extent to which the silent but weighty mass of the peasantry was desperate enough to renounce the innate conservatism of any agricultural population and throw itself behind the radical elements of the cities.

If the above reasoning is correct, then it is obvious that any state must give particular attention to the level of social development
in its rural areas; some of the methods and measures for promoting such development will be the subject of most of this paper; examples will be taken from experiences in the Mediterranean area, which, for a Seminar taking place in Istanbul, is probably the most relevant for comparative analysis. The emphasis on rural factors in this paper may be justified, not by the lack of importance of other elements, but by the fact that, too often, the problem of development is discussed as if it consisted only of a more or less rapid transition from a rural and agrarian society to an industrialized and urban one.

It is not proposed to discuss here some of the most important issues in social development, namely the role of an effective education system and of educational planning - although some aspects of adult education will be mentioned - or the part to be played by social institutions like trade unions, social security, etc., because these matters are being dealt with extensively by other speakers in the Seminar. The approaches and measures described in this paper are of different kinds and levels but they have this in common, that they aim at bringing public administration closer to the needs and problems of the people in a period of economic and social change.

Four principal subjects will be discussed.

1. The role of public administration in economic and social development.

2. Regional development.

3. Community development.

4. Agricultural institutions.
1. The Role of Public Administration in Development

In recent times the functions of government have vastly increased, particularly in the economic field. Planning for economic development at the national and regional level has become one of the principal activities of the state. A great part of the time and work of cabinet ministers and senior civil servants is devoted to solving the manifold economic and social problems which beset the country. This is true of developed as well as of underdeveloped countries. In newly developing countries, however, the role of the government in the growth of the economy is likely to be larger than in more developed states. The resources are scarce and a central source of allocation seems indispensable, structural reforms are necessary, private enterprise is scarce and cannot meet all the major needs of the country, particularly in realizing necessary infrastructures related to roads, railways, ports, power, education and health. Agriculture presents structural problems which only the state can resolve. The burden on the central government is, in a sense, heavier than in industrialized countries where development is much more the subject of private decision and the economic role of government is that of providing an adequate framework for the economy to operate, and to provide the necessary stimuli or brakes should there be a temporary imbalance in the functioning of the system.

This heavier burden on government in the less-developed countries would presuppose a larger and more effective civil service in such countries in comparison with others. Paradoxically, the opposite is almost always true, and is a major obstacle to development. The developing countries on the northern shore of the Mediterranean have a special problem in this connection. Unlike many less-developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, they have an ancient and honorable tradition of government and administration. In these countries it has been customary until recently that some of the ablest and most ambitious young people went into the public service, attracted as they were by the idea of serving the nation, by the prestige and the security offered by this work, and the relatively good level of remuneration, considering the lack of many alternative sources of employment. Thus the public administration of countries like Turkey, Greece, Italy or Spain always contained many highly competent and devoted senior officials upon whom rested the main burden of government.

In the past twenty years this relatively favorable situation has been endangered. The tasks of government have become incomparably heavier, but the civil service has not expanded accordingly. Furthermore its status has deteriorated in comparison with alternative possibilities open to ambitious young men, such as careers in industry and banking, technical or liberal professions. The standard of living of civil servants has diminished considerably with inflation, and in comparison to prewar levels their purchasing power is lower than it was then. One has to add to this the frustration contributed by the knowledge that men of equal ability earn a multiple of their salaries when employed by private or even semi-public enterprise.
The legal and administrative straight-jacket represented by civil service systems of grading and pay have been such that governments themselves have been obliged to resort to devices in order to overcome them. This explains the frequent establishment of para-statal bodies, many of which have government functions but which have had to be given special status in order to recruit able men into the service at an acceptable remuneration. Other devices used were the creation of special or technical grades in government departments, without which any recruitment of technical people would have become impossible.

The situation today is that in many of these countries the whole weight of the machinery of government lies on the shoulders of a comparatively small number of very able senior officials, who are overworked, underpaid and frustrated. Most of them stay on in their jobs from a sense of tradition and dedication to duty, in spite of offers from private industry and often from international bodies. But some of these able men are beginning to leave the public service and, what is more serious, younger men of equal ability are not entering it. Unless this situation is remedied, it may well be that in a few years the level of public administration, particularly at the higher levels, will reach a standard of mediocrity which might seriously threaten the implementation of economic and social development.

The importance of this will be obvious to any private person, be he an industrialist, a businessman, trade union official or a farmer, who has to deal with or obtain a decision from the upper levels of administration. The difference between dealing with an enthusiastic and effective civil servant and a frustrated or cynical one can mean gaining or losing months or even years of precious time before an action can be effectively undertaken. And yet nothing is more evident than that economic and social development are to a great extent dependent on enthusiastic leadership and a realization that there is no time to be lost.

What is true at the highest level of administration is equally true at the lower level, where contacts with the mass of the people are frequent, and the opportunities for enhancing or impeding social development are enormous. This is particularly true in rural areas. One of the problems of the less-developed countries, and in particular of the rural areas in those countries, is that the new economic and social preoccupations of the state are not always very apparent to the population. The face of the state which, until very recently, was the most obvious to the people in the villages is that of the 19th century state with two functions only: the maintenance of law and order and the collection of taxes.

In more recent years the populations have seen an additional image of the state, that of the great builder, constructing railways and roads, power stations and dams, ports and factories. They have not always understood or been told the significance to them of these important investments. In any case, this aspect of the state has seemed to most villagers distant and majestic, but much less real than the sergeant of the local gendarmerie or carabinieri or the local municipal officials.
who might often be friendly and well disposed, but not particularly well equipped to understand or to deal with their economic or social problems.

With regard to economic or social development in an underdeveloped country, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the role of the government official at the local level. In the fields of agriculture, education, health, taxation, police, and so on, he is the only link between the mass of the population, which is often very backward, and the central authority, which seeks to bring the country towards a higher standard of living. A country's development plans may stand or fall by the degree of energy and enthusiasm with which these plans are explained and implemented at the local level. Real planning for social development must, therefore, include as a first priority the training and the raising of sights of the local officialdom, from the prefect or governor downwards, lest the whole planning effort end in total failure. Such training programs should not only ensure that government officials grasp the meaning and aims of economic development, but inspire them with a different concept of their own task as regards the development functions.

The training and change of attitude of civil servants is not important only from the point of view of their attitude towards the population, but also because they are the channel of information for the state. The government bases its plans and policies on the information received from them, and these policies will be inadequate if they are based on inadequate or inadequately interpreted information.
2. Regional Development

Planning for economic development is now a recognized responsibility of governments. In the newly developing countries, most governments have instituted some form of planning, some of the more centralized kind, some of a looser nature. In countries where resources are limited, national planning may be indispensable for orderly economic growth; but it is necessarily concerned with overall growth at the national level, with the general level and relative priorities of investment, and consumption, with gross national product and per capita revenue, with price and income policies, with the balance of payments and the need for foreign aid.

It was argued in preceding paragraphs that efforts should be made to bring public administration closer to the needs of the people. Can a case also be made for bringing planning closer to those for whom the plans are being made? While the nation has its problems, the areas or regions which compose it may have their own, and often they are not the same. It may happen that while a country is reasonably prosperous if viewed as a whole, large parts of it might be depressed and may be deteriorating rather than improving. It may be that the normal forces of the market create a situation which concentrates most on the development effort in certain regions or even in a single urban area, which concentration and consequent neglect of other areas may bring with it the highest growth rate from the national economic point of view, but has social consequences which are often neglected.

These situations are not imaginary. In Italy, while the North of the country is equal in prosperity to the most advanced countries in Europe, the South, covering a third of the country, has been stagnant, with a standard of living in some parts of it close to the Middle Eastern or North African level. And until very recently, the gap in standards of living had been increasing between the two areas in spite of a general economic growth throughout the whole of Italy.

In France, a rich country by all standards, growth has concentrated in the North and North East; the Paris region has become a particular problem with about one-seventh of the French population concentrated there. A large area south of the Loire River, comprising almost half of the country, together with other regions such asBrittany, is now often referred to as "the French desert," losing population fast, with deficient infrastructure and a derelict agriculture. The social tensions brought about by this situation are obvious, and are characterized by such symptoms as frequent rural rioting, destruction of crops and public property, attacks on farmers using more advanced methods, etc., which are regularly reported in the French press.

In Greece, whose economic growth has been quite remarkable in recent years, the major problem is not so much the rate of overall development, which has been quite satisfactory, but the fact that about one Greek out of four now lives in the Athens-Piraeus area, and the draining of the population of the rest of the country towards Athens is
continuing, to which must now be added the effect of considerable migration of laborers to Germany.

In Turkey regional problems are superimposed on problems of national development. The rapid growth of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir is a disquieting phenomenon, and the vast region of Eastern Turkey has social and structural problems which require specific diagnosis and treatment, over and above any general dispensation offered by the national plan.

For reasons such as these, regional planning is now becoming an adjunct to national planning in many parts of the world, and, in particular, in the Mediterranean area. There may be various forms of regional planning, depending on the level of sophistication of the economies. Very often elaborate mathematical tools have been used for this, such as linear programming, gravity model analysis or input-output tables. But the most important point about regional planning in the present context is that it is becoming a phenomenon of decentralization, not only in the analysis of problems, but also in the implementation of solutions. For together with regional planning, there often come regional institutions. Perhaps the best known in the Mediterranean area is the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, or Fund for the South, which has been given responsibility for a concentrated investment program to promote economic and social development in the depressed areas of the South of Italy, and which in 13 years has spent about 3.5 billion dollars in that area in addition to normal expenditures by the state. These funds have been used to build missing infrastructures such as roads, ports, dams, railways, etc., but also to make available credit on particularly advantageous terms for industrial and agricultural investment and improvements. Human resource development is receiving increased attention, including funds for technical and vocational education, extension work and support for such experimental activities as the OECD’s Sardinian project. Particularly depressed areas of the South are receiving special attention under special laws and plans such as the Recovery Plan for Sardinia and the Plan for Calabria. The Sardinian Plan (1962) provides for additional funds and credit facilities in that area for 12 years, and - this is worth stressing - attaches particular importance to local autonomy and local responsibility in the selection of projects and allocation of funds. Such authority has been given to the regional government of Sardinia. The central government reserves its right to approve the general program once a year.

In France, regional development has manifested itself in a number of different ways. Of particular interest has been the setting-up of state-owned development corporations (compagnies nationales d'aménagement) in a number of underdeveloped regions of France. More often than not these corporations are centered around one major investment program destined to contribute to the area's rehabilitation. One good example is the lower Rhone - Languedoc Corporation which is responsible for the construction of a major canal and the subsequent irrigation and rehabilitation of some 300,000 hectares of land. In the process, the Corporation has become concerned with land consolidation, the attraction of industrial investment, the granting of credit, the setting-up of extension services, the reconstruction of townships and villages, and marketing
arrangements in France and abroad for the produce of the area.

Of more recent creation (1963) is the Office for Territorial Planning (Delegation Generale a l'Amenagement de Territoire) and of a National Council of the same name. This Council and Office, under the Prime Minister, are destined to be the counterparts of the Planning Organization (Commissariat au Plan), also under the Prime Minister's office. The implication of this parallel arrangement is that the planning body will be responsible for a global look at the national economy while the "territorial" body will be concerned with physical location of the available resources and the practical problems resulting therefrom. In addition to the National Council, there will be regional councils for territorial planning, which will be composed of local personalities such as the prefects, Chambers of Commerce, industry and agriculture, elected members of provincial and municipal councils, etc. (There have, for some time, been in existence "regional expansion committees" with promotional functions.) The basic idea behind such councils is, of course, that proposals relating to the actual or potential resources of a region can be best worked out in cooperation with the leadership of the area itself, and that a nationwide plan could remain theoretical if its practical implications were not put through the test of public analysis and debate in the parts of the country likely to be affected.

In Greece, regional development began in 1957 for pragmatic reasons, namely that the outlying provinces of Epirus in the Northwest had, for long, been a distressed area. The situation had become worse because of the civil war which raged in that frontier province in the postwar years and had caused much destruction. Furthermore, the region was close to the frontier, and some of Greece's neighbors were likely to make political capital out of the poor conditions in Epirus. It was therefore decided by the Government to make a special effort on behalf of Epirus and a coordinated investment program was drawn up for the region with the help of OEEC experts. In addition, with the help of this international organization, a number of technical services were set up or expanded in order to stimulate the local population into greater activity on its own behalf and into more productive use of facilities or subsidies available under existing legislation. Such services included greatly increased agricultural extension and rural home economics, adult education and promotion of small industries and handicrafts. Tourism surveys were undertaken. The combination of additional investment and promotion from within began to bring movement to the regional economy. A modernization of agriculture is noticeable, better roads and a ferry connection with Italy have brought in large numbers of tourists. The first small industries are springing up. Of particular interest has been the energy and enthusiasm with which all the officials of the provinces concerned have collaborated with private enterprise and technical personnel to make the program a success.

In the 1960 Four-Year Plan, the Greek Government committed itself to regional planning for the whole of Greece. In 1961 a decree was approved in which the Ministry of Coordination, responsible for all investment programming and budgeting, was authorized to open regional
offices for the purpose of promoting and supervising regional programming. In addition to the existing Epirus project, a Peloponnese development project was undertaken with the help of FAO, and a third one in Crete is envisaged.

In Turkey, the first initiative concerned with regional planning was set up in the Ministry of Public Works in 1956 and then transferred to the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1958. A directorate for Regional Planning (Bolge Planlama) was established with wide terms of reference but with basically research and advisory functions. A skilled staff, composed of economists, physical planners, architects and engineers, has been gradually recruited in the Ministry. When, in 1960, the State Planning Organization was set up, the latter was given responsibility for some aspects of regional planning, but the basic functions of the Ministry of Reconstruction in this respect remained unaffected. The division of labor in this field between the two agencies has not yet been clearly defined.

A number of regional projects have been started in Turkey since 1953. The first of these was the Koycegiz Project, sponsored by the Turkish Productivity Center, with the help of OECD. The project began with a survey of the agricultural, industrial and human potential of an area in the Mugla Province of South Western Turkey, with a view to recommending measures for the economic and social development of this area. In addition, one of the noteworthy aspects of the project was the fact that study was only one aspect of the undertaking, and that from the start a number of operational activities were undertaken, such as agricultural extension work in the farms, home economics courses and adult education activities. The directors of the project felt that the best way of training their technical staff for their tasks was to make them participate in the enquiries and research for the preparation of the resource survey. This was done and a complete survey of the area was produced. The population cooperated with enthusiasm and great hopes were entertained. The project itself, however, came to a quick end. The Productivity Committee was unable to get the budgetary support necessary for continuing operations and hiring the necessary technical staff. There was at the time no state planning organization, nor was there to be found any ministry or agency which could legally take upon itself the running or financing of a multi-purpose activity comprising such different activities as agriculture, education, public works, etc. Nor was there any device whereby funds allocated by various ministries could be spent at the local level by a single coordinated executing agency. The project thus disintegrated just before the May 1960 change of regime, and subsequent attempts to revive it were unsuccessful.

Four other regional projects have been undertaken, which are resource surveys of a more or less ambitious character. Each one of them is enjoying the support of an international agency. The Marmara and Zonguldak surveys have had help from the OECD, whereas the Antalya and Cukurova projects have been assisted by the UN Special Fund/FAO and the United States AID respectively. The first two have been carried out by the Ministry of Reconstruction with help from the local authorities and the latter two by the State Planning Agency with cooperation from
the Ministry. In each case it is intended that with the help of local businessmen and farmers and their organizations a complete inventory of existing and potential resources should be made, economic, social and demographic trends analyzed and recommendations made to the central government, local authorities, industrial and agricultural leadership concerning the most effective development possibilities and productive land use of the region under study. Each survey is being related to the five year national plan.

So far, governmental institutions relating to regional planning in Turkey are still advisory and have no operational or regulatory powers or autonomous investment possibilities. It may be, however, that as the recommendations of the various regional studies become available, it will be found necessary to create, by legislative means, appropriate institutions to carry out or supervise, as close as possible to the area to be developed, the coordinated regional development programs emerging from the studies.

Whatever the differences in the approach to regional development may be between the four countries I have mentioned, the aim is obviously the same, namely that of making planning more realistic by bringing it closer to the realities of a country and involving those people who know best what the realities are.

Implicit in regional development is the readiness, if need be, to interfere with strictly economic forces in order to achieve more desirable social ends. To take an example, it might, in the short run, bring a businessman a higher return to locate a factory in a big city than in a more outlying area. To the state, on the other hand, the social consequences of overconcentrating industry in sprawling urban areas may seem harmful and the economic cost of supplying additional public services in the cities, such as transport, water, electricity, etc., for a growing population may be quite heavy. In other words, a businessman's gain would be the state's loss, or vice versa. A frequent concomitant of a regional development approach by the state is therefore a willingness to provide financial and other incentives to private and public enterprise towards the fulfillment of regional plans in such a way that the private and the public interest is equally served.
3. Community Development

Plans, programs or projects designed to further economic development have one purpose, namely to improve the general standard of living in the country as a whole, or in parts thereof. Necessarily, the major part of any development program must consist of infrastructural investments that open up a country, such as railways, ports, roads, power and irrigation dams. To this must be added the development of existing resources such as raw materials, the creation of industries, and social investment such as schools and hospitals. These are the priorities of development, and rightly so, since without them development would be stifled by a series of bottlenecks.

Yet all these efforts often seem remote to the millions who live in the villages. It is little comfort to know that a two-hundred mile highway is being built fifty miles from the village, when the main communication problem affecting your village may be the lack of even an unpaved road five or six miles long to get your produce to the nearest market. It may be impressive to hear about a large irrigation dam which will irrigate 20,000 hectares in another part of the country, but it may be frustrating news to the peasant families who have wanted a small well with running water for years.

When looked at from the villager's point of view, their own immediate problems seem to be quite easily soluble if only the government would do something about them. Except, of course, for the fact that there are thousands of villages and thousands of wells, village feeder roads and village schools which need to be provided, a task much beyond the financial and administrative means of government. In less-developed countries it is unrealistic to look to the government to provide sufficient funds to satisfy this type of request, except on the basis of a very long-term plan which may be in terms of a generation or more. Does this mean that nothing can be done, and that the relatively minor needs which seem most immediate to the rural population are incapable of solution, other than on this very long-term basis?

A possible answer may be in the process known as "community development," and which has been applied in various parts of the world since the Second World War in situations such as the one described above. What is community development? It is a method by which it is possible for a community to diagnose what some of its most obvious needs are or to pinpoint some hitherto unexpressed needs and, thereafter, with the minimum help from outside to find a way to satisfy some of them. This is usually done by means of some research into local problems, the setting-up of discussion groups or public meetings, the use of local municipal facilities, etc., the moving force behind the effort being either a local leadership group or a sponsoring element from outside the area, or a combination of both.

The ideal community project is that in which a local community or village, by using its own voluntary labor and locally available materials, achieves the building of some necessary public facility such as a primary school, or a bridge or a local road. Since leadership in rural
areas is almost always more latent than on the surface, it is only rarely that such completely spontaneous initiatives take place, unprovoked from outside. Moreover, even the simplest type of public works requires some level of technical skill, and this is often completely lacking so that initiatives at the local level do not easily move from the discussion to the implementation stage. It is clear, however, that if this vast resource of underemployed energy in the villages can be mobilized, then a very important contribution of capital for development can be brought into existence, far exceeding the capital accretion otherwise possible under the natural investment procedures.

In many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America community development has, therefore, been officially encouraged and assisted, and to some extent institutionalized, so that the maximum use could be made on a nationwide scale of the latent enthusiasm and the frequent underemployment of rural populations. The arrangements made by governments to further community development are usually of two kinds: first, there is a need for a new type of local official whose function it would be to know the community's problems, to act as a catalyst in mobilizing the community's public opinion towards taking some action (by means of suggestions, enquiries, meetings, etc.), and, if need be, to act as liaison between the people and the appropriate government department. It should be stressed that a basic principle in community development must always be that the community development worker should not push himself forward, but act as inconspicuously as possible, making it possible for a population's natural leaders to identify themselves and assert their leadership in a constructive cause.

Secondly, there is technical assistance which the government can make available in order to help villagers perform the task. This assistance can take the form of an engineer or technical foreman sent to organize the work, or the supply of some materials not available in the area. Thus the more typical pattern of government-sponsored community development has become the following: Supplied by the population—voluntary labor and local raw materials. Supplied by the government—the community worker to stimulate activity, some technical help to ensure that the project is technically sound, and some materials not available locally.

The administration of community development

There has been much controversy in national and international circles as to how best to administer community development on a nationwide scale. Broadly there have been two schools of thought on this subject. Some countries and experts have taken the view that community development activities need to be undertaken and managed by a completely new type of official, namely the community development multi-purpose worker. Such a person would have as his function to promote community projects in townships and villages and act as a coordinator for a number of activities which the village populations undertake on their own initiative, with or without some government backing. In a sense, a community development worker would be a kind of village leader, a friend and adviser to the local population. Those who hold this view of community development also feel that this should be a separate activity within
the national administration and that an agency or ministry should be set up to supervise all community development within a single country.

Others feel that this concept is a wasteful one and that a specialized community development administration would only duplicate the work done by such ministries as education, agriculture or health. They feel that no single multi-purpose worker has competence enough to deal with the variety of technical subjects on which he would be called to advise the local population and that this might lead to error and confusion. This strongly held opinion on the part of technical administrations has accounted for a great deal of the opposition to the principle of community development itself. In many countries some of the strongest opponents of community development have been the ministries of agriculture and education, many of whose officials claim that they have been doing community development for a long time without calling it by that name.

On analysis it may be found that this controversy is not a real one and that both sides of the argument have validity. In countries which are just setting up a system of administration and where even medium-level skills are scarce, it is quite conceivable that the multi-purpose community development worker should be extremely valuable. Such countries do not have the trained manpower to provide the necessary networks of school teachers, extension workers or health officers required. The nearest one of these specialists may be 50 or more miles away from the village where problems have to be tackled. The community development worker, if properly trained, can therefore help the population to devise interim solutions to a number of problems and ask for advice from the specialists on more complicated ones.

The situation changes, however, in countries which, though they might be underdeveloped, have an old tradition of administration and a relatively numerous, though insufficient, technical staff serving in outlying districts. In such countries it might be thought that a separate community development administration might be superfluous and that attention should be concentrated on strengthening as fast as possible the numbers and quality of such services as agricultural extension, health and education.

But such strengthening of existing services would not in itself be enough to enable a country to embark on an effective community development program. One of the main obstacles to such a program is the "vertical" structure in most countries of the various government departments, the fact that each ministry's local representative carries out his activities with little reference to what is being done by another ministry. Community development, like economic development, requires a global or "horizontal" approach to problems, one which attaches more importance to the interrelation of problems than to questions of administrative competence. It will not be easy to arrive at such an approach, yet it is indispensable. When you go down to the regional or local level, you realize how little, for example, the educational programs are linked to the agricultural ones, how little health officials take advantage of educational facilities to render their task more effective, how
little vocational training programs are centered on a region's real economic needs. The system works from the top downwards and programs of activity are prescribed from the center, often on a nationwide basis and frequently with great rigidity.

In order to have successful community development, this approach must be changed. Educational, agricultural and health officials, while each continuing in his specialty, must cease thinking of themselves as responsible for education, agriculture or health alone. They must become concerned with their area's problems as a whole, working as a team and having complementary programs, flexible enough to be capable of adjustment to local needs. They should always be on the lookout for activities or improvements which can be made locally through collective or group effort and which will alleviate the situation of the population without requiring vast government expenditures.

This change of approach is difficult enough, but an even bigger change is necessary in financial administration. While community development is based largely on voluntary community effort, it is clear that some government help must be made available on a modest scale to fill some technical and financial gaps. It is essential, however, that such assistance should be extended in as flexible and unbureaucratic a way as possible, without the long delays usually associated with government finance. In other words, such funds should be available at a reasonably accessible regional or provincial level.

It is quite clear that such changes in existing habits cannot come unless there is a strong determination at the highest political level of the country that community development should have a high priority in national policy. In countries such as India it has been the Prime Minister himself who has taken the leadership in the community development movement, setting up a Ministry of Community Development and giving precise directives to provincial and local authorities on how the program must be applied. The key to success in any country is that governors, prefects, sub-prefects and other senior officials all become involved in a movement towards more teamwork among government agencies at the local level and in favor of active support for community efforts. Once the campaign is launched, and the principle understood, it will usually carry on of its own, but the launching requires careful preparation.

Community development in the Mediterranean area

Some experiences in the Mediterranean area might illustrate some of the points raised in the preceding paragraphs:

In Greece, while encouraging a number of isolated community development projects undertaken with the sponsorship of international organizations, the authorities have taken the position that there is no need for a separate administration or service to promote community development, and that this is a task for existing government services. They feel, however, that the principles and approach of community development should be instilled into every member of the civil service who is called upon to
serve in the field. In order to perform this task, a training center for community development has been set up under the auspices of the Royal Fund. The center has been running regular courses to which the Government has sent a very large number of officials, ranging from provincial monarchs (equivalent to governors or prefects) to agricultural officials and police officers at all levels. The Government's backing at the highest level has been given to the center. In these courses, officials receive lectures on the community development approach, the need for coordinated programming at the local level and the techniques for encouraging voluntary effort on the part of the population.

On the financial side, the Government has set up a mechanism known as the Nomarchs' Fund. This is a fund put at the disposal of the chief provincial official, which can be used for small projects put forward at the request of the local population. This fund, which is limited, can be used without reference to the Ministries in the country's capital.

In the Island of Sardinia, a project under the sponsorship of OECD, in cooperation with the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno and the Regional Government of Sardinia, has experimented with a community development technique which combines a technical with a social approach. The technique used is to set up "teams" to serve groups of five or six villages. Each team in this project consisted of two agricultural extension workers, two rural home economics specialists to work with the feminine population, and two community or social workers to prepare the ground for collective activities. Most of the time the local school teacher also became an adjunct of the team for activities such as adult education, distribution of school meals, school health checks, etc. While each member of the team was responsible to a different technical service at the center, the programs in the villages were worked out by the team as a whole and were complementary one to the other. Thus the social workers helped the technical service in persuading the population to form a cooperative; subsequently the members of the cooperative (mostly illiterate) were assisted by the education service with a course in arithmetic and elementary commercial practice, so that they could deal with their clients, prepare invoices, etc. In some communities it was found that it was easier to gain the confidence and overcome the suspicion of the men after a successful home economics program had been undertaken with the women. Sometimes the opposite phenomenon took place.

One of the successes of the Sardinian project is that the "team" technique has been given official approval by the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno and is now likely to be applied over a great many regions in Southern Italy. In the five years of its operation, the project, by using the community development approach, successfully tackled a vast variety of subjects in an area with 41 townships and villages and 200,000 people. Among the results was a vast increase in the yield of olive trees through appropriate treatment, a notable improvement in the yield of milk from sheep through selection processes, and improvement of meat cattle through cross-breeding, an enormous increase in poultry-keeping by the women in the area, a very considerable increase in the production and sales at home and abroad of local handicraft goods, a largely attended adult education
education program, the start of a land consolidation scheme, the setting-up of numerous cooperatives and so forth.

In Turkey, the State Planning Organization has, from the beginning, attached great importance to the potential growth factor that community development represents. It has proceeded with great care in outlining a policy in this field, but in recent months it has been decided to proceed on the basis of two or three pilot community development projects so that wider experience can be acquired. One of these projects is likely to take place in the Antalya region.

While community development (under that name) is mainly a postwar phenomenon, Turkey can claim to have been a pioneer in this general area. The Village Institutes, whose existence in the early 1940's was short-lived, were based on the principle of community development, namely the need for training village leaders who, having acquired some technical and intellectual skills, would return to help their area advance some of the way out of helplessness and underdevelopment. The Village Institutes came to an end in the midst of controversy and this controversy has not yet died down. One cannot help reflecting, however, in view of what has since happened in many other countries, that the basic idea was sound and that the defects of these institutions could have been remedied by less drastic action than their complete abolition.

Institutions concerned with community development

Generally the agencies or ministries most concerned with community development are those dealing with agriculture, education, public works and health. But others which have coordinating or supervisory functions, such as the Ministry of the Interior, should also be involved. In addition, two institutions can be of particular usefulness and importance in promoting community development. They are the Army and the religious leadership. The Army can help in two ways: The first is that it can act as a training center for village leaders. In those countries which have compulsory military service, most young men spend up to two years in the Army. Many come from very backward areas, and learn a great deal during their military service from contacts with others, through seeing different parts of their country and from having to use technical instruments of various kinds. Some learn how to read and write. Many of the young men from the villages are extremely intelligent and show great qualities of leadership in spite of their lack of formal training. The Army is the one place where such neglected talent can be detected and given some additional training. Through intelligence and psychiatric tests the Army could select such persons and make them undergo a course in community leadership during the last few months of military service. Similarly, among the more educated conscripts, those who have obvious talent for group work and are interested in village development might be absolved from serving in a military unit after a few months of basic military training and dispatched to villages or community development assignments.
One initiative taken in Turkey in this respect has aroused much interest in other countries which are studying similar schemes. It is the decision to use a large number of high school graduates performing military service as school teachers in villages, rather than have them serve as reserve officers for two full years. Such service cannot only meet a great need in the villages, but also exposes many boys from the cities to the realities of life in the countryside. It can thus be one of the most effective ways of nation-building. The scheme has, however, met with a number of difficulties, most of which can be ascribed to lack of adequate preparation for life in isolated and backward communities. This is not surprising since one of the keys to successful action in educational, agricultural, health and other work in areas such as those under discussion is training. The problems of backward areas are enormous and quite different from anything in the cities; the psychological approach to a rural population with centuries of prejudices and suspicions, but basically generous and hospitable, has to be studied very carefully, together with the peculiarities attached to particular areas, which have to be known. The experience of the United States Peace Corps is particularly interesting in this respect and the 4-5 month training program given to young men and women of the Peace Corps before they are sent to assignments abroad is one of the best examples of what can be done. The program is essentially non-technical, but is meant to prepare people for the hardships, both psychological and physical, of working in a backward area, as well as instilling in them the right approach to human contact with the population, local officials, etc.

The second way in which the Army can help is to provide assistance by making available some skilled manpower and equipment to perform the technically more difficult parts of projects which villagers are undertaking on a community basis. Such cooperation is good for the villagers whose regard for their Army is thereby strengthened, and it is good for the Army which finds itself immersed in the most immediate needs of the people. Examples of such activity can be seen in Israel where the Army has been entrusted with a variety of tasks such as supervising the training of youth leaders and the management of youth camps throughout the country. Part of military service consists also of a period of work in agricultural settlements, which, in addition to its military value - since many of these settlements are in frontier areas - is a useful way of giving to the men from urban areas an understanding of the psychology and problems of rural life. In Morocco, the Army has helped to organise voluntary youth activities, such as the building of roads, by providing free accommodations and food, in addition to some equipment.

Last, but not least, must be mentioned the role of religious leadership in community development. In many parts of the world, and the Mediterranean area is no exception, the influence of ministers of religion can be quite decisive in the attitude and behavior of citizens. This is particularly true of rural areas. It would not be exaggerated to say that economic and social progress will come much faster if the religious leadership is favorable to it, and will be slowed down if this leadership is opposed to it and to its various manifestations. It is therefore important that the training given to men of religion should include
instruction on matters related to development, and in particular on approaches to it such as community action.

The experience of the above mentioned Sardinian project was interesting in this respect. In its first few months, many of its activities were slowed down in villages where the local priest viewed them with suspicion, whereas in other villages things went smoothly with the help of the priest. Once the aims and methods of the project were explained to the bishop responsible for church affairs in that area, complete cooperation was forthcoming. Furthermore, special courses and seminars were organized for 20 to 25 village priests at a time to explain and discuss the principles of adult education and community development. These seminars were extremely successful and lively and many of the priests became the most active supporters of project activity. Any government sponsored (or even private) community development scheme should bear this factor in mind and try from the start to enlist the collaboration of religious leaders.

Community development and adult education

Before leaving the subject of community development, one must stress the services it can render to the cause of education in general. In the less-developed parts of many Mediterranean countries, illiteracy exists on a large scale, and even those who have had some primary education soon relapse into illiteracy for lack of opportunity to use what they have learnt. Because of this state of affairs, many countries have been concerned with the education of adults, but have often confused this with the need for a literacy campaign. Experience shows, however, that many literacy campaigns have been failures. The mere possession of the tool of reading and writing is not in itself a key to a better life, and the tool itself quickly becomes rusty unless used regularly, which in static rural conditions is almost impossible. It is frequently found that a majority of those who attend literacy courses are illiterate again within two or three years. Moreover, there is likely to be disappointment and frustration on the part of those who have always been told that their illiteracy was an obstacle to advancement when they realize that economic and social conditions do not change overnight, nor do opportunities offer themselves on a large scale just because a man can, haltingly, decipher the local newspaper.

Adult education is likely to be much more productive if not directly connected with a literacy drive. From the point of view of a nation's unity and progress, it is, on balance, more important that the citizens should know something about the country's constitution, its history, its geography, its traditions, its system of government, that they should be made aware of the more immediate world around them, such as basic agricultural information, the problems of irrigation, the uses of selected seeds and fertilizers, the significance of market conditions, etc., and that they learn elementary principles of health, hygiene and nutrition, than it is that they should be able to recite the alphabet. (Of particular significance might be adult courses in which villagers preparing for migration to the cities, or even for work abroad, could be given adequate preparation for the difficulties and pitfalls of city life and industrial society.)
Moreover, it has been found that if one succeeds in interesting an adult population in attending courses and information sessions on subjects such as outlined above, it may happen that the more intelligent among them will, after a while, ask to be taught how to read and write. This is because they have become so interested in a subject which they have heard discussed, that they want to read more about it. A desire for literacy acquired in this manner is a guarantee that the skill will not soon after disappear through disuse. But the basic usefulness of adult education conceived on this basis is that most participants retain for the rest of their lives a clearer picture of the real world around them.

It may be asked, "What is the connection between community development and adult education as described above?" The answer is quite simple. The building of schools or of village halls by the population is only a physical manifestation of this connection. Of much greater importance is the psychological climate created by a successful community development scheme. Normally people are reluctant or too lethargic to participate in courses or meetings which would not seem to bring them any tangible benefits, and it is difficult to start, and even more difficult to keep going, any kind of educational activity for adults. Once local inertia is overcome through some successful community scheme or activity and some hope of betterment exists, curiosity and a desire for knowledge are the first things to awaken, even among illiterate populations. Such activities are thus followed with much greater enthusiasm and assiduity when a suitable context has been created through community activities. Furthermore, adult education cannot be conducted through classroom techniques suitable for children; there has to be an element of discussion and participation on the part of those undergoing courses, and this participation is infinitely easier to elicit when the course takes place in a situation where the population has acquired the habit to discuss and undertake common activities.

Community development: advantages and limitations

The advantages of the community development method are obvious. First of all, it makes the people participants in the development process, rather than mere spectators or objects. They feel that they are expending effort for something which they need rather than for something imposed by the government and therefore to be viewed with suspicion, since by tradition peasant populations view with suspicion everything that comes from a source of authority. Secondly, it helps people to become more self-reliant, rather than expecting everything to come from the government. Thirdly, it utilizes the underemployed energies of the population and channels it into productive investment, which would otherwise not have taken place. If properly organized, the amount of additional investment thus obtained can be very large, and the economic and social benefits considerable. Finally, community development is one of the best promoters of adult education.

Community development has its limitations, both psychological and physical. Experience has shown that willingness to participate in such schemes is limited to projects of local interest. Village people are
are not interested in building a school in a township 20 kilometers away, but they will, if properly approached, help to build their own village school. Physical limitations are obvious. Peasant labor can build a small dispensary or clinic, but it cannot build a hospital. It can build small earth dams, but not a hydroelectric dam. In any case, it would be most inadvisable to promote community development projects for which, once they are constructed, no proper maintenance arrangements can be made.

Attempts to enlist voluntary labor for larger and more ambitious schemes not immediately connected with local needs can have dangerous consequences. The frontier between genuinely voluntary work and "inspired" voluntarism can be crossed quite easily, especially where there is an authoritarian tradition of government. A case has been made, by quite distinguished authors, that the only way of developing some Mediterranean countries would be to institute semi-compulsory schemes whereby underemployed labor could be used for work in large development projects, including such vital works as reforestation and anti-erosion activities. There may well come a day when the situation becomes so dramatic that such action might be necessary, but this should not be confused with community development. Furthermore, such drastic action might not be necessary at all if community development schemes are intelligently applied on a large scale. Any country would be well advised to try this method first, rather than opt for the more drastic remedies that have been recommended.
4. Agricultural Institutions

In most developing countries two-thirds to three-quarters of the population derive their living from agriculture. The peasant farmer, in his attempts to secure a higher standard of living, is hampered by three types of difficulty:

1. Lack of education and knowledge of modern agricultural techniques

2. Absence of necessary infrastructure:
   (a) Physical (irrigation dams, flood control, etc.)
   (b) Financial and commercial (adequate credit and marketing arrangements, etc.)

3. Structural impediments (system of land ownership, existence of money lenders, size and parcelling of holding)

It should be an essential function of governments to provide the services and create the institutions to help the farmer overcome these difficulties.

Agricultural extension

Let us look at the first of these difficulties. One of the saddest things about the low standards of productivity in agriculture is the fact that farmers are beset with technical problems to which the solutions have long since been found elsewhere. It is an example of the failure of communications between the sources of knowledge and those most interested in using it. There is, therefore, nothing more important for a government, which is interested in the welfare of its rural population, than to provide, as a major priority, means by which to breach this gap in agricultural education. One of the principal tools of any state for economic and social development is a numerous and well trained agricultural extension service, backed by appropriate research facilities.

The principal function of the agricultural extension worker is to advise farmers on the best ways to increase their productivity by using modern methods of production. This means the proper utilization of water (when this is available), the introduction of selected seeds and the use of fertilizers, the application of chemicals and of pesticides against a variety of diseases which attack crops. He will suggest improvements in cattle breeding by introducing better fodder crops, by cross-breeding, selection and reproduction of better specimens. He will help the farmer ameliorate his equipment by suggesting the tools most suitable for the various types of work.

But the extension worker is not only a technical adviser. He is also a helper with organizational matters. When individual farmers find that they cannot, alone, cope with a given problem, such as the economic
use of heavier types of machinery or getting a better price for their prod-
uct, the extension worker will encourage and help set up local cooperative
schemes to deal with such matters. He will help farmers prepare and sub-
mect applications for subsidies and loans.

The extension worker, once accepted by the community, soon becomes
a friend of the family and a counsellor on all occasions. As such, he is
one of the most useful instruments for breaking the isolation of rural life
and opening the doors to progress even in fields other than agriculture.

There has been much discussion as to the appropriate density of an
agricultural extension service. Many experts agree that one extension
worker to every thousand persons working in agriculture might be a suit-
able figure, which in Mediterranean countries might work out at one
extension worker for each 3 or 4 villages. Professor Arthur Lewis has
estimated that an extension service of this importance (plus the necessary
research and demonstration establishments) might cost up to 1% of national
income, but that the yield on such an investment could be an increase of
at least 1% in agricultural production per annum, so that if agriculture
represents half of national income, this would be a return of fifty per
cent per annum. In less-developed countries, with the gap between know-
ledge and application so much wider than in other areas, much greater
returns could be obtained.

Only some of the most advanced countries today have extension ser-
ices of such a size and the expansion, efficiency and prosperity of their
agriculture is obvious. The United States and the United Kingdom are
obvious cases. A more interesting example, however, is Japan, which since
1880 has attached great importance to agricultural experimentation and
extension and has a service which is one of the most effective and numerous
(per farmer) in the world. The rate of agricultural productivity per hect-
tare in Japan doubled between 1880 and 1910 and doubled again between the
two wars, mainly due to the intensive application of modern methods in
even the smallest farms. Japan, which is an example to other developing
countries in the industrial field, is even more worthy of imitation in
the agricultural sector, where the money invested in education and exten-
sion has brought remarkable results.

In the Mediterranean area, extension services exist everywhere, but
the importance attached to them has varied from country to country. Greece
has one of the best extension services in Europe, although the numbers are
still far from meeting the needs. In Italy the extension service is very
understaffed and underpaid. Furthermore, most of its members are so
absorbed by administrative duties and the application of the large number
of agricultural laws that little time is spared for actual contact and
advice to farmers. This situation is now changing, in particular in the
South, where the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno has begun using extension
workers on a large scale. In Turkey, the agricultural extension service
assumed its modern form after the second world war, but its numbers are
much below what is necessary for an effective impact on the country's
agricultural problems. The five year plan recognizes this and foresees
a very considerable strengthening of extension activities, but so far
recruiting of extension workers has been disappointingly low.
Agricultural infrastructure

At first sight the connection between social development and agricultural infrastructure may seem remote. It may be relevant, however, to discuss at this point the frequently repeated notion that investment in public works can be ineffective if not matched by investment in human beings.

The following example may illustrate this point. One of the ways in which public investment can come to the aid of the farmer is through the provision of facilities for irrigation. The building of irrigation dams and principal canals is an engineering task which, in the present state of technical advancement of most Mediterranean countries, does not constitute a problem. But what happens after the dam or canal has been constructed frequently does. The success or failure of an irrigation project depends on how rapidly and effectively the farmers of a given area make use of the physical facilities that have been provided, and on how they adjust to the new methods which irrigation brings with it. Irrigation, if it is to be successful, can and must mean a change in the way of life and work of peasant farmers. Irrigation makes it possible to switch from low-income crops such as cereals to "richer" products such as fruit and vegetables, to bring in quality livestock for meat and milk production under conditions which allow such livestock to survive and prosper. But before any of this can happen, the farmer must receive advice on how to reorganize his affairs. His own land must be levelled, drained and ditches dug. Stables may have to be built if he is to buy some good cattle. He will have to learn something about fruit, vegetables or other crops under irrigation and the way to use water so that these crops get sufficient moisture, but the soil does not get drowned. He may for the first time become interested in fertilizers and selected seeds, and also have to abandon the concept of allowing land to lie fallow.

All this is a tremendous change. But it is not all. Irrigated crops may bring a much higher income, but they are perishable, and the problems of packing, transport and adequate markets become extremely important, if the farmer is not to lose the benefits of irrigation. Suddenly, the farmer finds he has to be a businessman too.

It is quite illusory to expect the average peasant farmer to cope with all this by himself. Yet this is what has happened in many parts of the world. It is therefore not surprising that often an irrigation dam has been standing for quite a number of years, while not a drop of water has touched the farmer's land. Sometimes farmers are too conservative to change their ways and stick to the same old methods notwithstanding the presence of water; other farmers are more enterprising and throw themselves headlong into the new type of activity, only to find that they are beset by so many new problems that agriculture becomes a risky enterprise with disaster around every corner, rather than the unremunerative but relatively safe way of life it was before. They often give up after awhile. Either way the result is the same, namely that scarce capital has been wasted for lack of appropriate organization of the "human factor" in the project. Such happenings have taken place in many parts of the world, and if many such projects have had good results, many others have failed precisely because of the element described above.
Agricultural credit

This situation becomes even more difficult when the credit available to farmers is inadequate. Agriculture is not a very remunerative trade, but it can usually repay small loans with reasonable repayment periods and rates of interest, which every farmer needs - usually on a short-term basis - as operating capital. In the Mediterranean countries agricultural credit banks exist almost everywhere, although periods of repayment are short and the rate of interest for loans is rather high. Nominally it is often 5 or 6 percent, but in practice, with stamp and other bank charges and commissions, it often reaches 7 or 8 percent. This explains the reluctance of many farmers to go anywhere near a bank. Still, the situation is tolerable and the system functions more or less effectively in a situation where no great change is taking place.

The system breaks down, however, in a situation of developmental change, such as a major irrigation project, where farmers are expected to incur a number of investment expenditures on their own farm and, at the same time, spend more on current expenditure in order to apply more sophisticated tools of work. What often happens in such a situation is that the courageous small farmers with a spirit of enterprise and a desire for change are punished for their zeal. They often saddle themselves with two or three different loans, for improving their land, for buying cattle or machinery, for current needs. Since their enthusiasm often exceeds their technical ability, they find that in the first few years of irrigation the increase in their output and their skill in profitably marketing their production is not such as to allow for the high returns they had expected, and does not allow for repayment of the principal and interest of the various loans. Often they then get into the hands of a moneylender - to whom they may already be in debt anyway - and the result is either bankruptcy or sale of part of their land to larger landowners who are more experienced technically and who are not short of cash.

In Sardinia and elsewhere in Southern Italy, many examples of this type of situation were encountered. The Italian Government has adopted very far-reaching legislation with regard to farmers' loans for development purposes (although banking arrangements for loans for operating capital remain as before). Certain agricultural areas - mostly irrigation zones - have been declared "development areas" (compresori di bonifica) and in those areas farmers may receive as a grant 38 to 50 percent of all private investment expenditure carried out on the farms, i.e. leveling, ditches, stables, cattle, equipment, etc., while the rest of the money can be obtained on a 25 to 30 year basis at 3 percent interest. Nowhere else has such generous legislation yet been applied, but it is under consideration in many countries, and it is clear that some such measures are necessary to change, at a reasonably swift pace, backward agricultural producers into effective farmers producing for the national or regional market, and, indirectly, to break the burden of local debt which is one of the main handicaps preventing progress in agriculture.
Of particular importance is the need for agricultural credit to be "supervised," i.e. that it should be granted only for purposes approved by the agricultural extension service. This ensures that credit is effectively used for real improvements and needs rather than for irrelevant expenditure. This device is particularly necessary in developing countries where capital is scarce.

**Land reform**

In many parts of the world, no paper on economic or social development would be complete without a mention of land reform. While the problem also exists in the Mediterranean area, it is not as serious as in other parts of the world, and the situation is nowhere so acute that little or no progress can be made in agricultural development without it. In most countries of the area there has already been legislation eliminating some of the largest estates and in some countries this has gone quite far. Argument on the merits of land reform is not, moreover, appropriate in this paper on "services to be provided by the state." It should, however, be said that in case a country decides on land reform for political or social reasons, the greatest care should be taken to prevent the newly parcelled land to lose one of the advantages of large estates, namely the efficiency that can come from operating on a large enough scale for the tools of production to be employed at full capacity, and from producing in sufficient quantities so as not to be helpless vis-à-vis the market. Land reform schemes in various countries which did not, at least in the early years, provide for automatic cooperative arrangements and supervised production and marketing arrangements by state-sponsored agencies have invariably done more harm than good, resulting in a fall in production and frustration on the part of the "new" farmers.

The whole point of this excursion into agricultural institutions is simply this: agriculture, unlike industry, cannot be left on its own once the economic infrastructure has been provided. In industry, the state provides the power, the roads, the ports, the possibility to export and import, and the enterprise of businessmen does the rest. In agriculture this is not possible: the intervention of the state is constantly necessary in order to redress the balance in favor of the illiterate, the debt-burdened and technically primitive peasant. Often this is done against his own will, but nothing else will be sufficient to change subsistence agriculture into a more modern enterprise and make peasant farmers into full citizens. The state must equip itself on an effective scale to provide staff and facilities so that technical improvements, credit needs, marketing arrangements, the setting-up of cooperatives, and allied problems can be dealt with as multiple aspects of a single problem by rural communities, and not as separate hurdles to be overcome one by one by the farmer himself.
Conclusion

A number of matters have been discussed and touched upon in this paper, and for the purposes of the discussion period in the Seminar, it might be useful to summarize them:

1. The population of a developing country is, to a great extent, a society with rural roots and values. The presence of a large rural population is not necessarily a temporary phenomenon.

2. Government plans and methods for harmonious economic and social development must bear these facts in mind.

3. Change and progress must take place not only in industrializing towns, but also in rural areas, lest a two-tier society develop.

4. Success or failure in development may depend upon the effectiveness or apathy of the civil service at upper or lower levels. Measures to ensure an adequately motivated public service deserve high priority.

5. Regional planning and development is a way of making national planning less theoretical and makes it possible for those affected by the plans to participate in their formulation and execution.

6. Community development is a useful technique for (a) mobilizing the latent resource of village populations for small but useful projects, (b) achieving an increase of a country's capital wealth, (c) ensuring a sense of participation in development on the part of large masses of population, and (d) promoting adult education.

7. Community development can be a new and direct function of government or a method used by the existing branches of administration, in which case a much more coordinated approach to local problems is necessary. Institutions like the Army and the religious leadership should contribute to community development.

8. The limited and voluntary aspects of community development are to be stressed. It should not be confused with semi-compulsory labor.

9. Agricultural development needs much more intervention from the state than other sectors of the economy. Of particular importance in social development are services like agricultural extension and credit, since they can condition the whole way of life and thought of a peasant farmer, and his approach to modern ways of work.

One final comment may be made on all this. Firstly, it may be found that in most countries under discussion many of the institutions mentioned as necessary already exist in one form or the other: there may be schemes in progress for ameliorating the conditions and training of the public service, there may be some regional planning and some attempts at community development; adult education courses may be in existence
and extension services may be in function. Even if this should be the case, additional investigation will reveal that such activities exist in limited or embryonic form and that, more important still, they are considered as marginal or relatively unimportant by those in a position of authority. When budgetary choices have to be made, increases in allocations relating to such matters always get treated as poor seconds when compared to allocations for public works and defense. It has been rightly said that it is easier to obtain ten million dollars for a bridge than one hundred thousand dollars for better staff and more effective methods. Much of what has been suggested above does indeed consist of securing better staff and methods in key areas.

If this paper has any point at all, it is that the activities described therein must be "upgraded" from the point of view of governments interested in securing harmonious development in all areas of the country and all social categories of the population. This will happen if the principle is accepted politically, and implemented by budgetary decision, that building the man is as important to the economy as building the edifice in which he will live and work.
August 12, 1964

Mr. D. G. Browning
Conference and Research Secretary
The Ditchley Foundation
Ditchley Park
Enstone, Oxfordshire
England

Dear Mr. Browning:

Thank you for your letter of July 29 with which you sent me the text of the address which I gave at the recent Conference on Public Administration which was held at Ditchley Park.

Please find enclosed herewith a corrected version of this talk, which can be included in the published record of the Conference.

Yours sincerely,

Munir P. Benjenk
Development Services Department

Enclosure
International Agencies' Policies and Programmes - The World Bank

by

Mr. Munir P. Benjenk.

I would like to talk about three things: the first will be a brief description about what the World Bank does in the field which we are discussing; secondly some of the problems in the field of public administration which affect and sometimes impede the work of the World Bank; and thirdly some general observations on technical assistance to public administration.

The Bank, being a financial institution, does not normally intervene in matters such as government reorganisation, Civil Service procedures and grading, organisation and method, and similar items which are directly related to the traditional machinery of government. Other members of the United Nations family are more competent than the Bank to give technical assistance in such fields. The main emphasis of the Bank's assistance has been to help organise or strengthen governmental entities or administrations which are responsible for executing projects for which the Bank is making loans, such as, for example, highway departments, port authorities, power enterprises, agricultural or industrial credit banks and so on. Administrative improvements or reorganisation of such governmental entities are often suggested in the course of project appraisals, during loan negotiations or in connection with subsequent
end-use inspection which the Bank normally makes of projects for which a loan has been made. Very frequently the loan which the Bank makes is conditioned on the undertaking of certain administrative measures. Thus, within a loan, financing is often specifically provided for the employment of consultants or managerial personnel to help organise (or reorganise) or run the agency which will be principally responsible for using the proceeds of the loan. Such managerial personnel is sometimes provided for a considerable number of years as part of a Bank loan.

There are a large number of agencies around the world in the organisation, or the reorganisation, of which the Bank has played a significant part - some random examples would include the Imperial Highway Authority in Ethiopia; the Niger Dam Authority in Nigeria; the Damodar Valley Corporation in India; the Yanhee Electricity Authority in Thailand; the Rio Lempa Commission in Salvador; the Inland Waterway Transport Authority in Pakistan; the Volta River Authority in Ghana; Agricultural Live Stock and Development Banks in Peru, Colombia, Nicaragua and India.

The Bank has also provided a great deal of technical assistance directly related to Public Administration in instances which are separate from a loan operation. Under its Development Advisory Service it has helped to establish economic planning agencies in a number of countries and provided resident advisers to such departments. General survey missions and project and sector studies have frequently included significant recommendations on administration, organisation and policy. The Bank is frequently asked to provide advisers not only on general
economic planning but also with regard to executive activities in
important sectors of its member countries' economy, or with regard to
particularly important projects within a country.

As a typical example of the first kind of technical assistance to
public bodies, namely assistance provided in connection with and as a
condition of a Bank loan, one can cite an example of reforms instituted
in the Highway Department of the Ministry of Public Works in Colombia.
As a condition of this loan for Colombian Highways, the Government agreed
to the reorganisation of the Highway Department, to improve disbursements
and administration procedures and give higher remuneration for engineers
who could no longer be recruited at existing rates. The suggestions made
by the Bank were accepted in this case. This and similar experiences
suggest that reforms in Public Administration can be facilitated when an
international agency participates in the effort.

An example of the second type of Bank assistance, i.e. unconnected
with a financial operation, is the recent decision by the Bank to make
an intensive review of the organisation and operations of the Gezira
Scheme in the Sudan.

A third type of technical assistance provided by the Bank for
public administrators is represented by the Bank's Economic Development
Institute. The E.D.I. has for many years offered a regular economic
development course for senior civil servants, while recently additional
courses on project evaluation (both for general and industrial projects)
have been established.

Turning to the more general theme of our meeting, we believe that
while a great deal of good can be done through foreign technical
assistance in bringing about more efficient government administration, the major task in bringing about the improvement of the existing governmental machinery can only be performed by the developing countries themselves. In order to obtain really significant results it is frequently necessary for governments not only to introduce technical innovations, but to bring about profound reforms which would change established habits and frequently offend vested interests. An example of this is provided by fiscal administration. In some Latin American countries, for example, there has in recent years been some improvement of fiscal administration through technical assistance and the use of better procedures. But these improvements seem very limited compared to what could be achieved if there were a genuine political desire by some of the governments in that area to reform the existing tax legislation and methods of enforcement. This would ensure that the earners of really large incomes provide a more appropriate part of the revenue of these states than is the case at present. We thus feel that it is sometimes necessary to support political reforms rather than to concentrate solely on urging administrative reforms.

Our experience with many less developed countries leads us to the conclusion that what is wrong with Public Administration in many parts of the world is not so much that some countries have an effective Civil Service and others have not. To be sure, a number of less developed countries have a much better tradition of government and much able Civil Servants, especially at the senior level, than others. However, this effectiveness is only relative and concerns the more traditional functions of government rather than those more modern functions of government related to economic development. All or almost all developing countries
have systems of Public Administration which are out of date. Indeed, and paradoxically, a relatively efficient Civil Service can, through rigid application of outmoded procedures, be a more effective obstacle to rapid economic development than a less efficient administration which allows private or collective initiative a relatively free hand.

In our work in many parts of the world we have seen again and again the same symptoms of the maladjustment of Public Administration in less developed countries to the needs of the modern world. The following of these symptoms seem to be of particular importance:

1. **The status and remuneration of Civil Servants.**

While in the past, and even in the quite recent past, the status of Civil Servants and their pay scales in less developed countries were quite satisfactory in comparison with general conditions in such countries, the situation has recently deteriorated, and this is particularly true in countries having a mixed economy of private and state enterprise. Opportunities in the liberal professions and in business have opened career prospects which did not exist in the past. The remuneration that can be obtained in business and in industry and the influence that can be exercised by successful people in these fields now frequently exceeds anything that can be obtained in the Civil Service. As a result ambitious young men are more likely to select such fields while the less able ones remain for service in the government. Furthermore, the ablest senior Civil Servants in many countries of the world are being tempted away from their jobs by offers from the private sector and often by international organisations. All this is happening at a time when the functions of government are continually expanding in the field of economic development and require the best brains of the country for the exercise of this much
enlarged role. Though this problem faces the more developed countries also, it is a much less severe problem for them than for the less developed countries. Those advising governments on Public Administration policies should help remedy the situation by helping to devise schemes whereby a certain parity can be achieved and maintained between remunerations in the public and private sectors, particularly at the higher levels.

2. **Excessive speed of promotion in newly independent countries.**

Countries which have recently achieved independence have been naturally anxious to replace foreigners in Public Administration by local citizens. Frequently, however, this replacement has taken place at a very rapid pace and there has been an inevitable drop in efficiency as a result of replacing a competent and experienced expatriate with a junior and relatively inexperienced local official. In addition to the loss of efficiency, such a rapid "nationalisation" of the Civil Service and of Public Agencies in the newly developing countries is also a source of frustration for the future. All newly developing countries have sent a number of trainees and students abroad to spend a number of years learning new techniques and professions. These well trained people return to their country and find themselves placed under the authority of a person who frequently has less ability and almost always less training, but who was given the job in the early days of Independence. Dispensing with expatriate officials too quickly and without waiting for the educational process to produce reasonably well trained local elements may have the effect of "freezing" for many years the more senior positions in the Civil Service, allowing them to be filled by men of lesser competence.

Those who are doing research in this field might conceive of a way in
which appointments to key posts may be made temporary until the necessary qualified recruits are available.


One of the greatest obstacles in making governmental structures in the less developed countries responsive to the needs of economic development is the ministerial structure of the State. The inherited State structure everywhere is a "vertical" structure. In other words, a whole section of the economy is entrusted to a single ministry and the activities of this ministry are programmed from the Capital of the country down to the Provinces, Districts and Villages. Very frequently these programmes have very little relationship to the programmes undertaken by another ministry in the same government; although both programmes affect the same people. Thus one finds a Ministry of Housing preparing plans for a housing project in a valley which the Ministry of Agriculture is proposing to flood for an irrigation project. One similarly finds Ministries of Health which make no use of existing educational facilities to promote their environmental sanitation programmes, but embark on separate educational programmes of their own. Such behaviour is very frequent indeed.

While the system of government is vertical the needs of economic development are horizontal. That is to say, that there is hardly any important economic issue which does not cut across the lines of different ministries or agencies. An irrigation project, for example, can involve a Ministry of Public Works for the building of an irrigation dam, the Ministry of Agriculture for providing secondary canals and the extension services, the Ministry of Power for providing rural electrification, the Ministry of Housing for new village settlements and so on. The failure of many irrigation projects in the World is due to the fact that the
prevailing systems of Public Administration have not provided a way of getting these various Authorities around a table and making them adhere to a single timetable of work. So it has happened that irrigation dams built by one Ministry have stood ready and idle for many years, without a drop of water reaching a farm, because another Ministry has failed to provide for the secondary canals and because no extension service was set up to teach the peasants the difference between irrigated agriculture and dry farming, and because a third agency was unable to provide the necessary credit to the farmers to carry out the necessary transformations on the farm.

In despair most countries and governments have tried to overcome the non-existence of co-ordination by setting up single multi-purpose authorities every time a major project cuts across ministerial lines. Since such activities are becoming more and more frequent a plethora of new governmental agencies and organisations has sprung up all over the world, solving some problems but creating new ones.

4. The under-administration of remote areas.

Frequently, it has been found that, notwithstanding the availability of funds for a public or private investment project, the implementation of such an activity is more difficult if it is located at some distance from the country’s capital or a major city. This is due to the low density of administrative personnel in more remote areas, often determined by the unwillingness of Civil Servants to leave the larger cities and by the lack of financial or prestige incentives which might make assignments to such areas more attractive. The effectiveness of development projects, whether industrial or agricultural, is thus much diminished by the absence of the necessary administrative infrastructure. The absence of
Civil Servants and administrative personnel from such areas also has a generally unfavourable psychological effect on development generally. Senior and middle level Civil Servants located at the centre in the less developed countries often remain unaware of real conditions of life in a major part of their own country, and, accordingly, show little sense of sympathy or urgency towards tackling administrative matters connected with the economic improvement of remoter areas. Major nation-wide projects always receive the attention of senior Civil Servants, but more modest projects in remote agricultural areas, which involve a lot of administration, are much more difficult to get through the national administrative mill. Therefore it is extremely important to make Civil Servants understand that much of their attention must be given to these smaller projects in remoter areas. One of the real problems in public administration is for countries to devise ways, through compulsion or incentive, to make it possible or attractive for competent Civil Servants to spend a significant portion of their careers away from the larger cities.

5. The attitude of Civil Servants towards private enterprise.

In many countries special laws have been passed to encourage foreign and local investment. Experience has shown, however, that in spite of such laws the country often has difficulty in implementing their provisions. This is frequently because of the suspicious attitude towards private enterprise on the part of the administration, which in effect negates the political decision of the government which has initiated such legislative measures. We consider it essential that Civil Servants give as much attention as possible to ways of making it easy for private enterprise to invest.
The attitude of the expert in Public Administration towards the host country

Much has been said by earlier speakers about the necessity for the expert to confine himself to his allotted technical task and about the need for him to avoid offending the political and cultural susceptibilities of the less developed country to which he is assigned. While such caution may be advisable, a defensive attitude can be overdone. The experts are not ambassadors and should leave diplomacy to the diplomats. They should do what they are paid to do, namely give the best possible advice to the government of the host country. It is inevitable that they will sometimes get into fields which have important political implications. In Public Administration, technical assistance cannot always be confined to a narrow technical groove. To tell the expert always to remain strictly technical is like telling a plumber, who in order to repair a pipe must sometimes make a hole in the wall, that he may not touch the wall but must nevertheless repair the pipe. If things are seriously wrong with the machinery of government, the expert will necessarily have to give advice which has political consequences. This does not mean that he is interfering or telling a sovereign government what to do; he is only executing a function similar to that of a national Civil Servant who gives his full and frank advice to the political authorities but in the end carries out whatever policy is decided upon.

While taking every precaution to avoid giving offense to national susceptibilities, the technical assistance expert in a field such as Public Administration must not be afraid to draw attention to governmental policy decisions which he believes to be mistaken. Neither should an expert accept without question statements to the effect that
certain methods of work are a part of national traditions and culture and cannot be changed without offending these traditions and this culture. The expert must, of course, familiarise himself with the "mores" of the country in which he lives and should be careful not to offend what is really traditional in that country. Very often, however, accusations about experts allegedly giving offense to national customs are a form of defense by people who do not really want any changes to take place in the established power structure.

Initiation of requests for technical assistance

During the discussion, it has emerged that some donor countries believe that technical assistance can only be given in response to a request by developing countries. It has been said that the developing countries know best what their needs are and that the donor countries should, as far as financial and human possibilities permit, grant their requests for assistance. This concept presupposes much too passive an attitude on the part of the donor. It indicates a fear on the donor's part to question the wishes of the recipient country even though the assistance requested might not have a high priority for that country's economic and social or cultural development. Such an attitude is no doubt due to a desire not to interfere with another sovereign country's policies; it may, however, lead to a waste of technical assistance.

The donor and recipient countries should treat each other as equals and this implies full discussion of the technical assistance requests, and of the need for them, before the necessary action is decided upon by both parties. While the less developed countries rightly resent being told what to do, the donor countries should also have the right to question some of the requests which are addressed to them. The
criteria for granting technical assistance should not be only the availability of financial means but rather a decision by both parties, based on a full discussion, of the need and priority of the project concerned. Such a discussion is by no means contrary to the concept of equality between sovereign countries and allows the donor country to be sure that its taxpayers' money is being put to the most productive uses.